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ENGLAND

ITS PEOPLE, POLITY, AND PURSUITS

ENGLAND

ITS PEOPLE, POLITY, AND PURSUITS

BY

T. H. S. ESCOTT

NEW AND REVISED EDITION

Eighth Thousand

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PREFACE

TO THE PRESENT EDITION

This book was first published rather more than five years ago, when, in its original two-volume shape, it passed through two considerable editions. A third edition was subsequently published in a single volume, and of this that now issued is, so far as shape and size are concerned, as nearly as possible, a facsimile. The work, however, has undergone material modifications. Many parts of it have been completely rewritten, while throughout it has been carefully revised, corrected, and, generally, brought down to date. It may therefore, to some extent, claim to be a new work. At the same time its organic structure has not been changed and the remarks with which I prefaced it in 1879 are therefore applicable to it now :—

"The object of this book has been so fully explained in the first chapter that it scarcely seems necessary to inflict a Preface upon the reader. Yet there are some things which could not well be stated in the body of the work, and which it may not be amiss here briefly to set forth.

"My purpose has been to present the public with as complete and faithful a picture of contemporary England as the limits of space and opportunity would allow. That I might do this the better, I have devoted much time to the collection of materials, I have made several visits to different parts of the country, I have conversed with, and lived amongst, many varieties of people. The facts given are those ot observation and experience, and whatever there is of description in this volume may, at least, claim to be a transcript of what I have seen.

"While I have endeavoured to be as accurate as possible in my narrative of the general condition of England, and in my account of the influences which are at work among us, and which may, perhaps, determine our future, so have I studiously avoided all historical retrospect when it did not appear absolutely necessary for a right under-

standing of our present state. Thus, too, while criticism and the expression of personal opinion have seemed occasionally unavoidable, I have aimed at being scrupulously sparing of both.

"Of the plan of the work I will only here say that those who honour me with a continuous perusal of its pages will, I venture to think, perceive that its chapters are logically connected by a pervading identity of purpose. There are certain central ideas in the book round which I have endeavoured to group my facts and descriptions, and which I have explained at sufficient length in the introductory chapter. Whether the point of view there taken be right or wrong, it is at least that which has been taken consistently, and I hope it will have the effect of imparting to the entire work a certain unity and cohesion. Again, though I cannot hope to have escaped sins of omission, I would venture respectfully to be allowed to remind those who may not find all their conceptions realised, that this book is not an encyclopædia but a survey, and I would further crave permission to add that in some cases I have found it necessary to treat of particular subjects elsewhere than in those chapters in which, from their titles, such subjects might be expected to have a place. Thus, though there is no chapter exclusively devoted to the literature of the day in all its branches, I trust that a fair general view of that literature and its tendencies will be found in the three chapters, Religious England, Modern Culture and Literature, and Modern Philosophical Thought, which should be read together, and to which I might perhaps add that on Popular Amusements.

"While the information contained in these volumes is for the most part the result of study of the facts at first hand, I have also profited greatly from the perusal of official documents and other treatises. Whenever a statement is made from Blue Books of a kind likely to challenge criticism or provoke controversy, I think I shall be found to have pointed out where it may be found in the original. In other cases I have not thought it necessary to load any page with those references, whose frequent repetition chiefly serves to distract the reader's attention. The parliamentary papers which I have found of most assistance are the reports of the Commission on the employment of children, young persons, and women in agriculture of 1867, of the Factory and Workshops Acts Commission of 1876, the reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Truck system of 1871, as well as the periodical reports of the Educational Department, of the Inspectors of Factories, and of the Poor Law Board, and the Journals of the Royal Agricultural Society. As regards the other works to which I am mainly indebted, they will be found, I think, in almost every instance named in the text or in a foot-note.

"My best thanks are due for the assistance which, in the production of this work, I have received from many friends, and from some

who, till it was undertaken, were strangers. Without this help the book could not have been written."

I am particularly indebted to Mr. A. J. Wilson for his invaluable services in the chapter on Commercial and Financial England, and to Major Arthur Griffiths and Mr. W. L. Courtney for the chapters on Criminal England and Modern Philosophical Thought.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

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ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The Scope and Purpose of the Present Work—New Forces introduced into the National Life during the Present Century—Social, Political, Moral, and Intellectual Problems of the Day—What are the Duties of the State?—What the Imperial Mission of England?—The Age not only one of Transition but of Organization—Economy of Forces of all kinds—General Contents of this Work, and Treatment adopted.

A WORK honestly attempting a comprehensive and faithful picture of the social and political condition of modern England requires small apology. The nineteenth century, in this country as elsewhere, has been marked not merely by changes and improvements vast and sweeping in degree, but by achievements wholly new in kind. Methods and institutions long existing among us have been brought nearer to perfection; forces previously unfelt or unknown have been introduced. On the one hand, there may be witnessed the realised result of the complete operations of centuries; on the other, there is visible the as yet unfinished product of agencies still at work. At the beginning of the current century, though we had perfected the stage-coach, no new principle had been applied to locomotion since the Romans conquered this island; or, to go back to a date still more remote, since Cyrus introduced the system of posting into the empire which he conquered upwards of three thousand years ago. Steam, at the same time that it changed the conditions of travelling, effected a social revolution throughout the world. Co-operating with the electric telegraph, and equalising the relations of space and time, as gunpowder equalised the various degrees of physical strength, it brought the country to the doors of the town, and bridged over the gulf between England and the countries of the Continent. Co-operating with free trade, it raised us to a perilous height of commercial prosperity, and added dignity and influence to the principle of wealth.

Analogous alterations have been wrought in the political and the intellectual world. A system of genuinely popular government has been established among us, and is now awaiting extension and completion with the common consent of all parties in the State. In the political Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867 we have had two measures, and in the County Franchise Bill we shall have a third, entirely different in scope and principle from any previously passed by an English Parliament. For the first time in our history the attempt has been made with earnestness and success to introduce an effective scheme of popular education; and for the first time also there has been witnessed the universal dissemination of a popular literature, fettered by no political or religious constraints.

As we have seen the enlightenment, so we have seen the upheaval and the fusion of classes. Old lines of social demarcation have been obliterated, ancient landmarks of thought and belief removed, new standards of expediency and right created. The same process has been unceasingly active in the domain of politics, philosophy, literature, and art. It may be, here and there, revival rather than innovation; a return to the old rather than a departure to the new; but, in many cases, the idols which we reverenced but a little time ago have been destroyed. We have made for ourselves strange gods, and we live in a state of transition to a yet unknown order. The precise functions of the new philosophy, science, theology, and art are as loosely defined as the exact provinces of the three estates of the realm, or the future relations of the different component parts of society. We hold enlarged conceptions of our place in the scale of the nations of the earth, but what England's mission really is we have not quite decided. We are in process of making up our minds what respect or attention, in fixing the destinies of a great empire, is due to the popular will, what obeisance to the Sovereign, what confidence to the Sovereign's advisers. We are in perplexity as to the course we should steer between the democratic and the monarchical principles. It is a moot point whether the governed or the governors should be the judges of the plan of government that is adopted. It is an open question whether we should accept measures because of the man, or base our estimate of the man upon his measures. The several rights of employer and employed, capital and labour, are an unsolved problem. A clear and generally accepted notion of the duties of the State has still to be formed. Politicians and sociologists debate on platforms and in magazines—five-and-twenty years ago it would have been in pamphlets—as to the amount of legislation with which it is necessary to protect the interests of a class or the well-being of the individual. If it falls within the sphere of Government to provide the machinery of education and health for the community, up to what point is it the duty of Government to insist upon its use? How far

are men to be protected against their own vices, or the consequences of those vices? Are the masses to be taught sobriety by Act of Parliament? Is the drunkard to be condemned, or to be suffered to condemn himself, to close confinement for his drunkenness? Is incontinence of all kinds to carry with it its own probable punishment?

At every turn some vital issue presents itself in a guise more or less easily to be recognised. The Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, which conferred upon ratepayers the right of electing their municipal authorities, the Town Councils, and thus established the principle of local and representative self-government, was hailed with enthusiasm as the charter of the provincial liberties of England. The necessity for the existence of a central authority in the capital was admitted, but it was half believed that its controlling influence would seldom or never be felt. If, in the interval that has since elapsed, free play has been given in many respects to the principle of local independence, a certain later tendency towards its abridgment cannot be ignored. The chief provincial cities and boroughs of England have acquired fresh power and importance. The self-government of villages has almost entirely disappeared. Even over the great towns and entire urban or rural districts, the central Government practically claims an authority which is by no means unresistingly admitted. Manchester, Liverpool, and Birmingham have advanced in magnitude and in influence; but London has become increasingly the metropolis of the empire, and a minute and far-reaching system of bureaucratic control is exercised from Whitehall, within a radius equal in extent to the length and breadth of the United Kingdom.

Modern legislation has created new departments of State. We have entire armies of official inspectors of all kinds. We accumulate annual libraries of local reports. Applications to the executive in London or to Parliament at Westminster are imperatively enforced, upon a multitude of novel and miscellaneous pleas. The supervision of our prisons has been vested in a body of commissioners nominated by the Crown. On the other hand, it is a question which perplexes the Government, and of which no satisfactory solution has yet been proposed, whether the administration of counties should be transferred from the hands of the country gentlemen to the nominees and representatives of the ratepayers. These are not the only matters in which the supremacy and responsibility of the State are closely canvassed. Is the State, in addition to its duties as the champion of the different communities that live under it, to fulfil the function of an accommodating money-lender, on easy terms, for the carrying out of local improvements? What is the exact point at which the State is under an obligation to relieve local rates out of imperial taxation, and when and why does that obligation cease?

Nor is it only the position and the attributes of the English Government at home that are the subjects of controversy and uncertainty. The duties of the English Government abroad, the place England should fill in the hierarchy of sovereign states, the extent to which and the channels by which her authority and influence should make themselves felt, are points provoking much dispute and much enthusiasm, but offering no immediate prospect of permanent settlement. It is thought by some that we have already witnessed an emphatic and an abiding protest against the political doctrines which are commonly associated with the name of Cobden. The English people, it is asserted, have loudly testified to their desire that England should be something more than the emporium of Europe, a place of merchandise and barter for the nations of the world. The popular veto upon an unqualified acceptance of the doctrine of non-intervention is said to have gone forth. We are, if this view be correct, thirsting for the responsibilities of empire, and panting for the fresh and invigorating atmosphere which the periodical enlargement of our imperial boundaries brings with it. Strong voices of grave warning have been raised against these ambitions. On the one hand it has been hinted that we should prepare ourselves for a reduction rather than for an increase of our imperial cares, and that we should witness with satisfaction, since it is approaching with the certainty of fate, the contraction of the foreign dominions of England within narrower limits. On the other hand a movement has sprung up, both in the mother country and in several of her leading dependencies, in favour of the establishment of more binding and intimate political ties between them. As yet no definite scheme of colonial federation has received influential support or even countenance. But nobody who marks the names of those who have recently identified themselves with the general principle which every project of the kind necessarily involves, can well doubt that the question is coming within the domain of practical politics, and that it is surrounded with very momentous even if somewhat remote possibilities.

Between these two schools of counsellors, one urging us to restrict and the other inviting us to enlarge our imperial cares and liabilities, England at present seems to halt. It is not necessary here to forecast the selection which she may finally make, or the national consequences which that selection will involve. Upon one or two historical facts, and some of our more prominent social conditions, it may be desirable in connection with these matters very briefly to dwell. If the Englishman wants some more definite and tangible guarantee of foreign empire than a vague boast that the sun never sets upon the British flag; if, instead of a personal devotion to fatherland, the old-fashioned belief that England and England alone was abundantly sufficient for all his wants, he would fain bestride the world like a

Colossus, it is to be remembered that there is much in the infectious spirit of the age to explain such a sentiment. Is not the present the age of immense transactions and colossal speculations? Have we not imported the idea of this vastness from the other side of the Atlantic —and are we not attempting its realisation here? Everywhere small establishments have been swallowed up in large. The private firm is absorbed in the limited liability company; the private bank in the joint-stock. The tradesman no sooner finds himself doing well than he is seized with a desire to extend his premises; and, if matters prosper, he will presently buy up the section of a street. Above all things, it is the era of material triumphs. The miraculous feats of our engineers, the immense development of machinery, the mastery which on every hand man seems to be acquiring over nature, have brought with them to Englishmen a sense of boundless power—a conviction that they have the command of resource and the fertility of invention which mark them out as all creation's heirs. Amid the ceaseless clang of hammers and the everlasting roar of human industry, the Englishman unconsciously apprehends some echo of the far-off infinite. Carlyle is welcomed as a great teacher, because he appeals to this inarticulate feeling, and, without his readers being precisely aware of it, has shaped it into ruggedly eloquent utterance. Is it an idle fancy to see in the vague popular desire for an indefinite extension of the dominions and the responsibilities of England an enlarged reflection of the insatiate passion that is generated by the social conditions under which we live?

But the new spirit of boundless empire means more than this. If it is a reaction against a real or imaginary neglect of the imperial interests of England in the past few years by England's governors, it is in a great degree the significant product of two separate forces—the one practical, the other sentimental. England is a country whose population is perpetually overflowing her narrow geographical bounds. She wants careers for her sons; she wants safe opportunities of investment for her capital. With an enormously developed middle-class such as we now have, it is felt that there would be no adequate number of avenues to employment if our foreign possessions were reduced. India and the colonies afford occupation for tens of thousands of young men born to decent station. Even thus, more occupation, and that of a dignified or gentlemanlike kind, is wanted.

Nor is the sentimental force one whose influence can be neglected. The immense increase of wealth among the middle classes has resulted in a larger demand for professions which commend themselves to the polite world. Such a profession is the profession of arms. The soldier has always been a social favourite. The abolition of purchase in the army has resulted in the establishment of a professional army, and, by giving them a kind of family interest in the calling of arms, has created

a wider and more intensely military spirit among the middle classes than once seemed possible. The volunteer movement has operated in precisely the same direction. An imperial policy not only means abundance of civilian, but regularity of military employment. At the same time that it commends itself to the English mind as a policy worthy of a race which has made its greatness by the sword, it is recognised also as stamped with the more or less avowed approval of the upper classes of English society.

It is not the only characteristic of our age that it is transitional. It may further be described as one distinguished by the economy and organisation of forces of all kinds. While science teaches us how to prevent the waste of motive power, philanthropy encourages us to prevent the wholesale waste of humanity. Thus it is that we are constantly endeavouring to amend our educational system, to provide more effective machinery for the promotion of thrift, for the distribution of charity, and for the cultivation of other social and political virtues. Household suffrage not only exists, but in a variety of ways there is visible the organised effort to ensure that its active exercise shall be increasingly productive of substantial results. The working classes are acquiring more and more political power; at the same time they are being taught how they can make that power more directly and definitely felt. Whatever virtues, capacities, energies, may reside in any part of our population, these are now in process of being drawn forth, and pressed into practical service. Sides are being formed, specific parts taken, schools of thought multiply, societies for action increase. What was simple becomes complex, what was always complex becomes more complex still.

It will be the chief part of our duty in the following pages to analyse and explain the constituents of the artificial civilisation and of the minutely elaborated institutions of the time. Such an attempt, it is believed, will at least have the merit of novelty. The laws and polity under which we live have received much of learned comment; their history and principles are detailed and explained in encyclopedias and text-books. But they have, for the most part, been treated in the spirit of the constitutional anatomist; they have been examined, not so much in their practical working and mutual relations while working, as in the theory of their mechanism while at rest. They have been studied more as abstractions than as concrete realities. Hence it is that Englishmen and Englishwomen generally lack a vividly complete idea of the institutions under which they live, and have no clear and comprehensive notion of the particular forces at work in the atmosphere around them. Every one knows that we have in England local self-government; few know how in practice it is administered. In the same way, it is universally recognised that we enjoy immense commercial prosperity, but it is only those personally

concerned who have an accurate acquaintance with the details of management on which that prosperity depends. The same remarks are applicable to all departments of our national life. The names are familiar to each one of us; the facts are familiar only to the comparatively limited number whom they especially affect.

What in this work will be done for institutions will be done in the same manner for classes and occupations, professions and pursuits; for the refining influences of culture, as well as the organisation of commerce; for our social not less than our municipal and political system; for the amusements and recreations of the age, as well as its literature, philosophy, art, religion, and law. Necessarily the space that can be devoted to each of these topics is comparatively small, but into that space materials, it is hoped, may be collected which will present the reader with a comprehensive view of the influences, the tendencies, and the general economy of English life. We shall pass from the simpler elements of our civilisation and government as they may be beheld in rural England to the busier and more highly organised customs and administration of our great centres of trade and industry. We shall make the acquaintance of typical members of our labouring community in town and country, and of the changes in the conditions of their life, whether actually accomplished or still in progress. Having thus seen, in concrete shape, the *personnel* of the English nation at large, their temper, tastes, toils, and pastimes, it will remain to examine the social organisation of the polite world, and the institutions and principles established among us for the administration of the empire. At each step we shall be conscious of a gradual ascent. We shall be working constantly upwards, and arriving at the general from the particular. If this method seems to involve the inversion of the natural order of sequence, it may not be unattended by some advantages, and the whole will be, perhaps, the better understood when it has been seen what are the parts of which it consists.

CHAPTER II.

THE ENGLISH VILLAGE.

An English Village a Microcosm of the English Constitution—Relations of Squire, Clergyman, and General Body of Parishioners—Sketch of the Country Parson: his Day; his multifarious Duties, Religious and Secular—Sketches of Country Parsons who do not conform to this Type—A Disorganised Parish—Hostile Estimates of the Country Clergyman of the English Church—His Relations to the Farmers and Dissenters of his Parish.

An English village may be described as a picture in miniature not only of the English nation but of the English Constitution. Roughly speaking, there is to be seen in every English parish a reflection of the three estates of the realm—the lords spiritual, the lords temporal, the commons. The representative of the lords spiritual is the clergyman; of the lords temporal, the squire; of the commons, the tenant and villager; while squire and clergyman between them, like the two Houses of Parliament, practically exercise not a few of those functions which in their essence pertain to the Sovereign only. The normal or ideal state of things in a country parish is one under which there is absolute unanimity between the action and the will of the representatives of the spiritual and temporal powers—that is, between the parson and the squire—and where the inhabitants acquiesce in the decision and policy of these as in the dispensation of a beneficent wisdom. Nor is the theory of English village life, or the analogy which has been suggested between the State and the parish, destroyed by the fact that deviations from the ideal standard are not unknown. For the most part, the elements to which village life may be reduced combine with tolerable harmony in practice; and when there is discord, it is not the system, but clumsiness or error in its administration, which is to blame.

Recent legislation, as will be presently seen, has in some respects materially affected the relations between those in whom are vested the secular and religious jurisdiction of English country districts. But the main principles of the system are now what they always have been, and completely to eradicate them would entail a social revolution. Just as the squire—the word is used for convenience sake, whether the local great man be peer, baronet, small country gentleman, or that combination of minister of the Church of England and territorial potentate which Sydney Smith has called "Squarson"—necessarily

has a moral influence added to his secular condition, so the clergyman has attributes distinctly secular in addition to his ecclesiastical prerogatives. The Church of England lies at the root of the parochial system of England. The subdivisions of the country are ecclesiastical. The local dispensary, the poor-rate, the way-rate, the vestry, are parochial institutions. Not merely the village parson, rector or vicar, has definite legal duties and authority, but the clergyman's churchwarden, the parish clerk, the sexton. The unity between Church and State is typified in the administration of an English village at every turn. The squire is a magistrate ; not improbably the rector is a magistrate too. The clergyman and the congregation have each their churchwarden. The parish clerk, beadle, and sexton have all of them a legal and civil status, and in a great number of cases share, with the clergyman whose nominees they probably are, responsibility for the order of the parish.

The position and authority of the clergyman vary according to circumstances. The growing tendency on the part of the squire is to be elsewhere than at his country home during the greater part of the year. His parliamentary duties demand his presence in London ; his social obligations compel him to make a round of visits ; regard for his health and that of his family renders it necessary that he should travel annually for a few weeks. Though this gentleman may undoubtedly be, for nine months out of every twelve, an absentee landlord, he has, he remarks, the satisfaction of knowing that in his absence everything is looked after admirably. He has an agent in whom he reposes the utmost confidence, and who has carte-blanche to do what is fair and reasonable in the interests of his tenants. He has a clergyman whom he pronounces a blessing to the entire neighbourhood. Thus, one of two things happens : either the local supremacy, secular as well as ecclesiastical, becomes centred in the hands of the clergyman, or a struggle develops itself between the clergyman and the representative of the squire—his agent. It depends in each case on the character of the clergyman and the squire which alternative is realised. In the majority of instances the two authorities pull well together. But perhaps the best way of forming an idea of the working of the system in English life will be to take a concrete illustration.

We are, let the reader suppose, engaged in visiting an agricultural village, with a population of some five or six hundred souls, situated half a dozen miles from the nearest railway station. It is the month of June ; every feature in the peaceful landscape is in the perfection of its beauty ; the fresh deep green of the English foliage—the freshest and deepest in all the world—has as yet lost nothing of its depth or freshness ; there is an odour of new-made hay in the air ; the music of the whetstone sharpening the mower's scythe may be heard in the morning, and all day long the lark carols high overhead. The whole village, in fact, is busily occupied with the grass harvest, and the

farmers are intent upon getting it in before there comes the break in the weather portended by certain ugly barometrical signs. The village is a purely agricultural one ; it contains a general store shop, a shoemaker's, a small tailor's, a small inn, and one or two beershops. The lord of the manor is also the representative of the county in Parliament, and, as is incumbent on an elective legislator, is, in these days of leafy June, busily engaged in his senatorial duties at Westminster. A better squire no parson, as the parson himself admits, could wish. Indeed the two have been friends together from boyhood. They were companions at school, played in the school eleven at Lord's, went to the university in the same October term. The squire is not a very great landlord, for his property in that neighbourhood barely produces £3,000 a year, but he has possessions elsewhere, and he is not without judicious and profitable investments. He is liberal, sees that the dwellings of his labourers are kept in proper condition, gives largely to all local funds, and has just built some very handsome schools. But he has never been guilty of the indiscriminate bounty which is the parent of pauperism. He has been fortunate in securing as his bailiff and agent a respectable gentleman, who has no social ambition of an aggressive kind, and no wish to assert his authority in opposition to that of the rector.

And the rector himself—what of him ? That is the rectory, two or three hundred yards this side of the church. A substantial building, set in a pleasant garden, girt with a hedge of fuchsias, myrtle, and laurel. The glebe attached to the living is large, and from it indeed comes the greater part of the rectorial revenue. A few fields the parish priest keeps in his own hands, and he too, like his farmers, has been busy hay-making and hay-carrying in this glorious June weather. It is now the afternoon, and three or four hours in every afternoon—the interval, that is, between lunch and dinner—it is his habit to devote to driving, to riding, or, more commonly, to pedestrian tours of parochial inspection, and visits to his parishioners. At the present moment he is strolling through one of Farmer Goodman's fields, and—he is an authority on these matters—is taking up and smelling, in the approved fashion of the connoisseur, some of the grass which two days ago has fallen ridgeways before the mower's scythe. He has a well-made, upright figure; a clear, open expression of countenance; he is rather over fifty years of age, and his dress is of black cloth, distinguishable in hue but scarcely in cut from that which, were he at home instead of at Westminster, the squire himself would wear. He chats occasionally with the men, who are busily employed in filling the carts, or in some other duty of the field; but you may notice that he is very careful to avoid the appearance of inflicting his company on any one of them.

Let us see how he is occupied at other hours of the day. Family

prayers are over by half-past eight, for the rector likes to have finished his breakfast and to get to his study by nine. This morning he is particularly busy; there are letters to answer, a sermon to prepare, diocesan documents to be examined and signed, and there is a great deal of reading which he is anxious to do. He has scarcely sat down to his tea and toast, with yesterday's *Times*, just arrived, at his side, when a knock comes at the door. It is Martha Hodge, who wants to know when her baby can be christened; or John Giles, who is anxious to fix the day and hour for his Reverence to tie the knot between himself and Sarah Stokes; or it may be that one of the farmers' wives has called round to speak to the rector's lady on the subject of the tunes and hymns which were sung last, or will be sung next, Sunday; or it is a labourer's wife, who has a tale of sorrow and want to impart, who seeks relief from extreme destitution, and who is striving up to the last to keep out of the jurisdiction of "the House." At last he has disposed of some half-dozen of these interruptions, and is secure in his library, deep in papers and in thought. But his seclusion is not to remain long undisturbed. The inevitable knock at the door comes, and one of the parochial functionaries is announced as waiting to see him. It is his churchwarden, whose duty it is to inform him that one of his congregation—a farmer of controversial turn, or a farmer's wife or daughter, with a nice eye for ritual propriety—has taken exception to something that was said, sung, or done in church last Sunday; protests that he or she distinctly saw the pastor make, or fail to make, some specific genuflexion at a certain point in the service; complains that in his or her opinion the language of such-and-such a hymn smacks too much of Popery or Calvinism; declares that between the tune to which the organist (who happens to be the rector's eldest daughter) played it, and a music-hall ditty, the air of which was recently ground out by a nomad Italian organ-boy who chanced to be passing through the village, there was a suspiciously strong resemblance.

The purpose for which the interview is sought may be of a less frivolous character. The parish is disturbed by some crime, agitated by some scandal, or is threatened by some nuisance, big with the seeds of death and disease to the inhabitants. The question, therefore, submitted to the clergyman by churchwarden, clerk, or beadle is whether immediate application should not be made to the head of the local constabulary, or to the local sanitary inspector, or to whatever other official has cognisance of the special cause of danger or offence. Nor do the secular responsibilities of the country parson end here. If the village post-office is also a savings-bank, those of his parishioners who are of thrifty habits will be able to transact their own small financial business without his intervention. But it might happen that no such encouragement to thrift as a savings-bank in

connection with the post-office existed, and in that case the rector would frequently find himself doing duty as village banker. Occasionally, too, he discharges in minor maladies the functions of the village doctor. The local doctor employed by the guardians lives at some little distance, and has, it may be, besides, an objection to attending patients gratuitously. There are medicines to be prescribed, soothing drinks and nutritious diet to be sent to the sick-room. No squire who, as it has been said, is almost of necessity for eight or nine months out of the twelve an absentee, however well-disposed, and however comprehensive the instructions which he may have left to his servants, can entirely relieve the clergyman as a dispenser of material comforts and relief. Then, as the rector or vicar is something of a banker and a doctor, so, also, is he something of a lawyer and general agent as well. He is often invoked to arbitrate in family differences; he is expected to procure occupation for lads and maidens who wish to go out into the world. He is, in fact, looked upon as an oracle whose inspiration is never to fail, and as a source of charity which is never to run dry. Of the ten or fifteen thousand beneficed clergymen of the Church of England, it is the exception to find one who does not, to the best of his ability and means, discharge most of these duties; and not these only, but many more.

We have spoken of the documents which our parson has received by the morning's post. Among them are some that come from the Education Office, and relate to his school. There are long and complicated returns to be filled up, which will necessitate a conference with the schoolmaster and schoolmistress. Possibly he has no sooner mastered the contents of these documents, and is busying himself upon his sermon, than he receives a call from the schoolmaster. The School Inspector of the district, a young gentleman fresh from the university, has suddenly made his appearance on a surprise visit. This youthful dignitary has to be duly met, and afterwards be invited to luncheon, and discoursed with on the idiosyncrasies of the district. And this is the lightest portion of the burden which the Education Department and the existing Education Acts impose on the shoulders of the beneficed divine. There are school committees which meet periodically; the parson himself frequently has to do duty as a house-to-house visitor among the parents of his parish, and personally to inquire into the causes of absence: an invidious task this, and one for the discharge of which some other functionary might easily be provided. Even yet the catalogue of the secular or semi-secular offices of the country clergyman is not exhausted. There is many a village parson who has had quite as much experience as many an ordinary solicitor in the drawing up of wills; and as habits of thrift increase among the working classes, there is a proportionate increase also in the duties of this description which devolve upon the minister of the Church.

The average English rustic has a profound objection to, and suspicion of, banks of deposit of any kind. Gradually he is overcoming his prejudice against the Post-office Savings-bank; but as a rule he prefers acting as his own banker, and keeping in some secret place the money which he has been able to put by. If he be of an unusually confiding disposition, he will entrust his accumulated hoard to some individual —the clergyman, or his landlord. Banks break, and firms go into liquidation, and from the point of view of the agricultural mind there is always danger in numbers. But the squire or the parson is an integral and visible part of the system under which the peasant lives his daily life, and thus it is that the parson, who is always on the spot, is constantly commissioned to purchase a cottage, or make some other investment. The treasury in which the precious coins—gold, silver, and copper—are deposited is almost without exception an old stocking or a tea-pot, secreted in some mysterious corner. It is far from unprecedented for the rustic capitalist who resorts to this primitive mode of banking to have by him upwards of £100. Unfortunately, it is by no means always the case that the possessor of this wealth is as wise as he or she has been thrifty, and takes the precaution of bequeathing it in legal form. No will has been made; some friend or relation, having, it may be, an idea of the hoarding which has been in process for years, explores each nook and cranny of the dwelling, comes upon the tea-pot or the old stocking, and secretly exulting in the truth that dead men tell no tales, appropriates the contents.*

* It has been the policy of the Legislature for some years past to encourage the thrifty among the working classes to make provision for the posthumous disposal of their property by will, and otherwise. Estates not exceeding £100 in total amount are altogether exempt from probate duty, and the probate duty is only one pound for every full sum of £50, or any part thereof, up to £500; one pound five shillings for every full sum of £50, or any part thereof, up to £1,000; while it is three pounds for every full sum of £100, or any part thereof, over £1,000. Where the estate does not exceed £300 in total amount, probate may be taken out for a fixed charge of fifteen shillings, with a duty of one pound ten shillings if it exceeds £100. And probate in this case need not be taken out in any court, but may be obtained from an officer of the Inland Revenue appointed for the purpose. Again, special facilities have been accorded by statute for the transmission of sums coming due at their death since 1855, by members of registered friendly societies; since 1862, by members of registered co-operative societies; since 1876, by members of registered trade unions; and since 1883, by depositors in savings-banks. All that is necessary is that the member or depositor should sign a simple form of nomination of some person or persons to whom the money shall be paid by the society or bank on his decease, and that, at a charge of threepence, the nomination shall be recorded in a book provided in that behalf by the society or bank. Officers and servants of these several institutions are excluded from benefit by such nominations, unless they are nearly related to, or connected with, the nominator. Under the Provident Nominations and Small Intestacies Act 1883, the amount of the sums capable of thus being passed by nomination has been raised from £50 to £100. When the sum exceeds £80, after the deduction of the funeral expenses of the nominator, the nominee must produce a receipt for legacy or succession duty, or prove that none is payable. When the estate exceeds £100 in total amount, probate duty is payable on the sum nominated, or a statutory declaration may be required from the nominee that the estate does not exceed £100 in amount.

And there are other functions which our clergyman is called upon to perform. He has to attend to various administrative and deliberative duties at stated intervals in the adjoining town. Perhaps he is a member of the Board of Guardians; perhaps, and more probably, he is on the directorate of the county hospital or reformatory. And yet within the limits of his own village he has hygienic occupation enough, as, indeed, has been already shown. He is the dispenser of not a little charity of his own; he is the distributor and trustee of funds which landlords who have property in the place leave to him to manage. The task may not involve much labour, but it is a singularly ungrateful one. He has to contend against a vulgar idea that to the fingers of him who has the management of money, money somehow or other inevitably adheres, and the recipients of the bounty secretly insinuate, or sometimes openly aver, that the sum available for eleemosynary purposes is not what it ought to be. Nor is he without some official connection with two of the chief institutions in almost every English village—the Clothing Club and the Benefit Society. As regards the former he acts as banker and accountant, enters in a book all the payments made by different members to the fund, and when the season for purchases arrives, draws up and signs the orders on the tradesmen in the neighbouring town.

With the Benefit Society he has less to do in an official capacity. These institutions may be described as organising the application of the co-operative principle, in some of its most elementary shapes, to the simple conditions of rustic life. The plan of their formation and their operative method are always the same. They offer a premium to thrift, but annuities, or insurance against death, do not usually enter into their scheme. The average sum paid by the majority of the members is fifteen shillings a year. When disabled by illness they receive from the common fund nine shillings a week. In case of death, each member is entitled to £3 to £6, as the expenses of his funeral, and £2 to £4 in defrayal of those of his wife's. The society also employs a medical man of its own, who, in consideration of a certain small salary, usually about £30 a year, attends to all the members without payment of any further fee. In case of permanent disablement from sickness or age, the society discontinues its relief, while there is a regulation, by no means invariably observed, that relief shall be withheld entirely when the accident or illness is the result of vicious and preventible causes—has proceeded from drunkenness or any form of debauchery. An idea may be gained of the importance of these associations from the fact that in an agricultural village of a midland county, with a population of 500, a Benefit Society, which has been in existence for forty years, has at the present moment a sum of £600 invested in the Three per Cents. The treasurer of these societies is usually a farmer. The clergyman is the chaplain, who is

often consulted as to the administration of the fund, asked to arbitrate in disputed cases of relief, and occasionally to advise as to investments. A Benefit Society would be nothing without its annual feast; and at the banquet—2s. 6d. per head—given on this occasion it is the natural thing that the clergyman should preside.

From this, which is in no way an exaggerated account of the multifarious services that a parish clergyman is called upon to render to his parishioners in their secular life, some notion may be formed of the far-reaching consequences of the good or evil which he has it in his power to effect. In a majority of English villages he is the soul and centre of the social life of the neighbourhood, the guarantee of its unity, the tribunal to which local differences and difficulties are referred, and before which they are amicably settled. That this is practically so is really admitted by the enemies of the Church and clergy of England, when they allow that the great argument against the disestablishment of the Church is the hopelessness of providing anything like an efficient substitute for it in country districts. Its strength, in fact, lies in its parochial organisation, and its direct connection with the State confers a dignity upon its ministers, and secures for them a confidence which Englishmen are slow to accord to men who are without a public official status.

The condition of those parishes in which the resident clergyman does not use the manifold influences at his disposal for good, and neglects or misconceives the plain duties of his position, is the best proof of the extent of clerical opportunities. The country parson whom we have hitherto had in our mind's eye is a conscientious, sensible English gentleman, anxious to do his duty towards God and his neighbour, possessed of no extreme views, and bent upon the illustration of no subtleties of theological refinement. He lives in his parish for ten months out of the twelve, and he finds that the eight or nine weeks' change of scene which he thus allows himself renders him the fresher and the more capable of work when he returns. But as there are absentee squires, so there are absentee parsons, and these are of two or three types. There is the clergyman who has an innate dislike to country life, who has two or three marriageable daughters, as many sons who require to be educated, and a fashionable, valetudinarian wife. The worthy couple arrive at the conclusion that they can stand it no longer. The girls all ought to be out in the great world: they are pretty girls, they are good girls; but what chance have they of finding husbands in the seclusion of Sweet Auburn? Then the boys ought to be at school, but schooling is so expensive! Moreover, the lady is more than ever convinced that the climate does not suit her; and as for her husband, she has distinctly heard an ugly dry cough, which ought to be looked after, proceed from his reverend chest in the night watches. A communication is addressed to the

bishop, or a personal interview is sought with his lordship, and the rector and his family obtain leave of absence for a year. At the expiration of this term, the application, backed by the same cogent arguments, is renewed, and the leave of absence is extended. Meanwhile, the curate in charge, installed at the rectory at Sweet Auburn, is one of the many hack parsons who abound in England, and who are satisfied to do the duty of the place for an indefinite period, in consideration of a small stipend, the whole of the produce of the excellent garden, the cheapness of butcher's meat, and the salubrity of the climate. The services are gone through in a slovenly, perfunctory manner. Sunday after Sunday the congregation becomes smaller and smaller. There is very little visiting done by the deputy incumbent of this cure of souls in the parish on week-days; and the tendency of everything is towards a relapse into primitive paganism.

So it goes on from year to year. One morning the news comes that the absentee rector has died at Bath or Cheltenham. In course of time his successor is appointed—an enthusiastic, devout, earnest man. Perhaps it is his first experience. He had expected to find Sweet Auburn all that Goldsmith had described it. He had fondly looked for a cordial reception from clean, smiling, virtuous villagers, and hearty, God-fearing farmers. Instead, he finds that his lot is cast in an atmosphere of want and sin. The villagers are ill-fed, ill-clad men and women, who regard the parson as their natural enemy; the farmers are grumbling malcontents, the votaries of a crass, unintelligent disbelief, who seldom enter church, and who are wholly indifferent to the cultivation of sweetness and right. The sanitary condition of the place is detestable, and the new parson is aghast at the state of things which confronts him. He had dreamed of Paradise, and here are the squalor, filth, and vice of Seven Dials.

This is an extreme case; it is, however, far from being the only example which might be given of parochial neglect at the hands of the responsible clergyman. Sloughton-in-the-Marsh is a college living. It is not, indeed, likely to remain so much longer, for the master and fellows of the society who have the patronage are anxious to sell it and other benefices, in order that they may have increased funds at their disposal for educational purposes, and for the establishment of fresh university centres throughout England. For a long succession of years the spiritual wants of Sloughton have been ministered to by distinguished members of the college to which the living belongs, who have either wearied of the life of the university, or who have received the benefice as the reward of their educational efforts elsewhere. At the present moment the rector of Sloughton may be a representative of any one of several distinct divisions of divines. He is, perhaps, an ecclesiastical dignitary of some standing—a cathedral canon and eminent preacher at Whitehall. He is a bachelor, a

member of the Athenæum Club, has his *pied-à-terre* in London, possibly keeps on some rooms at Oxford, and when he is at Sloughton, values it chiefly on account of the opportunities of learned leisure which it offers. In his absence there are a couple of curates who may indeed be blameless, but who, not having the authority, cannot display the efficiency of their chief. The accomplished rector, when he is there, always preaches once on a Sunday, his sermon being about as intelligible to his flock as an extract from Butler's "Analogy," or Mansel's "Bampton Lectures;" and, being a kind-hearted as well as a liberal man, visits his parishioners, and makes them presents of money.

Or let it be supposed that the rector of Sloughton is in no sense justly open to the imputation of absenteeism. He lives in his rectory for nine months out of the twelve, and, when there, is closely and constantly employed. But his occupations, which are sufficiently exacting, have nothing whatever to do with his parishioners. The fact is, he takes pupils, and edits school and college classics. He is a man of blameless life, of great natural kindness, of large and liberal culture. But he is a born schoolmaster or professor. He would gladly dedicate his existence to researches into the genitive case at Heidelberg, or he might be trusted to do all that scholarship and industry could do towards improving the standard of Latin composition at a school. At Sloughton he does to its fullest extent his duty by his pupils and their parents. It would shock him infinitely to be told that he failed to do it by his parishioners. He dislikes death-beds, it is true. Surrounded by young people, he is not quite clear that he is justified in entering sick-rooms when there is any suspicion of infectious disease. Yet he has attended several death-beds in the course of the last two years, and he is not aware that in any case where one of his parishioners has been in sickness or sorrow he has failed to attend when summoned,—or to despatch a curate. As regards his more strictly ecclesiastical duties, the services in his church are performed with scrupulous neatness and care. His sermons are compact, clear, scholar-like little essays, capable of being understood by the most untutored intellect, on popular religion and morality. It is, in fact, impossible justly to accuse him of any specific dereliction of his duty; and yet the organisation of his parish is far from complete. Still, the machine is kept in operation—there is no break-down; there may be apathy and indifference on many points on which it could be wished that a stronger and livelier interest existed; but there is no open feud between parson and people, such as there is quite sure to be when the parson feels himself compelled, for conscience sake, to run athwart the popular will. It may be matter of satisfaction that the race of orthodox high and dry clerics is disappearing from the face of the earth, and that the clergyman who hunts three days a week is becoming

an anachronism. But it is probable that none of these was the instrument of as much mischief, as much alienation from religion itself, as the country parson who believes that it is his sacred duty violently to break with the ecclesiastical traditions of his parish—to introduce the representation of a high Anglican ritual, if the antecedents of the place have been Protestant and Evangelical; or to root out the last traces of Anglicanism with iconoclastic fervour and indignation, if his predecessor has belonged to the school of Keble and Pusey. Common sense and infinite tolerance are as indispensable in the successful clergyman as devotion to duty, and they are virtues which were perhaps more uniformly forthcoming among the working parsons of the old school than among the self-sacrificing but indiscreetly zealous and aggressive apostles of the new.

But it will be contended by many persons that the view which has here been presented of the country parson is an illusion born of weak partiality for the Establishment, and that even the instances of by no means model parsons which have been given are far from being sufficiently unfavourable to be frequently true. Some clergymen in rural England, it will be said, are drunken; others are in a chronic state of insolvency; many are ignorant, unlettered—not merely devoid of knowledge, but devoid of the wish to acquire knowledge. Many, it may be admitted, are indifferent, careless, worldly, putting on piety with their surplices, and keeping their conscience in their cassocks. Some champions of disestablishment and disendowment, it has been said, admit that the chief obstacle in the way of disestablishment is the provision of an adequate substitute for the parochial system of the Church of England in rural districts. But others boldly declare that the parson is the reverse of a beneficent institution, that he is not the connecting-link between social extremes, that he never takes the edge off class quarrels, that he does not act and cannot act, by his influence with the employer, as an advanced guard of the interests of the employed. From this point of view, the parson represents in matters spiritual the principle of superstition, and in matters temporal the principles of tyranny and greed. So far from being a lavish dispenser of his own charity, or a just dispenser of the charity of others, the country clergyman systematically diverts from its proper object to his own pocket the bounty bequeathed by the dead to the living. As he is a grievous impediment in the way of their worldly welfare, so, according to this view, has he been in the past, and is in the present, a serious, if not fatal, hindrance to the secular enlightenment of the poor. He is, in fact, one of an odious trio—of which the two other members are the farmer and the landlord—leagued against the working classes, and pledged to oppose whatever may conduce to their welfare. It will help you nothing, in arguing with persons who think in this way, to adduce instances within your own knowledge in which

such imputations upon the clergy are emphatically untrue. If you mention names, you will simply be told that these are exceptions. If you draw attention to cases in which clergymen are doing battle for the people with the great landlords, not only when there has been an educational issue concerned, but when such purely material issues are at stake as a right of way, or a right of cutting turf, you are at once overwhelmed with an entire catalogue of alleged contradictory experiences. The parson, as depicted for the benefit of the agricultural labourer by his champions, is one half a designing mystery-man, and the other half a smooth-speeched bandit. He has entered into a secret compact with the landlord and tenant of the soil that he will help them to grind the peasant to impotence, and to do his utmost to prevent him from ever learning to rise to the majesty of manhood, or the active enjoyment of full political rights.

To help him in this sinister purpose, he has clothed himself with superstitious attributes, and he invokes a supernatural sanction. If he has seemed actively to contribute to the advancement of education in the days when no Education Act existed, it has merely been that, by establishing an educational monopoly, he might retard and hinder a degraded peasantry in their struggles towards enlightenment. The facts of English history he has perverted to his own sectarian purpose; the three "R.'s" themselves he has, in some way or other, made the vehicles of his own reactionary sacerdotalism. The one object of his life is to keep the labourers and their families in a state of ignorance and subjection. Knowledge is power; is it conceivable, therefore, that he should have been the disinterested friend of education? To taste of privilege, or freely to enjoy an undoubted right, begets the desire to taste further and enjoy more; how, therefore, can it be doubted that the parson, in league with the proprietor, is always ready to stop up field paths, and to enclose fresh acres of common land?

One of the questions periodically addressed by the Agricultural Labourers' Union is, "How many charities are there in your parish, and do the clergy distribute them among those who do not go to church equally with those who do?" And again, "Don't you think the clergy uphold bad laws made by landlords, which are an unmitigated system of robbery?" * These inquiries are made apparently not so much for the purpose of eliciting information as of serving as texts for inflammatory indictments against the clergyman. The refrain of all is the same. The moral pointed never varies—that the agricultural poor cannot come by their own till the black terror has been exorcised. The clergyman, so his rural parishioners are told, is

* These questions are taken verbatim from a long list addressed by a prominent member of the Union, Mr. George Mitchell, to the rural labourers of England, on the eve of an agricultural demonstration near Yeovil, on Whit-Monday, 1881.

the self-seeking jackal of station and wealth. He combines with the lawyer to plunder the poor of the larger part of those charities which have been left for the poor man's enjoyment. He combines with the parish doctor—as slavish an instrument of territorial despotism as himself—to drive the labourer into pauperism, by a host of base devices. He understands, although his helpless victims often do not, that any relief from the rates constitutes a political disqualification. Therefore he is perpetually contriving that the parish doctor should attend the wife or child of the peasant, providing such medicines as may be wanted at the parish expense. Nothing which can be said with the object of showing that neither in town nor in country is the parson anything but the poor man's enemy is left unsaid.

The result of the ideas which are thus diffused by printed broadsheets and itinerant spouters has still to be seen. It is even admitted by the chief agitators themselves, who, arguing from certain periods of the Church's history and certain excesses of the ecclesiastical temperament, can bring forward some colourable justification for their invective, that the Established Church cannot be successfully attacked before the working classes have been thoroughly educated. When the Education Acts of 1870 and 1876, supplemented by a variety of educational influences not less valuable than legislation itself, have done their work, then, and not till then, will the emancipation of the people from the fetters of priestcraft fairly begin. It is further allowed that the Church of England has, and will continue to have, a stronger claim for consideration in country districts than in towns. And this for the simple reason that the machinery of self-improvement, which is the most certain enemy of the Established Church, is more easily to be found in towns. For three centuries the Church of England has been on its trial. That probationary period has not yet expired, nor can it ever expire. The Establishment will be judged by its fruits, and directly the quality of its harvests is justly open to general suspicion, directly it is felt that its agency can with advantage be superseded by any other, directly this substitute assumes a tangible shape, and admits of clear definition, the attack upon it will enter on a new phase. It is only the earlier operations of the assault which are now being felt; it is the menace, not the decree, of a change which has been pronounced. Whether the attack will be successful, and the great experiment of a State Church will be openly declared a failure, depends not so much upon the tactics of the party of aggression as upon the policy of the officers employed in the defence. The future of the Church of England, in town and country alike, is mainly in the hands, not of its enemies, but of its clergy. If the days of priestcraft have gone by, it does not follow that the English people are at all anxious to dispense with the organised assistance of a national clergy, such as that clergy has here been described as being.

There are two chief difficulties by which the country parson sometimes complains that his path is beset. Of these one consists of the farmers, the other of the Dissenters of his parish. Both classes are undeniably distinct powers in most English villages. Their attitude towards the parson may be one of active opposition, or passive neutrality, or goodwill and energetic assistance. Which of these it is to be may sometimes depend upon causes beyond the clergyman's control, but is more frequently regulated by the policy he may himself pursue, and the amount of discretion he may display. There is as much variety among the farmers as among any other section of the population. They differ greatly even in adjacent parishes, and the interval of a mile often separates a social stratum that is wholly satisfactory from one which is thoroughly bad. But taking them in the mass, the tenant agriculturists of England have displayed marked and rapid improvement in the course of the last five-and-twenty years. The small British farmer of the old time, crass, ignorant, wrong-headed, stingy, heavy with beer, or steeped in spirits, superior only to his labourers in having more money to command the opportunities of self-indulgence, is gradually disappearing. He is being replaced by a successor of a better type, who reads and thinks for himself, who does not believe that education is necessarily a bad thing, who perceives that to supplement wages by the wanton increase of the poor rate is a short-sighted as well as a generally mischievous policy, and is no longer blindly opposed to contributing a reasonable measure of assistance to the village school. He is thus the parson's friend rather than his uncompromising foe, and in villages where specimens of the older and less honoured variety still linger, it will usually be discovered that the public opinion of his class is against him.

As the farmer's sons are already in training to surpass the virtues of their sire, so his daughters are rapidly rising to the higher levels of modern enlightenment. They have been well educated, their education being finished at a carefully selected boarding-school. If there is anything to criticise in their attainments, it is, perhaps, that they might have received a little more instruction in the plain duties of the housewife. But this will come with experience, and meanwhile, the influence which they exercise at home, with their taste for music, books, and flowers, is a genuinely humanising one. They have the ordinary accomplishments of ladies, and they have manners which are quite up to the ordinary drawing-room standard. They represent, in brief, a new and a better force in the economy of rural England, which is probably destined to do quite as much good in its way as school boards and school attendance committees.

With reference to Dissenters, it is necessary to distinguish between Nonconformity as it exists in country districts and as it exists in towns.

In the latter, it usually assumes more or less of a political complexion, and is often aggressively hostile to the State Church as an institution and to the clergymen who are its officers. In the former, it is seldom tinged with political partisanship of any kind, though its hold upon the rural population, in some parts of England, is deep. The influence of Wesley and Whitfield survives to this day. In all those counties where John Wesley preached, notably in Cornwall, his tradition remains, and, co-operating with the emotional Celtic temperament, continues to be the inspiring element of a deeply cherished popular creed. Again, in the north of England, Dissent is organised with great compactness and power among the manufacturing classes. But with these exceptions, it will generally be found that families have deserted the church for the chapel from a real or an imaginary failure on the part of the clergyman to supply their spiritual wants, from some lamentable deficiency of ecclesiastical tact, or from some exceptional combination of personal causes. Farmers and labourers alike, in the rural districts, are generally prepared to give their preference to the church rather than to the chapel. In cases of birth, marriage, and death, and in all the solemn crises of life, it is to the ministrations of the church that they naturally turn. Yet calling themselves Churchmen, they hold that they are free to attend chapel, if the teaching in the church seems to them false or profitless. Their social relations frequently tend to confirm this view. Connected by blood or marriage with purely Dissenting families, they share many of the religious prejudices and theological sentiments of their kinsfolk. When kindness, courtesy, judgment, and a discreet tolerance in the inculcation of theological dogmas are forthcoming, when the clergyman disarms Dissent by showing that he neither fears, hates, nor suspects it, when he addresses his congregation on subjects of practical interest, remembering that even doctrines have their practical side, in language which they can all understand, when he does not too emphatically accentuate denominational differences,—then he will in all probability, unless they happen to be subject to the influence of some very wrong-headed leaders, not merely have no trouble with his Dissenters, but will find them among the most regular attendants at his church.

It must always be remembered that English religion---especially in the rural districts—owes a great debt to the beneficent agencies of Nonconformity in past times. When, during the first thirty years of the current century, the activity and efficiency of the Church of England were at their lowest ebb, Dissent was in many places the only influence that preserved the vital spark of Christianity. The spirit which now animates the clergymen of the Establishment as a body may have rendered the services of Dissent superfluous. The practical experiences of a great number of clergymen would confirm this view. The rector of a parish, in one of the most dissenting

portions of the West of England, remarked not long ago to a woman, at whose cottage he had called, that he was afraid she neglected religion, since he had never seen her at church. She immediately replied that she "always went to chapel." "I am delighted," he quickly and sagaciously rejoined, "to hear it: I want you to go somewhere to worship God. Pray, be sure you keep your chapel regularly." Repeating his visit after an interval of about three months, he remarked: "I hope you have been regularly to chapel since I was last here?" "I have never," was the answer, "entered chapel since." "I am sorry," said the clergyman, "to hear it; why have you not done so?" "Have you not," the woman with evident surprise asked, "seen me? I have been at church every Sunday since you called last. I thought that as you did not 'run out against' the chapel-goers, I should like to hear you." This is a true story, and it points a moral which is at least suggestive. The influences of Dissent alone never yet produced the disruption of a village and the desertion of a church. In most instances, where these things have occurred, it will be found that it is the tactics adopted by the representatives and champions of the Church which have organised Dissenters into a powerfully offensive body, and ranged them in an implacably hostile camp.

CHAPTER III.

GREAT LANDLORDS, AND ESTATE MANAGEMENT.

The Popular Conception of the Life of a Territorial Aristocracy inaccurate -Generally Absorbing Character of the Duties attending Management of Property -The Daily Life of an English Noble and Landlord—General Principles of Administration of Large Properties—The Estates of the Dukes of Westminster and Northumberland—The Alnwick Property—From Newcastle to Tynemouth—Farmers on the Alnwick Property, their Management and Supervision—Management of the Duke of Devonshire's Property—Management of the Duke of Cleveland's—Review of Features chiefly Prominent in English Estate Management generally—The Ecclesiastical Commissioners' Estates—The Management of Smaller Properties.

It is time to turn from the reflection and model of the ecclesiastical power, as it may be seen in the typical English village, to the department of purely civil and secular authority. We have seen the parson combining with his sacred calling not a few temporal attributes; let us now look at that portion of the machinery of English life which is exclusively temporal, and at the individual persons, of varying grades of dignity, who happen to be entrusted with its exercise. If there is one lesson which it seems reasonable that the wealthier members of the great hereditary aristocracy of England should learn from the complex and unending duties of their station, it is that, however wide and absolute their authority, they can never escape the cares and responsibilities of trusteeship. The popular notion of their existence and its duties is not unlike the childish notion of the life of the sovereign—the successful pursuit of pleasure in all its varied forms by easy and thornless paths. The year of the titled nobility of the realm is thought to divide itself into two parts, of which one is the London season. Fine equipages, great entertainments, public banquets, private dinners, the clubs, the park, casual strolls to the House of Lords twice or thrice a week—these to the multitude are the chief features in their existence between the months of February and August. They are varied later, by many visits for purposes of sport or pleasure to country palaces and mansions, to foreign capitals, to continental lakes. Rather more than half the year is devoted entirely to the race after excitement elsewhere than in the fashionable quarters of the capital. The London season comes to an end, and there is the departure for the grouse moors of the North. The shutters are put up in the great houses of Belgravia and Mayfair, because the

noble and fashionable proprietors have gone off to Homburg, are taking the waters at Vichy, or are circumnavigating the globe in the floating palaces known as yachts. The popular fancy may fill in the picture as it will, but the tints chosen are sure to be those of enjoyment, luxury, and an absence of all worldly cares.

Those who entertain less conventional notions, and have had opportunities of closer observation, would suggest a few alterations both in outline and detail. They know that even the highest rank has its duties and its toils, that occupation is eagerly sought by those who could well afford to dispense with it, and that pure idleness is not necessarily the highest bliss to the heir of an ancient and exalted title. They point to the fact that even in the absence of political ambition, other motives of disquiet and unrest agitate the most unquestionably patrician breasts. They notice how the proprietors of immense estates and princely revenues plunge into occupations, with as fixed a resolve to succeed as if their future livelihood depended on their success. And these views, in respect to that considerable section of the aristocracy which not only acknowledges but performs the duties of its station, are abundantly proved by experience. In spite of the effect of early education, notwithstanding the enervating and sometimes positively noxious influences of the atmosphere in which their boyhood and youth have been passed—an atmosphere of adulation, indulgence, deference, servile and senseless homage—many of the inheritors of fabulous wealth will be found sternly buckling on their armour, and eager to do battle with the rough world. When it is remembered that there is no lot so trying on this earth as that of the youth of one who is, or who is destined in the fulness of time to be, a great English Peer, the wonder is, not that some proportion of English peers have no other ideal than one of self-gratification, but that so many of them set to the nobility of every other European country an example of energetic devotion to public or private duty.

But it is not on the political position and opportunities of the Peerage that stress will now be laid. Let us look at the functions and engagements of its members as the lords of the soil. A considerable landowner may find enough to occupy every moment of his time in the management of his private affairs and in his social duties. A country gentleman who shoots a little, hunts a little, looks after his property personally, is bent on improving it, and only calls in the services of a bailiff to supplement his own defective experience, will in reality find that he has as few spare minutes as a merchant's clerk. The higher the personage is placed in the social scale, the more anxious and laborious is his life. It is now beginning to be known that many hours are daily devoted by Her Majesty to the consideration of State documents, and the weighing of Ministerial policy. The Queen's more illustrious subjects can as little afford to be idle as the Queen herself.

The great landlords of England are really the rulers of principalities. They are at the head of not one department, but of three or four different departments of State. They are charged with the administration of a miniature empire, which often embraces a number of provinces whose conditions, resources, and necessities differ as much as if they were separate kingdoms.

What is the daily life of a territorial magnate such as this, even in London, when the season is at its height? As surely as ten o'clock comes each morning he will seek his library, where his correspondence is spread on the table for his perusal. The letters are written by all kinds of people, and with all kinds of aims. Some are from tenants on his estates, who want repairs done, or apply for permission to make alterations in their holdings; others are from bailiffs and stewards, and embody reports of their periodical tours of inspection. Others are mere begging letters from a legion of mendicant correspondents. There is not one of these to which our great man will not give his personal consideration. On the back or margin of each he will note down the nature of the reply to be sent, and when he has thus gone through the entire number, he confers with his secretary.

It is easy enough to dispose of the applications from tenants, large or small. In some cases they are obviously admissible, in a few they are transparently the reverse, in others they are referred to an agent who is on the spot. As regards the requests which the post has brought with it that his Grace will grant of his generosity a sum for the adornment of a church or the building of a school, some of these clearly lie outside the area of his legitimate beneficence. The decision on some is postponed, and on some is immediately given in the affirmative. It is different with the purely eleemosynary applications. Here every entreaty for alms is probably referred to the Charity Organisation Society, but at the same time an acknowledgment of these letters is sent by return of post to the whole host of needy correspondents. Nothing, however, is given until the Society has reported. If the report is favourable, if the case is deserving, a sum is sent to the Society, or to the secretary of one of its local branches, to be distributed in its full amount at once, or in instalments to be spread over a certain number of weeks. Let it be further supposed that our great man is not only a mighty landowner in the country, but that he is the possessor of priceless acres, covered with mansions, in town. In this case, he has, of course, a central estate office, in which a staff of agents and their clerks are employed. Once a week a board meeting is held, at which the landlord hears a full account of all that is being done, or that it is in contemplation to do, by the lessees of his property. Documents are examined—opinions of experts are given. The surveyor controverts or supports the desirability of a

concession; the architect reports favourably or unfavourably concerning the outline of a house. Attendance at these meetings is in itself a kind of professional education. The great man takes his place in his council chamber, and at his side is the son who will one day rule in his stead, and who is being thus early trained in the management of affairs.

The administration of every department of the property is conducted upon the same precise principles. Routine is followed as closely in all its method and punctuality as in a Government office or a model commercial business. Take the single question of accounts, whether they come under the head of household or estate expenditure. The turn-over—to employ a mercantile metaphor—is tens of thousands in the year; but there is as little chance of a halfpenny being unaccounted for when the Christmas quarter expires, as there is of the ledgers of Coutts's bank being sixpence wrong on the morning of any given first of January. The accounts of the agents on the estates in the north of England, the south of England, and in London itself, are forwarded at fixed periods, and are duly audited by the retainer who is personally attached to, and who is always in immediate attendance on, the great man, with clerks and deputy agents at his disposal. The books are kept with the exactness of the books of a life assurance office. As it is known what the expenditure upon the property ought to be, so also do the means exist which render it possible to check with unerring accuracy the expenditure of the household. The steward forwards his statement of money actually expended—or, rather, of bills incurred—once a month, all accounts being settled at monthly intervals. It is not only the actual amount spent in any particular period of four weeks and a few days which is entered in these volumes; the number of persons to be provided for is noted as well. Thus an average is struck; and, given the size of the household during any month, reference to earlier entries will supply the data for a verdict of the reasonableness of the pecuniary statement especially under review.

There are fewer points of difference to be noted in the out-door management of the great estates of England than formerly. The tendency undoubtedly has been to reduce varieties to a dead level of excellence and merit. Picturesque customs and the perpetuation of romantic and feudal traditions will be looked for in vain in all save a few cases. It is worth observing that whereas such survivals are occasionally found on properties which have been from the first in the hands of secular lords, they are practically unknown on estates which were transferred to secular owners at the time of the Reformation. It would, in fact, seem as if the aristocracy who profited by the destruction of the monasteries, anxious to break at once and for ever with the old régime, immediately plunged into the modern and prosaic period. This is notably the case with the great House of Bedford, whose property, however, once pos-

sessed, in all matters appertaining to its administration, certain marked peculiarities. Prominent among these was the establishment of an industrial village, which was an integral part of the property at Woburn. The remains of this settlement are still to be seen in the tall factory tower conspicuous amid the trees. In the old days, a generation or two ago, the whole place resounded with the din of labour. The estate of the Duke of Bedford was then self-sufficient, in the Aristotelian sense of the word. If a house or cottage had to be built, rails or gates to be put up, repairs of any kind, whether on the roofs of the tenements above or in the drainage of the ground beneath, to be effected, the workmen to execute the task were ready and at hand within the confines of Woburn Abbey. If the same work had to be done on other portions of the ducal domains in different parts of England, a contingent from the Bedfordshire organisation was drafted off. There was something eminently feudal in the scheme, and there was much which, in its day, was not without its practical advantages. But the shrewd heads of the ducal house began to find that the time had arrived when money could be saved, and the work done as effectively, if they resorted to the open market. The Woburn organisation was dissolved, and contracts with master builders and others took its place.

On the Duke of Westminster's Cheshire estate, at Eaton, a system not unlike that which formerly existed at Woburn is still in force. Here a staff of workmen are maintained at a distance of two miles from his Grace's house, in a place known as "The Yard." The Yard is, in fact, a small industrial village, and is filled with workshops and workmen's dwellings. To become attached to this staff is generally regarded as a piece of promotion and luck. The actual money value of these places is not, indeed, in excess of the wages of labourers elsewhere. The actual wages may be a trifle lower, but so also is the rent of the houses, while the accommodation and sanitary arrangements are perfect in every detail. Men know well enough that they have but to obtain the position, and to conduct themselves well, and that their future in life is secure. They will be encouraged to practise the virtue of thrift, and working steadily through the years of strength and manhood, they will find that provision has been made for old age, sickness, or death. But the staff of workmen thus maintained at Eaton is not sufficient for the wants of the property at all seasons of the year. The Duke assumes, in the majority of instances, responsibility for the repair of farm buildings and cottages, and the contingent of the Eaton Yard labourers has to be reinforced by help from without. In such cases as these, the necessary arrangements are, of course, made by contract, and it would probably be a rare exception to find any large property in the present day on which the contract system does not exist to a greater or less extent.

If we would see how onerous and complex estate management may be, how nearly the power and responsibilities of a great rural potentate approach to those of royalty, what various departments the principality of an English noble may include, how wide is the knowledge and how incessant the care necessary for dealing with each, we cannot do better than go to the most northern county of England. We will select a district of which Alnwick Castle is the centre, and take a rapid survey of the dominion of the Duke of Northumberland. The ancestral home of the Percies may be said in a sense to symbolise the character of their realm. It is a feudal castle, at once in a park and in a town. On one side, opposite the chief gate, is the main street of Alnwick, a thriving community of some six thousand souls; on the other side, strictly speaking on all the other sides, is the park, holding within its broad limits every variety of woodland scenery, of moor and forest, of rugged mountain, of well-tended shrubbery and of rich pasture land. A river of uncertain depth and breadth traverses the vast domain—now a rivulet, and now a foaming torrent; here so shallow that the sands which form its channel give it all their colour, and here a series of deep, dark pools, where the salmon-trout lie; at one part overhung by trees, at another flowing on through an unshaded bed of shingle and rock. There are drives, under artificially formed avenues, along a road as smooth as that running from Hyde Park Corner to the Marble Arch; but a little distance off, the path is steep and rocky, and one is in the heart of a complete sylvan solitude, with a deer park on one hand, while on the other rise the bleak heights which the black game love.

The situation of the castle typifies the nature of the estate, because the Duke of Northumberland derives his revenues partly from urban, partly from rural sources. He is the lord of many acres wholly given up to the farmer; he has also acres burrowed by collieries and rich in mineral wealth, and acres which are part of, or which have been already annexed to, the great capital of the district, the famous port of Newcastle-on-Tyne. As he has farms and villages, so he is proprietor of the soil on which docks and entire towns are built. Midway between Newcastle and Tynemouth an army of labourers is briskly employed in excavating and clearing away the soil, admitting the waters of the Tyne farther into the land, and in erecting mighty walls of granite, and cement, almost as indestructible as granite, as bulwarks against the river. The works are undertaken by and at the expense of the Tyne River Commissioners. But the land is the Duke of Northumberland's, and has been acquired by the Commission on a perpetual ground rent. The ducal interests are represented on that Commission, and the plans for the new docks have been submitted to the Duke. We go a few miles farther down the river, and at last reach the point where it discharges itself

into the German Ocean. We have, in fact, reached Tynemouth, at once the Brighton, Ramsgate, and Margate of the prospercus inhabitants of Newcastle-on-Tyne. A more breezy watering-place, a nobler expanse of sands, a finer frontage of sea could not be desired. It is plain that Tynemouth is a pleasure-town of modern growth. It is plain also—from the predominance of the word "Percy" in the names of the new streets, crescents, and gardens—to whom Tynemouth belongs. One of the last titles which may have caught the eye of the traveller as he drives in a cab to St. Pancras Station is perhaps Woburn Place, or Tavistock Place. Suppose that he leaves the train at Bedford: Tavistock or Woburn is still the legend on the first trim row of houses which meets his glance. The influence and power of the great families of England are ubiquitous. There is no escaping from them; they are shown alike in city and country, in town and suburb. At one end of Tynemouth a new building has been constructed, with adjacent pleasure-grounds and picturesque walls; it is a winter garden and aquarium, built by the inhabitants of the place on ground which is given them by the benevolent despot of the district, the Duke of Northumberland, for a nominal rent. A splendid new road has just been completed: it is the Duke of Northumberland at whose expense the work has been done. What Eastbourne is to his Grace of Devonshire, Tynemouth is to his Grace of Northumberland. There is an obvious advantage in the supreme control of a town being thus vested in one landlord. The place is sure not to be disfigured by hideous buildings, and not to be spoiled by an irruption of undesirable visitors. At Eastbourne and at Tynemouth there are laws that are inflexible as those of the Medes and Persians against the erection of houses which do not come up to a certain standard of beauty and solidity.

Make a circular tour of twenty miles in the neighbourhood of Tynemouth, and you will perpetually find yourself on the property of "The Duke." It is not a picturesque neighbourhood, but it is covered by snug homesteads and farm-buildings—the perfection of cleanness and neatness. The soil is fairly fertile, but the chief wealth of the land is underneath. We are, in fact, now on the Duke of Northumberland's mining property. The colliers have just finished their spell of work, and are going home to their pretty cottages with the well-cared-for gardens behind, and their porches covered with honeysuckle and roses. The mine is in the hands of a company, paying a royalty on its produce, and that is the arrangement usually adopted where the soil is rich in minerals. For extent and variety combined, the Duke of Northumberland's property is perhaps unequalled in the United Kingdom. A drive of thirteen miles from Acklington to Alnwick will take you through a tract of country utterly different from that in the vicinity of Tynemouth, which belongs

entirely to him. It is a rich farming district, the average size of each farm being four or five hundred acres. Some of the farms on the Northumberland property are nearly ten times this size. But inasmuch as the ground let with them is for the most part sterile moorland and highland, their size is in an inverse ratio to their value. England can show no better specimens of farming than are here to be seen, no better homesteads, no more capacious and scientifically arranged out-houses, stables, and farm-yards, no more comfortable dwellings for the farm-labourers themselves. The Duke's tenants are thorough masters of their calling, and are in what is spoken of as a large way of business. There is no new improvement or invention relating to the tillage of the soil or the increase of its capacities which is not speedily adopted, no precaution possible to human foresight and experience for reducing the evil consequences of ungenial and inclement seasons which is not taken. It is a peculiarity of the Northumberland property that in almost every case the labourers live within a few minutes' call of the farmer who employs them. Each farm is, in fact, a compact, self-contained industrial settlement. There is the farm-house itself—a complete modern mansion, with all the improvements of modern times, furnished within like what it is, the residence of an educated gentleman of the nineteenth century—the farm-buildings, with their copious supply of light, air, and water, granaries, barns, and the most approved apparatus for the prevention of waste in every shape; and finally, grouped around or flanking these, the cottages of the labourers, with their porch, oven and tank, cool larder, and little plots of garden ground before and behind.

Such are the external features of a typical English property of the first order of magnitude. What is the principle of its internal management, and the system of its general administration? The chief agent or commissioner of this vast domain, with its manifold industries and opportunities, its physical characteristics and resources as diverse as the features in the wide-spread landscape which it includes, must necessarily be a man of large experience, great practical knowledge, with a quick eye, a tenacious memory, an apt judge of character, a thorough farmer, a first-rate man of business, equally fitted for the supervision of purely agricultural and purely commercial affairs. He is responsible to his chief for the protection of his interests and the improvement of his property, of whatever kind. He has to negotiate with river commissioners and town corporations. He has to conclude and superintend the execution of contracts. He has to listen to applications from tenants, to see to the redress of grievances, to decide what demands are reasonable and what suggestions are wise, to judge whether it is desirable that repairs in any farm-buildings or farm-house shall be undertaken this year or shall be postponed until the next, to know accurately what are the works in

any particular department of which the state of the ducal exchequer will admit at any particular time, to communicate on all these matters periodically with the Duke, to keep an eye over the expenditure and income of what is in itself a little empire. How does he set to work to do all this? The entire estate is mapped out into provinces called, in the case of the Northumberland property, "bailiwicks." It is for the commissioner to see that at the head of each bailiwick is placed a proper and responsible person. Applicants for the position are, as may be supposed, overwhelmingly numerous. Estate management has become a profession, and the younger sons of the great families are among those who seek employment in it.

But the agents superintending the bailiwicks form only one division of the commissioner's staff. Entering the courtyard of Alnwick Castle by the town gate, one finds immediately on the right hand the Alnwick estate office. Here once every week the commissioner sees any one of the Duke's tenants who desires an interview, for whatever purpose. Here, too, he meets his representatives. It is from this office that all orders are issued as to the repairs which are to be done; and if a builder wishes to contract for any work it is to this office that his application is made. The official who is directly concerned with this branch of the office is the "clerk of the works." The agents on the separate bailiwicks report that on such-and-such a farm it is desirable that such-and-such things shall be done; the Duke's commissioner at once instructs the clerk of the works, who proceeds to look at the matter from a technical point of view, to consider the feasibility of the proposal. He too, in his turn, makes a report, which includes an estimate of the expenditure and other observations. This document comes before the commissioner, who, if he is of opinion that the time is ripe for the enterprise, and that the Duke's hands are not already too full, forwards the entire series of papers, or a précis of them, to his Grace, who writes his answer, "Yes" or "No," "I approve" or "I disapprove," in the margin. It may, and does occasionally, happen that there is a conflict of opinion between the bailiwick agent and the clerk of the works, or architect, as to the expediency of some specific proposal. They may disagree as to the exact spot on which certain buildings are to be erected; the extent to which certain repairs are to be carried; the necessity for carrying out any repairs at all. In such cases the commissioner himself will be called upon to arbitrate, and his decision in that stage of the business is final. The Duke reserves to himself the right of sanctioning or rejecting the proposal; but direct communication between the Duke and his agents, or the Duke and his tenants, there is none.

Next to the Duke of Northumberland's Alnwick estate that of the Duke of Cleveland in Durham is probably the largest owned by any one proprietor in any single county. It commences four miles

to the west of Darlington, a town which contrasts in every respect with Alnwick. Here there are no visible signs of that feudal influence which we have seen outside the walls of the Percys. Great chimneys, which are to the great manufacturing centres of England what the forests of masts are to its great harbours, are to be seen from afar. The atmosphere is heavy with smoke, and the streets swarm with stalwart workmen. Look where you will, there is nothing to remind one of the old county town, dominated by the social influences of a ruling house. Darlington is twelve miles distant from Raby Castle, which is as nearly as possible the centre of the Duke of Cleveland's principality. There is nothing quite like Raby elsewhere in England. It is a huge pile of castellated granite architecture, which bears the stamp in every part of no mock antiquity, and is surrounded by a moat centuries old, filled with water. Here there are mediæval courtyards and quadrangles, and it is a peculiarity of the house that, at the chief entrance, there are doors which, on being opened, admit a carriage bodily into the hall by a passage which runs across a spacious chamber into the courtyard on the other side.

The portion of the Duke of Cleveland's property in the immediate neighbourhood of Raby, amounting to some 25,000 acres, is occupied by a tenantry whose holdings range from 100 to 500 acres each. Much of this land has been newly laid down to grass, the Duke being generally disposed to encourage the conversion of tillage into pasturage, and assisting his tenants in the work. The seeds are given, free of all charge, to the occupiers of the soil by the landlord, whenever the land is pronounced to be in a suitable condition for their reception. In the upper part of the estate, bordering upon Cumberland, are the lead mines of which his Grace is entire owner, leased to the London Lead Company and other lessees, upon terms which will presently be mentioned. Here most of the agricultural tenants are connected in some way or other with the mining interest. A few years have witnessed great alterations and improvements in this part of the property. Large sums have been expended in the rebuilding of dwelling-houses, in the laying down of main roads, in the reclamation of land by drainage, planting, and enclosure. The result of these operations is that, as on the Scotch estates of the Duke of Sutherland, the whole surface of the country has been transformed, and what was once a barren solitude is a fertile and prosperous tract. The pasturage of this region has been increased by the addition of hundreds of acres of grass, while thrice the number of cattle which it could formerly with difficulty support now crop its abundant herbage.

These works have been conducted, greatly, of course, to the increase in value of the property, at the expense, in the first instance, of the

owner, and by workmen especially retained and employed for the purpose. It is the regular organisation of such a staff as this purpose requires which is the first thing noticeable in the management of the Raby property. There are distinct sets of workmen, regularly employed either at weekly wages or by piece-work, in separate yards in the immediate neighbourhood of the castle. Close to the building is an enclosure in which are situated the house of the clerk of the works and several carpenters' and joiners' shops. The work done here is exclusively devoted to the castle itself, and has no connection with any of the operations on the general estate. At a little distance from this is a much larger yard, where the estate work proper is performed. Here there are wheelwrights' stalls, carpenters' benches, and smiths' forges, where wood fences are made or repaired, carts mended and even manufactured. But the men thus employed represent only a small proportion of the permanent staff retained upon the Duke of Cleveland's estate. No visitor to Raby and its neighbourhood can fail to be struck by the admirable neatness with which the hedges are trimmed and the palings preserved, and by the excellence of the macadamised roads. This is entirely because the Duke keeps them in his own hands. A considerable contingent of men, skilled in everything that has to do with hedges, stone walls, fences, and highways, are perpetually at work. Any tenant, on payment of their wages, may command their services, the landlord having the satisfaction of knowing that the necessary repairs will be properly carried out. In the case of drainage the landlord bears the entire burden of the expenditure, charging the occupant of the soil interest, at five per cent., on the money expended upon the work. Inside Raby Park itself 900 acres of land are retained as a home farm, and not far from this is another farm of 500 acres, which, held by the Duke's agent, is intended as a model for the farmers of the surrounding district. Here, as elsewhere, the covenants between the landlord and the tenant are in the shape of yearly agreements: the landlord reserves to himself the sole right to kill every kind of game, and the tenant knows that so long as he farms upon sound principles he enjoys practical fixity of tenure. Where special relations of this kind have become established between landlords and tenants it is more than probable that the general provisions of such measures as the Agricultural Holdings Acts or the Ground Game Act will have little or no practical effect. On the great estates, which are in the main generously as well as wisely administered, recognised custom will always assert its authority before that of positive law; and statutes, however enlightened in their intention, will compete in vain against what has been proved by experience to be on the whole a just and convenient tradition.

These different operations and properties have correspondingly

distinct departments in the management of the Duke of Cleveland's estate, and the control over all is rigidly centralised in the office of the chief agent, which is within the castle walls, and from whom all authority issues. The system here pursued is more purely bureaucratic than in the case of either the Duke of Northumberland or the Duke of Devonshire. Instead of administering, like the latter, his estate by several agents of co-equal power, or, like the former, by a chief commissioner with a number of agents under his immediate authority, the Duke of Cleveland is directly represented only by one chief agent, who, without the same assistance from a staff of subordinate officials, is responsible for the control of the whole of what is called the "settled estate," and whose head-quarters are at Raby itself. Thither come all accounts in connection with the Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Northamptonshire properties to be audited, nor would the agents or bailifs on any of these engage in any considerable enterprise without communicating with the chief agent or with the Duke himself. Weekly and monthly returns are made at Raby by the forester and his staff, by the hedging and draining staff, by the foreman of the labourers employed on the home farm, and by the controllers of the house, park, and gardens. Entries are made of all in ledgers kept with the greatest nicety; a brief abstract is prepared at the end of the financial year and submitted to the landlord. There are other points in the administration of this admirably managed property which deserve mention. Rents are paid in twice a year, first by the tenants to the Duke's head representative, secondly by the agents to the Duke's bankers. But from the total of this rental there has, before it reaches the ducal coffers, been deducted the expenditure upon repairs and permanent improvements, according to the estimate which, at the beginning of the financial year, has been submitted to his Grace. The expenses, therefore, of the estate are really paid before their proprietor is in receipt of his revenues, and all those revenues, in the shape in which they eventually come to him, represent clear income.

The Raby estate office is also the head-quarters of the administration of the mines and quarries. For the conduct of all these, or rather for the incoming of the royalty for which the Duke of Cleveland has let them, the chief agent is personally responsible. As this gentleman contrives to keep the agricultural property of the Duke in a highly satisfactory condition, with only an estate bailiff as a general overseer under him, so, by the simple instrumentality of a mineral bailiff, he effectually protects the interests of the Duke, vested in coal, lead, and iron mines, and stone quarries. On special occasions, when the produce of a mine is weighed, the mineral bailiff is personally present, but the general plan is for the authorities of the mine to forward to the Raby estate office an estimate of its yield, the Duke's

agent having it in his power to examine the company's books as a check upon their figures.

It has been already remarked that there are few exceptions to the rule in the case of the great landed estates, that while a limited staff of workmen are permanently retained for doing jobs in connection with the house of the great landowner, most of the work is performed by contract with local mechanics and artisans. Thus, the Duke of Devonshire, whose estates, if their acreage is not so capacious as the Duke of Northumberland's, are much more widely scattered, keeps a small contingent of plumbers comfortably housed above the stables at Chatsworth, while in the adjoining wood-yard, house-joiners and estate-joiners are settled.

The Duke of Devonshire himself undertakes the execution of all repairs for the tenants on his property—a plan which has the advantage that under its operation there are no perpetual claims upon the landlord for improvements. It is a marked feature on the Duke of Devonshire's Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Lancashire estates, that in very many instances as much as two acres of land is attached to the labourers' cottages. This not merely gives them constant occupation of a profitable kind, enabling them often to keep a couple of cows, but attaches them to their homes, and invests these with a special and enduring interest. It has been the immemorial custom on the Devonshire estates to let farms by annual agreement, subject to a re-valuation at the end of every twenty-one years. This arrangement comes to very much the same thing as a lease for that term. The tenants know well that so long as they do their duty by the land they will not receive notice to quit; and here, as elsewhere, the records of the property show many cases in which farms have been in possession of the same families, from father to son, for many generations, and not infrequently for two or three centuries. When the re-valuation is made, a full report of the condition of all the farms and other portions of the estate is drawn up. Anything that can throw light upon the management of a particular holding, and the qualities displayed by a particular tenant, is duly noted down, as well as the improvements which it may be considered desirable to effect, or which the tenant himself may have suggested as requisite. It is then for the Duke and his agents to consider whether the farm shall remain in the same hands, and what repairs shall be done. In consideration of such repairs as may finally be carried out, either a permanent addition is made to the rent, or the tenant is charged a percentage on the money expended.

The estates of the Duke of Devonshire lying in several counties, it would not be practicable to apply to them the principle of concentration which works so well on the domains of the Dukes of Cleveland and Northumberland. Such a thing as an absolutely best system of

territorial administration is no more possible than an absolutely best form of government; and just as the relations between the great landlord and his agents will depend upon the degree of their mutual knowledge and confidence, so the principle on which estates are controlled will be fixed by their geographical peculiarities. The Duke of Northumberland is a territorial magnate who has one prime minister as his commissioner, and as much may be said of the Dukes of Westminster and Cleveland. The Duke of Devonshire has probably more than half a dozen responsible controllers, each independent of the other, possessed of co-equal and co-ordinate powers, and each communicating directly with him. These make reports to his Grace on the condition and requirements of their separate departments, but only at intervals of nearly a year, and not on paper only or chiefly, but in personal conversation. The business year begins and ends at different times on the different properties, and consequently the season of the annual audit of each is different too. Like the Duke of Northumberland, the Duke of Devonshire owns not merely many varieties of farms as well as mines and mills, but a prosperous and thriving township. His Grace, indeed, has two watering-places in which his power is supreme —one the inland spa of Buxton, the other Eastbourne on the south coast. At both of these places the land is let out for building purposes, the landlord—as with the Duke of Northumberland at Tynemouth—permitting no house or structure of any kind to be erected which has not received his approval or that of his responsible agents.

Such is a synoptical view of the natural characteristics, and the general principles of management, of three or four of the largest properties in England—the Westminster, Northumberland, Cleveland, and Devonshire estates. There are other general features in the administration of English properties which might be studied with advantage by many continental landlords. The strictest method is, as we have seen, the very soul of the organisation, and the records of the property are preserved as carefully, and are in their way as important, as those of a department of the public service. There are, in the case of every well-conducted property, piles of agreements between landlord and tenants; tin cases containing the monthly and annual budgets of the estate for a long series of years; masses of manuscript containing the data on which these estimates are drawn up; abstracts of accounts, with marginal references to ledger folios, and a perfect library of volumes made up of the correspondence between the landlord and his agents for a number of years. And there are other official papers relating to the administration of the property. One is a "Return of the Progress of New Erections, Alterations, and Repairs made under the Superintendence" of the architect for the estate in any given month. It is in effect a little manuscript book in which is noted the progress that has been made in the works undertaken on the different

holdings, the sums which have been actually expended, and the further sums which it is estimated will yet have to be expended—first, in the course of next month; secondly, in the course of the next year. Some at least of these figures—those indicating the sums estimated as necessary during the coming month—have a place in another printed form, "Estimate of Expenditure." On this sheet there are supplementary entries, such as "Additions and Repairs," "Household Gardens and Pleasure Grounds."

There is yet another class of documents of even greater importance than any which we have yet examined. They are those which lay down in legal phraseology the relations existing between landlord and tenant. Here there is no absolute uniformity, but there is, as we have seen, an approach to uniformity. There is a general indisposition on the part of landlords to grant leases. Some landlords there are who give their tenants the option of a lease or an annual agreement. But as a rule the tenure of farms on the great estates is a matter of annual agreement. Improvements in the way of drainage, buildings, roads, and fences are either done at the expense of the landlord, or if the tenant immediately defrays their cost he receives compensation from the landlord. In all leases there are special clauses reserving to the landlord property in the minerals under the surface of the soil. The landlord stipulates that the farmhouse shall be regularly inhabited by the tenant. The cost of repairs is generally a matter of private arrangement between landlord and tenant, but in the majority of cases it is upon the shoulders of the former that the greater part of the burden falls.

The great estates do not always have as their owners titled or untitled proprietors. The Crown and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners are at the present moment the largest landowners in England, having the management of properties with a rental of upwards of £400,000, scattered over all parts of the United Kingdom. These are administered upon practically the same principles which obtain in the case of the chief of the landed nobility. The responsible agents are two eminent firms, officially designated Surveyors, the jurisdiction of the one being in the north, and of the other in the south, of that portion of Great Britain which is this side of the Tweed. These have head offices in London, and a large staff of clerks, secretaries, and architects, and a variety of local bailiffs. Each of the surveyors is constantly travelling, receives frequent reports from his local agents, and communicates a general statement of affairs to the Commission, to which he may be said to stand in nearly the same relation that a managing director does to the other members of the Board of a public company. Under the Ecclesiastical Commission the value of the Church lands has nearly doubled in the course of thirty years. The surveyors are constantly in communication with the principal

agents of the great landed proprietors, and are quick to adopt any improvement which suggests itself as desirable or practicable. The government of properties which are in the possession of the City Guilds is, for the most part, equally excellent and effective, and in this case, too, the method adopted is that in force upon the large estates of which we have spoken.

It must not be supposed that these immense properties are the only examples of first-rate estate management in England. Many of the smaller estates of country gentlemen and of noblemen are controlled with an efficiency and an ability that leave nothing to be wished. The same amount of organisation there cannot be, for the simple reason that the opportunity and necessity for it do not exist. Neither can it generally be expected that the labourers' cottages, the hedges, draining, and roads, should be in the same perfect order in these as in the case of the principality of a great territorial magnate. Uniform and considerable improvement there is, and ever has been; but where the supply of capital is necessarily limited, operations cannot be conducted on the same grand and magnificent scale. In comparatively few estates with a rental of less than £10,000 a year does the landlord keep a chief agent, who is exclusively devoted to the affairs of his property. In many cases where the revenue is much in excess of this sum, the agent charged with the superintendence of one property is responsible also for the control of a second and even a third. There is, indeed, always resident on the estate a bailiff of considerable knowledge, and eminently trustworthy, who duly reports on the condition of affairs, either to the agent, or possibly to the landlord himself. When the estate is a much smaller one, say from £3,000 to £7,000 a year, the official who receives the rents is probably an estate agent by profession, and has the charge of a great number of these properties, often at some distance from each other. Experience proves the wisdom of employing such a representative in the management of estate business, and experience also proves that the attempt to delegate the authority which that management implies to the bailiff, who is in social station inferior in all probability to the tenants themselves, does not answer well. The custom which was once common, of placing estates under the management of country solicitors, is gradually disappearing, though still very far from being altogether extinct.

CHAPTER IV.

RURAL ADMINISTRATION.

Government of an English Village—Elections of Guardians of the Poor expected: Local Interest taken—Extent to which Boards of Guardians have assumed Powers previously vested in the Vestry—Candidates for the Election, and Principles at issue—Defective Sense of Personal Responsibility and Duties of Citizenship among all Classes of Englishmen—Influence of Great Nobles on Squirearchy, and indirectly upon Boards of Guardians—Meeting of the Board: Kinds of Business discussed, and various Functions discharged—Magistrates at Quarter Sessions—Kinds of Business done, and way in which it is done—Opportunities of the Institution, and some Reforms in it suggested.

It is the smaller squires, a gradually diminishing class, and the farmers, who do the daily work of the government of rural England, and who form the rank and file of the local officials. How does the administrative machinery thus constituted work when it is actually in motion?

It so happens that there is some little excitement noticeable in the village or parish which we are now visiting. During the past fortnight there has been much disputation, mainly of a personal character, among the ratepayers who compose the vestry; a good deal more, indeed, than might have been expected, seeing that the parish ratepayer himself has comparatively little direct authority. He has been compelled to acquiesce in the centralising tendencies of the times, and to delegate to a few trusted persons the power which was once absolutely deposited in his own hands. Every parish officer, Mr. Clare Read once said in the House of Commons, has been disestablished in the last fifty years except the parson. The remark is scarcely an exaggeration. The churchwardens continue to exist, but their sphere is purely ecclesiastical; the parish constable became an anachronism owing to the Act of 1872, though the gradual disuse in practice of his office may be traced to the at first gradual, and then compulsory, institution of a county police force, dating from about 1850, or a little later; the overseers are only officials for, in technical parlance, "making" the rate, for which the guardians, like county justices, merely issue a precept. It may be mentioned, however, that the overseers have also one other important function: they make up, in the first instance, the roll of rateable property, which, subject to the revision of the Assessment Committee, determines the assessment of

the parish. In various valuation bills provision has been made for giving them the aid of the surveyor of taxes in doing this, but they do not like the proposal, which, however, will in all probability ere long be carried out, while it has also been suggested that they should be relieved of their duties as assessors altogether.

The miniature image of our representative system may be seen in the English village, and it is a question of representation which is now exercising the little community. The parish is one of about twenty in the district which are about to send a delegate to a body that, with more appropriateness than the vestry, may be called the local Parliament—the Board of Guardians.* The principle at issue is one of real importance, and considerable interest has been taken in the names inscribed on the nomination papers, which have been already forwarded to the clerk of the Board. Every voter, in other words every ratepayer, has a right of nomination, and, exercising this right, a simple agricultural labourer has had the audacity to propose a gentleman—perhaps the parson of the parish—who is known to look at affairs of local administration from a point of view not too popular in the neighbourhood. The village, in fact, is divided into parties by an embittered dispute as to whether the guardian to be elected shall be a candidate who is in favour of, or opposed to, the system of out-door relief; whether he shall be one who would make stricter regulations for securing the minimum of out-door relief by more rigidly enforcing the test of the "house;" whether, in other words, as we shall see hereafter, he is to be the advocate or antagonist of a practice which, as facts and figures abundantly prove, promotes chronic pauperism among the working classes, tends more than anything else to degrade the character of the lower orders, and absolves the higher from individual responsibility in relation to their humbler neighbours. Fifty years ago this kind of contest was unknown in English village life. The autonomy of the parish was then unimpaired; the jurisdiction of the vestry, or, at least, of the overseers, who on this matter constituted the great parochial authority, though under the old poor law they were sometimes overruled by the magistrates, was in theory absolute. During the greater part of the first half of the current century, each parish not only had the management of its own poor, but also in all things relating to its sanitary condition and local taxation was a strictly self-governing body. Roads are intentionally excluded from the above list, because over 6,000 of the rural parishes (nearly half probably) retain their management of roads by elective parochial surveyors, and highway districts are permissive only. One after another, these parochial prerogatives

* In 1883 there were about 15,000 parishes and 650 unions in England and Wales—hence the average is nearly 23 parishes to a union; some unions have 40 or 50, and there are others with as many as 70 or 80.

have been lost, and little more in the way of the active duties of administration is left to the vestry than the collection of rates which it has no power itself to fix.

The Board of Guardians, having concentrated in themselves the chief administrative and executive functions of the ratepayers, as well as having added to these other powers which overseers and vestry never possessed, it is natural that considerable local efforts should be made to influence its composition. Accordingly, when the vestry met, a rather rare event, a couple of weeks ago on parochial business, some allusion was made to the forthcoming contest, and the qualifications of the different candidates, which led to a keen and even acrimonious debate. Since then the discussion has been continued in the village taproom, at cottage hearth-sides, in farmhouse yards, in the market town, and wherever else the electors or their nominees have happened to assemble. The struggle, it is clear, lies between two competitors for the sometimes coveted distinction: a farmer of some substance, who, rising superior to the prejudices of many of his class, believes that out-door relief is an unmitigated mischief to the poor themselves, and a local publican in a brisk way of business, who regards all recipients of out-door relief as potential accessions to the ranks of his customers. It may be that there is a sentimental philanthropist who is also in the field, but he will only divide one party or the other, and the election mainly reduces itself to a struggle between the principles which have been indicated.

Because the name of the parson has not been mentioned in connection with the competition, it by no means follows that he necessarily holds aloof from it. He may be a candidate himself, or he may, in his capacity as chairman of the vestry, which constitutes the electorate, be using—as it is perfectly legitimate that he should use—his influence in support of a particular candidate. After not a little experience he has come to the conclusion that the moral, social, and educational welfare of the neighbourhood is jeoparded by the indifference of the farmers, who compose the great majority of the Board, to the questions which very nearly concern them. For it is the farmers who are the real local legislators of England, and the British farmer who takes a large, a liberal, and an enlightened view of the duties of his position is less commonly met with than might be desired. To put it differently, he seldom proposes to himself a higher standard of responsibility than that which is common to his order; and to say this is to bring no worse charge against him than that he regards existence and its duties from the same point of view as most of his social superiors. The sense of the duties of citizenship indeed has yet to be quickened among all classes of the community.

The great local magnate, the representative of monarchy in his own provincial world, the apex and figure-head of English local

government—the Lord Lieutenant of the county himself—sets the example which the squirearchy imitate, and to which the yeomanry unconsciously conform. The Lord Lieutenant is a nobleman of great wealth and birth, of blameless reputation, of beneficent intentions. He is the patron of local societies, of schools, of charitable institutions beyond number. He is generous, philanthropic, and probably something of an autocrat. He contributes liberally to the support of all local movements, if they are in what he considers "the right direction;" whether they are right he claims himself to decide, and the principle of their conduct he rigidly prescribes. If a neighbourhood in which he has property wants a dole out of his purse to enable it to build a school, he will take the whole expenditure upon himself. But he will do this only on condition that the inhabitants should adopt a School Board immediately, or should pledge themselves never to adopt a School Board, according to the colour of his political opinions. And in seventy-five cases out of a hundred the great man carries his point. The demagogues of the village beershops and revolutionary tillers or tenants of the soil may talk as they will, but the "Castle" —if such be the name and style of the ancestral dwelling of the great man—has but to express its wish, the wish becomes law, and eager effect is given to the law by the veriest Thersites of the district. The son of a typical potentate is not perhaps a young man of great natural aptitude for affairs, and he is certainly the professor of an anti-popular and exclusive creed. But his sire considers that the time has arrived when he should represent a division of the county in Parliament, and a meeting is accordingly convened at which it is unanimously decided that the noble lord is the only eligible candidate. The resolution is proposed by one Boanerges, who has recently been inveighing in his own circle against the influence of the territorial aristocracy, and has been seconded by another Boanerges who is locally credited with an aim and mission of a still more subversive character.

All this, it may be said, is as it should be, and if all that could be advanced against the duke, marquis, or earl, who is the king of the county, were that he was an amiable despot, it would amount to very little. But his duties, political and social, frequently call him away, and when he is at home he is occupied with his guests, his fox-hounds, and his battues, and may be one of those who neglect the more irksome responsibilities of vast possessions. There are certain ancestral charities on his estate which must be kept up, and his agent has to keep them up accordingly. There are certain institutions in his villages known as almshouses, which have been endowed from generation to generation by charges on the great man's land, and he ignores the fact that these establishments are for the most part hotbeds of pauperism, and of helpless, hopeless want. It is not to his taste to take a leading part in the business of the county, and

accordingly the gentry who live about him, the squires of various degrees of wealth and dignity, practise a similar abstention. If his grace or his lordship goes to a county meeting, then the minor territorial rulers, the untitled squires, will go also, because, in conventional parlance, it is "the right thing to do." But the country gentlemen, being in the great majority of cases magistrates, are *ex officio* members of the local Board of Guardians—are, in fact, in virtue of their position, responsible for the financial, the sanitary, and the educational state of the neighbourhood. Their power for good or evil is practically unlimited, and if it is to be for good, it must be actively exercised, and its active exercise means constant attendance at the meetings of the Board, not merely rare periodical appearances for the purposes of patronage, or perfunctory participation in the discharge of the functions of the magisterial bench. If, therefore, our local Parliaments sometimes do their work imperfectly, it must be borne in mind that the cause of their defects is closely associated with a hundred deeply rooted habits and traditional prejudices. What is wanted is a keener and wider conception of duty, and if the parish parson can help to create such a sentiment, and actively make it felt either at the election of Guardians or at the meeting of the Board itself, happy is he, and well will it be for the neighbourhood.

Meanwhile the election itself is over; the new Board of Guardians is complete, and its sittings have begun. The magistrates, parsons, farmers, tradesmen, and publicans who constitute the Board—if it happens, indeed, to include so many varieties of English life—have come together on the occasion of one of their weekly meetings, at the regular place of rendezvous. There is plenty of business to discuss, and there is likely to be some rather sharp debating of the rougher sort. The chairman, it may possibly be, is not quite punctual in his arrival at the scene of action, and it is beginning to be a question whether his place will not have to be filled by deputy. He comes at last, genially apologetic or transparently indifferent, as the case may be; a representative English gentleman, more at home in the field than in the council-chamber, and slightly disposed, perhaps, to push the principles of leaving well, or perhaps bad, alone, further than might seem desirable even to languid reformers. He owns a fair property in the neighbourhood, is honestly desirous to do his duty, and believes that on the whole his duty is best done by allowing matters pretty much to take their own course.

Contrast with him yonder clerical member of the Board, who sees in it a great agency for effecting those reforms which have, as he believes, a directly religious sanction. He is a gentleman of some determination, knows what he means, and has a tolerably clear conception of the way in which what he wants is to be secured. There is a look about his eyes which stamps upon him as clearly as could

words the legend, "No surrender!" On his face there are visible those lines of quiet resolution which proclaim that, if fighting is necessary, fight he will. He is noticeable in many respects among his colleagues in the Board-room; the petty squire, in somewhat straitened circumstances, who has just strolled in, but who has no idea in particular, and who is secretly absorbed in calculating whether he can afford a house in London during the coming season, or a continental trip in the autumn; the publican or tradesman, who, compliant and servile in his business, has views of his own, which he intends to stand up for among his brother guardians; the ordinary specimen of the British farmer, whose notions are summed up in the simple formula that nothing must be done which seems to threaten an increase of the rates. He has allies and he has enemies at the Board. If there are those who see in our parson a mere meddler, there are those also who know that he is earnestly and courageously working out a faith which, in process of time, is destined, if effect be given to it, to enlighten the earth by removing from its surface a vast amount of human misery. It may also be that more than one of the landowners in the district not only recognise but utilise the opportunities of their position, and are members of the Board in reality as well as in name; or that among the farmers there are some who actively sympathise with the good work. Lastly, there are few Boards of Guardians which do not count among their members one or two of the smaller kind of tradesmen, who are at once the most fussy and the most revolutionary of the body.

What is the work on which our guardians are engaged to-day? It may belong to one or several of many varieties, for the functions of guardians are only less numerous and complicated than the authorities under which the inhabitant of a rural parish lives. The simple English villager is the creature of a highly complex economy. He may be defined as one who lives in a parish, in a union, in a highway district, or in a county, according to the point of view which is taken, while in three of these he always is. It is, further, far from unlikely that he should be subject to six kinds of authority: the Local Board, the vestry—whose officers, as we have seen, are the overseers—the School Board, the Highway Board, the guardians, and the justices. As is the multiplicity in the possible modes of government with which he is acquainted, such, or almost such, may be that of the taxation which he has to pay, although much of this taxation, so far as it is levied for local purposes, is called by the generic name of "Poor Rate."* Three

* Although by no means the whole of the taxation for local purposes is comprised under the name of Poor Rate, that rate does generally comprise the County or Borough Rate, the School Board Rate (in rural districts), the Sanitary General Rate, and where Highway Boards exist it will include the Highway Rate. In other cases, the Highway Rate is a wholly separate charge; and so, where it exists, is the rate levied by Local Board

kinds of authority there are which are universal from one end of England to the other: the poor law authority, the highway authority, and, most noticeable of all, the sanitary authority. The bodies exercising these powers in town and country are not the same, but there is no corner of the land over which they are not spread. In rural districts, such as that which we are now considering, the sanitary authority is the Board of Guardians, and we may suppose that it is a sanitary question which engages its attention to-day.

Our guardians then, let it be understood, have considered the reports of particular cases of distress made to them by their agents, the relieving officers; have disposed of sundry demands for out-door relief; have decided what admissions shall be made to the workhouse itself. In their capacity of guardians of the poor pure and simple they have thus exhausted the catalogue of their duties. But they have much else to think of. In some instances they have the functions of a School Board to discharge, as members of the local School Attendance Committee; they have to revise valuation lists; they have to look closely after sanitary matters, and to consider the reports of paid sanitary officers. They may be sitting in full conclave, or as members of one of the committees to which they have delegated their functions. Their business, we have assumed, on the present occasion is sanitary. They have received the unwelcome intelligence that a deadly epidemic has broken out at some point in the union area, and shows every sign of spreading; or they have reason to fear that the drainage is not quite satisfactory; or they are puzzled to know why the sanguine anticipations of their medical officer should be falsified with such lamentable emphasis by results. One of their number ventures to suggest that perhaps the reason is to be found in the fact that they push the doctrine of delegated responsibility to an indefensible length. And in truth there may be something in the theory. They have entrusted to a medical expert, paid by a handsome salary, duties which it would be infinitely better they should discharge themselves. The medical expert has assured them that all is right, but there can be nothing more unconscionable or perverse in their action than the pestilences and sicknesses to which humanity is heir. One guardian has every reason to believe that the district in question is, from a hygienic point of view, all that could be desired. It is true that for some time past there has been a nasty sorethroat about, but then it is in the air. It may be that the drainage is defective, but then our guardian will argue that the most perfect drainage in the world cannot make the unclean clean, though he omits to notice the truth that when pollution is systematically promoted by imperfect drainage, cleanliness is impossible.

Much ingenuity is expended in framing hypotheses to explain the origin of the evil; more money is voted for patent drainage pipes;

the experienced medical officer is exhorted to keep his eyes particularly wide open. Everything, in brief, is done but the one thing necessary. The guardians, who constitute the sanitary authority, are not persuaded that so long as they abdicate in any degree their own personal functions a satisfactory result is impossible ; and that if they would insure the neighbourhood against noxious maladies generated by preventible causes, they must not fear to thrust their presence into unlovely corners or to hold their nostrils above unsavoury smells. It is in sanitary matters as it is in matters of pauperism, and as it is to some extent in educational matters : the sense of individual and personal responsibility is lacking, and the vigorous spirits are few and far between who bring the need of the sense of responsibility home to those from whom it should never be absent. The machinery which, it may be contended, ought to have this effect is at work—that is, the Local Boards are responsible to the central government. The Local Government Board in London demands and receives statements of annual income and expenditure from the Board of Guardians in the country ; despatches its inspectors to report on all they see or can discover ; helps the local authorities with loans at three and a half per cent., but only when the purpose for which the loan is wanted has received its official approval. Yet something more, it is plain, than this is necessary if we are to see uniformity of law or practice established at our Boards of Guardians, and if the customs of one are to be brought into any degree of accord with those of another only five miles off. On the representation of their medical officer, the guardians give instructions that drains shall be enlarged, or that new sewers shall be made. It is obvious that the benefit of these improvements, while it is in a general sense felt by the whole community, is specially and immediately experienced by the landlords of houses. A well-drained tenement has a higher marketable value, commands a greater rent than one which is ill-drained, and the better drainage is no sooner effected than the rent goes up accordingly. Naturally the consequence of this is to diminish the sense of responsibility which attaches to the landlords ; and thus the many are taxed for the direct and peculiar advantage of the few.

Thus much of vestries and Boards of Guardians. We rise gradually to a higher sphere, and approach a more august authority, the County Magistrates assembled in the Court of Quarter Sessions. Of the duties of magistrates, or, to give them their more dignified title, Justices of the Peace, in Petty Sessions, more will be said elsewhere. There are in all some eight hundred and twenty Petty Sessional divisions in England and Wales, which only accidentally correspond with any other areas, and which come within the jurisdiction of the unpaid administrators of the law. The business of Petty Sessions is mainly judicial, and comprises all such minor cases as can be at once dis-

posed of without the summoning of a jury. But it is not the privilege or the duty of attending Petty Sessions, and dealing out immediate retributive vengeance to trespassers and perpetrators of larcenies of the lesser kind, that makes the position of a County Magistrate enviable in the eyes of the ordinary Englishman. As Boards of Guardians have deprived the vestries of their authority, so now is there an organised movement to divest the magistrates of most or all of the prerogatives they prize. The centralizing tendency of the times is irresistible, and when the establishment of County Boards has reduced the administrative power of the justices to zero, the ancient glory of Quarter Sessions will be gone, and one of the main reasons for the applications now made to the Lord Lieutenant of the County for the Commission of the Peace will be found to have disappeared. The Court of Quarter Sessions is a grand judicial tribunal, but the fame which Quarter Sessions bestows on country gentlemen comes from their achievements less in the judicial than in the administrative field; and when magistrates cease to manage the business of their county, they will cease also to care for its official honours. At present, however, that is a contingency of the future. Quarter Sessions may be menaced, like much else, with disestablishment. Meanwhile the Court exists, and the right to affix the letters "J.P." to one's name is yet esteemed a distinction. It is respectable, it is ancient, it is closely associated with territorial position and proprietorship. It is, therefore, held out as an inducement to the gentlemen who, having made their fortunes in trade, desire to purchase estates in the country, by the ingenious agents who gather their profit out of such negotiations. Here is a copy of a lithographed circular which not long ago accompanied the glowing description of a Lancashire property then in the market: "A high social prestige attaches itself to the purchaser of this estate, as there is no resident squire in this or the adjacent parish. There is no superfluity of magistrates in the district, and the honourable office of Justice of the Peace would most undoubtedly be conferred on the new owner after the lapse of a decent interval of time." *

This cunningly devised statement supplies, perhaps, the one consideration which was wanting to make Mercator close the bargain. He becomes duly installed in the great house, and "after a decent interval" is an applicant for the honour of the County Magistracy. The application, however, is not made in his own person. Etiquette requires that the request shall be vicariously made to the Lord Lieutenant of the county, and if that eminent personage views it with favour, the request is practically granted—practically, but not according to the letter of the law. In law the refusal or the bestowal of the honour rests with the Crown, advised by the Lord High Chancellor.

* This is a literal extract from a circular in my possession.

As a matter of fact, it is the Lord Chancellor who appoints, and the Lord-Lieutenant who recommends. Cases, indeed, are not unknown in which the authority of these two dignitaries comes into collision. A district memorialises the keeper of the monarch's conscience against the ratification of the Lord-Lieutenant's nomination, or an individual appeals to the Lord Chancellor against his objection by the Lord Lieutenant. But, as a rule, the system works harmoniously, and in rural England the doctrine may be said to be firmly established that the administration of the law—like the administration of other local business—shall follow the ownership of the land. Lord-Lieutenants of counties take different views of their responsibility in recommending candidates for the magistracy. Political and religious considerations have their full weight given to them, and Nonconformist and Liberal justices would be at a discount in a strong Tory shire. Others, again, are disposed to take the qualification of magistrates aspirant as sufficiently proved by the partial certification of the friend who mentions them. Others institute a just and critical inquiry into personal aptitude as well as social claims. Others, again, carry circumspectness to the verge of caprice, and at the same time that they appoint a magistrate gratify a crotchet.

But all this time the Court of Quarter Sessions has been assembling in the county town, and the justices are entering the chamber in which the decrees are to be registered which will for the next three months constitute the law of their little province. It is a long, lofty room, down the centre of which runs a long green-baize-covered table, manifestly meaning business. In they come, the men of metal and many acres, from the Marquis of Carabas down to the well-to-do country farmer. Here is the representative of a house which has been settled in the neighbourhood for centuries, whose first founders helped to conquer the kingdom for William the Norman. Here, too, is the gentleman who represents the principle of plutocracy, and who is a new-comer from Liverpool or Threadneedle Street. Then there are the county squires, big and small, a few professional men, one or two retired naval or military officers, a few clergymen, and several younger sons of great noblemen.

The affairs of the county, not the administration of the law, now concern them. They have met, not to try prisoners, but to test accounts and to discuss local matters, and the chances are that they will display much ability, industry, and shrewdness in the conduct of the various business before them. There is, perhaps, more than one magistrate present to-day who thinks that Quarter Sessions are not what they were, and dwells with admiring regret on the composition and the procedure of the court in the fine old times now gone. The speeches made, the counsel given, the masterly manner in which everything was done, were worthy then of the Imperial Parliament at

Westminster, for the simple reason that the most prominent men at Quarter Sessions were the master-minds of St. Stephen's. It is not impossible that the local court contained one or two Cabinet Ministers as its active members. Probably a clear majority of those who did the real work of the meeting had seats in the House of Commons or House of Lords, and were versed in the art of political management, which experience of these assemblages is calculated to teach. It may be that the chairman of the court was none other than the Speaker of the Lower House of Parliament, the first Commoner, and the best shot, of England; or that the justice who presided over his brother justices to-day was a statesman who had saved an entire political party from catastrophe last week.*

Be this as it may, there they were. Peers, Cabinet or ex-Cabinet Ministers, members of the House of Commons, squires big and small, professional men, parsons, a yeoman or two, gathered together to transact the business of the county. The conference was as salutary as its results were effective. It was an education for many; it was an advantage to all. It disciplined and cultivated the minds of the country gentlemen who spent their time amid their paternal acres. It brought distinct classes into contact; it smoothed off angularities of character; it taught moderation, tact, discretion. These are virtues still inherent in the institution, but they fail to impress the spectator in the same degree. In the majority of English counties Quarter Sessions are not what they were. The members of Parliament, the eminent statesmen, the Cabinet Ministers, will be looked for in vain. The naval and military half-pay officers are more numerous, and if they are also commendably energetic, are not generally thought quite to understand the genius of the place. The smaller country squires form a class which is rapidly dying out. The larger country squires and great nobles have other things to do. The representatives of commerce and plutocracy have gained a preponderating voice. Finally, the sphere of the operations of Quarter Sessions has been materially contracted, mainly by the fact that all eyes are now turned to London, and especially by the transfer of prisons to the care of State, with only a remnant of supervisional powers left to the justices.

There are still, however, many very important matters brought up by notices of motion, and young men still find in Quarter Sessions the opportunity of winning their spurs. Throughout the year some, at least, of them are hard at work on committees charged with the consideration and adjustment of finance, with the special investigation of county bridges, shire halls, county buildings, police, asylums, licensing, the execution of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, the Weights

* Among contemporary Cabinet Ministers who are or have been Chairmen of Quarter Sessions are the late Mr. Ward-Hunt, Lord Carnarvon, Sir Richard Cross, Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Derby, and the late Lord Hampton.

and Measures Acts, the Sale of Food and Drugs Act, and the control of minor local authorities. Lunatic asylums, police, bridges, and licensing are the subjects which are most keenly discussed.* Reports of committees in all these matters are read and debated, the report which is first taken being that of the committee of finance. There is the county rate to be fixed, and it is these reports which regulate its amount. The committee has been ascertaining the total of the net rateable value of the parishes which make up the county aggregate, and the guardians have been estimating the amount wanted for poor relief. Thus there is a long array of figures to come before the justices in the Court of Quarter Sessions assembled. It is, in fact, a kind of local budget which is read, and when read and sanctioned the guardians have to supply the funds, which are raised by the rates that the overseers collect.†

Such, in outline, is the system which it is now in contemplation materially to modify. The general arguments on which such a change is based are, first, the disregard of the representative principle in this department of the national life; and secondly, the economy, as well as the simplicity, which would result from the substitution of one authority for several. Now, as regards the former of these points, it is the fact that the Village Reeves and Port Reeves were in the Anglo-Saxon period chosen by popular election. This custom disappeared to a great extent at the Conquest; but even as late as the 28th Edward I. an Act was passed asserting for the people the right of the election of sheriffs in every shire "if they list;" nor was the right taken away before the 9th Edward II., on the plea of the dangers of "tumultuous assembling." As regards the justices or conservators of the peace, they were elected by the freeholders of the county up to the commencement of the reign of Edward III., when that monarch took the commission of the peace into his own hands, and at the present moment the coroner is the only ancient officer whose election is vested immediately in the people or freeholders. The inconvenience arising from this neglect of the representative principle in county matters is aggravated by the fact that, while the population is growing in numbers and density, there exists no satisfactory method of taking its voice in local affairs. The Lord Lieutenant, indeed, has the power of convening the county by special summons. Theoretically, also, presenta-

* Roads, except where quasi-judicial Acts are required, or an adoption of the Highway Act is proposed, seldom give rise to much debate.

† The magistrates in Quarter Sessions have, as such, neither knowledge of nor concern with, the sums required by the guardians. All that come before them are the County and Police Rates: thus their finance deals with by far the least important portion of the local funds. The County and Police Rates may be only 5d. in the pound; the charges borne by the ratepayer in consequence of calls for guardians, Highway, and School, and the rest authorities will be about 2s. 6d. or 3s. in the pound. The County Assessment Committee does assess the county, but their valuation is only used for County Rate.

tions, or statements of grievances, may still be made to the grand juries of the county at the Assizes and Quarter Sessions. But the first of these expedients is only resorted to for the relief of public feeling when it is profoundly moved, and is inapplicable for the sober discussion of business; and the second, the presentations seldom get farther than the court to which they are submitted.

It is the multiplicity of concurrent authorities, the confusion which is the effect of this concurrence, the independence, and the consequent conflict of local governing bodies, that are the chief causes of mischief and inconvenience. Such a distribution of powers is equally fatal to efficiency and unfair to the ratepayer. "If," as is stated by Mr. Wright in the admirable memorandum on the subject of local government, drawn up by him under the supervision of Mr. Rathbone and Mr. Whitbread, a few years back, and republished in the current year, "one simple unit of local government were adopted for all purposes, there would be a single governing body, elected at one time, and in one manner, and by one constituency; and this body, by itself or by its committees, would manage all the affairs of the locality on consistent principles; its proceedings would be subject to effective control by the ratepayers, and last, though not least, it would have one budget of expenditure and debt of the whole locality." We should, in fact, get rid of the perplexing distribution of action among overseers, guardians, Highway Boards, Burial Boards, Justices of the Peace. Simplification would bring with it to the ratepayers the power of control. It may further be regarded as desirable that there should be a channel of trustworthy communication between the ratepayers, the people, and the Local Government Board, the central authority. This there cannot be until we have genuinely representative as well as generally responsible local bodies. Once let these exist, with no needless impediments in the way of their working efficiently, and the necessity for interference by the central authority will be diminished, while the use and value of the information which it can furnish will be materially augmented. The balance will, in fact, be finally and satisfactorily struck between independence judiciously regulated and perpetual anarchy from which there can be no outcome but severe centralisation.

It is impossible to discuss this part of the subject without briefly glancing at the objections which are taken to the discharge of their purely judicial duties by magistrates who have no special legal training, and who, when points of law arise before them, are obliged to trust to the wisdom and experience of their clerks. Here again it must be allowed that the censors of the existing régime have, to a certain extent, antiquity on their side. The original statute of Edward III., which gave the right of nominating justices to the Crown, provides that they (the justices) should be "good men and

lawful"—skilled in the law. A later statute of the same king ordains that one lord with three or four men of the best reputation, together with men learned in the law, should be assigned to each county. Various statutes were passed in the reign of Richard II., enacting that the justices should be selected from "the most sufficient knights, esquires, and men of the law." As a property qualification was not determined until the reign of Henry VI., it follows that for about a century good reputation and legal learning were the two necessary and qualifying attributes of magistrates. Nor even did the property qualification, fixed at the possession of lands or tenements of the annual value of £20, abrogate the condition of legal learning. And it was a condition which, as a matter of fact, continued down to the days of George II., when the qualification was altered to its present form—landed property of the clear annual value of £20, or the immediate reversion of lands of the annual value of £300.

Those who are dissatisfied with the existing system of administration in the country districts affirm that there can be no guarantee of impartial justice where the judges are personally acquainted with the parties, and where the same persons practically do duty, both as judges and as prosecutors. All county justices are *ex officio* guardians of the union in which they reside; the chairman of the Board of Guardians being usually a squire. The same person who hears from the Clerk of the Guardians the particulars concerning a defaulter charged with neglect of his relatives, and orders the defaulter in question to be prosecuted, may, as a justice, in a few days be sitting in judgment on him. Again, it is urged, the justices being country gentlemen, and game preservers, have a direct interest in putting down poaching. But recent legislation (the objection continues) has recognised the inexpediency of allowing magistrates to adjudicate in special cases in which they have a class interest. Thus, no mill-owner can hear a charge under the Factory Acts; no mine-owner under the Mines Inspection Act; no miller can adjudicate under the Bread and Flour Act; no brewer or distiller can take part in the granting of licences. Why then should game preservers try poachers? This, it is said, is an anomaly: and it is an anomaly which causes a suspicion of and disrespect for what is sometimes stigmatised as "justices' justice" in the rustic mind.

Further, it is asked, is it in human nature for an amiable, tender-hearted country gentleman not educated in the stern traditions of legal impartiality, to decide without any bias in favour of the man whom he knows as an orderly, well-behaved, sober peasant, if the case brought before him is that of a quarrel between such a one and a dissolute "ne'er-do-weel?" As regards the statement, which is sometimes urged as a sufficient vindication of the institution of an unpaid magistracy in country districts, that the cases disposed of at

Petty Sessions are so plain and trivial as to render precautions for insuring an absence of biassed opinion unnecessary, it must be remembered that small cases do not necessarily make easy law, and that a paltry perversion of justice may threaten the peace of a village. A well-known Indian official, of great judicial experience, once remarked that "any fool could try a murder—the evidence was usually so clear and direct—but that it took a born judge to distinguish between the merits of a despicable squabble between two ryots for possession of half an acre of land." This argument is eminently applicable in the present instance, and it is certainly conceivable that the presence of a carefully trained legal intellect at Petty Sessions would be of material value. Of course the obvious and, as it may turn out to be, conclusive answer to the suggestion of a staff of stipendiaries in rural districts—going circuits after the fashion of county court judges—is the burden which would be placed on the rates or taxes. On the other hand, if this would afford us a guarantee against the costly blunders now frequently committed—if it would prevent the dispatch to prison of men only to be immediately released by the Home Secretary—it is more than possible,—to say nothing of the gain to the administration of justice itself secured by its consequent freedom from suspicion,—that what was nominally additional expenditure might really be retrenchment.

CHAPTER V.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

Local Boards—The New Relation between County Towns and Surrounding Neighbourhood—General Results of the Municipal Corporation Act—Relations between Municipal Governments and Central Government—The Mayoralty in London and in the Provinces—Town Councils: their Jurisdiction and Offices—Trade Councils—Debate in Town Council described—Educating Influences of the Life—Borough Magistrates—Politics in Municipal Matters—Citizenship in London and the Provinces—The Government of London—Proposals for its Reform.

The connecting-link between rural and municipal government is to be found in the institution known as the Local Board. This body is frequently to be met with in what are called "populous places"—districts, that is, in which some of the characteristics and feelings of both country and town are combined—and it may be described as standing midway between the Vestry, or the Board of Guardians, and the Town Council. The members of the Local Board are, like the guardians, elected by the ratepayers within its jurisdiction. It is charged with some of the functions of the Board of Guardians, and also, as is the case with the Board of Guardians, transacts most of its business by committees. Upon these devolve the superintendence of roads and highways, responsibility for the sanitary condition of a district, for the removal of nuisances, and the general provision of fresh air and pure water. It remains for us to advance a step farther than this, and to cross the interval which separates rural administration from genuine municipal administration—to quit the neighbourhood where matters are managed nearly as much by tradition and precedent as by principle, and visit the local capital, where the authorities are guided at all points by written law, and which is itself a miniature pattern of the realm. The village grows by imperceptible stages into the town, and urban institutions are established almost before one seems to have left the property of the squire. This interfusion is increased by the paramount influence which some of the great governing families of England exercise over its towns. The shadow of the castle or the abbey is projected over the borough; its political representation is often vested, and has been vested for generations, in the ruling house; the chief hotel of the place takes its title from the broad acres of the same great county house.

And yet there is a very visible difference between country town and country village life. There is scarcely a borough in England now which is not something of a manufacturing centre as well. New sources of mineral wealth are ever and anon being discovered beneath the surface of the soil; special virtues are found to reside in local fountains; sequestered vales are constantly proved to afford the most eligible sites for textile factories or brick-yards. It is the tendency of towns of all kinds to develop into trading centres—depôts, each of them, of some particular products. Whatever their produce may be, it is an instinct with the producers to organise it, and to assert for themselves a distinct position in the great hierarchy of English traders. Thus, the place which thirty years ago was only the medium of distribution for local products in the locality itself, is now a kind of petty emporium of the empire, the head-quarters of whose business no longer lie within the boundaries of the borough, but are in London. The produce of the neighbourhood, whether fish, flesh, or fowl, milk, butter, or cheese, goes to London as a kind of clearing-house, through which it passes, sometimes before it finds its way to the local consumers. Consequently many, even most, of the chief representatives of the local business are immediately identified with London. As might be expected, this development has greatly changed the relations which once existed between the great county families and the county town. Even in the most remote districts of England something like an attitude of antagonism, or at least of self-assertion, seems to be betrayed on the part of the town towards its rural neighbours. The chief hotel-keepers and shopkeepers of the former are anxious to conciliate the goodwill and secure the patronage of the latter. The advent of the county people on market days, and on other occasions, is still an event. But it is not *the* event. Town remains deferential towards county, but, in the most inoffensive manner in the world possible, it wishes to give county to understand that the tie of dependence which once bound them together, making town the creature of county, is permanently and considerably relaxed.

There is not, indeed, in most cases any real hostility between the two. In very many country towns there will be found men engaged in commerce or trade who have pedigrees that extend over centuries, and who are directly or remotely connected with the most illustrious of their county neighbours. But though this is to some extent a sentimental tie of union, it is one of which the very affinity sometimes acts as the provocative of rivalry. The townsman thinks of himself as a member indeed of the county family, but as belonging to a branch of it which has gone into a different line of life, and which has created new centres and conditions of interest of its own. Insensibly the most unsophisticated of country towns have become more or less isolated from the purely rural districts surrounding them. There is a

commercial traffic between the two—farmers and cottagers bring in their goods and sell them. The great country folk, as has been said, repair thither at stated intervals, though they do little towards patronising the tradesman—a fact which is largely accountable for the growing divergence and divorce between the two districts. And there are blood ties as well as business ties uniting them. But the prevailing sentiment in towns is a desire on the part of the citizens to show that they are members of an independent community, capable of choosing their own municipal authorities, and managing their own concerns generally.

Legislation which is now nearly fifty years old has done much to strengthen and encourage this feeling. The Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 marked an epoch in the history of English local administration. The measure gave municipal government, as it now is, to upwards of two hundred towns. It was adopted by Manchester first, and there, as well as wherever it was afterwards adopted, it commenced to diffuse an entirely new spirit. It brought home, or it has since served to bring home, the sense of citizenship to all who are living under it. The institutions which have been its immediate products have generated an intense spirit of corporate energy and freedom; a new motive has been supplied for local improvements, and a fresh incentive to private and public beneficence. The Legislature again affords a continuous stimulus to local activity. Not a Session passes in which Parliament does not confer some new right, or impose some fresh duty and responsibility on local authorities. In some cases these measures are permissive, in others imperative, but their number, and in many instances their magnitude and importance, largely account for that steady growth of local expenditure and local indebtedness which periodically excites the unreasonable surprise of honourable members who have supported these various proposals as they have been submitted to them, but presumably without any notion of the cost which their execution would entail. There is no appearance that this stream of legislation will cease to flow, and at the present moment the municipal government of England is full of possibilities. For its actual effects it depends almost entirely upon the men who are its administrators.

Signs are not wanting that what the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835 was to the men of a past generation, the Education Act of 1870 will, in years to come, be considered by men who are not yet middle-aged. The pride which many a citizen of Sheffield, Birmingham, and Bradford takes in the institutions of his town is enhanced by the circumstance that he can recollect the return of the first member for the borough, and the first Mayor of the municipality. It does not seem impossible that the time may be coming when the Education Act will suggest in many places a similar sort of honourably gratifying

retrospect. Precisely the same stamp of man who took an active part in the assertion of municipal rights and privileges is now engaged in the development of our educational system. School Boards have been formed in many places where they are the only really representative bodies of the district. By their means schools are raised everywhere at the expense of the ratepayers, who are thus being educated in the work of self-government. In the towns, where this experience is not new, and where men have long been accustomed to take a broad view of their civic duties, and have already tested the advantages of common action and co-operation for important common objects, energetic citizens are doing their best to secure not merely an effective system of primary education, but also of secondary instruction. It is with this view that they have in some cases, with the consent of the Education Department, travelled outside the letter of the Act of 1870, and that they have also at their own expense made tours of Germany, France, and Switzerland, noting down all that was best in the educational systems of these countries, with a hope of introducing it in Leeds, or in Sheffield, or elsewhere. Nor is it necessary to suppose that in these cases the local educational jurisdiction will always be separated from the exercise of more general municipal powers. The tendency is everywhere to increase the authority of the Town Council, and it is even now a question whether the management of Board Schools, which are institutions of quite as much local interest and importance as markets, gas-works, and water-works, might not conveniently be entrusted to a committee of the Corporation.

The legislation of 1835 was, within certain limits, of an essentially centralising character. It superseded the power of vestries by a Town Council of which the jurisdiction has gone on increasing until at present the Town Councillors, subject to the authority of the Mayor, have absolute control over the government of a town. They have, indeed, to ask the consent of Parliament when they contemplate any changes which affect the tenure of property. They have to forward their accounts to the Home Secretary, who in his turn has to lay them before Parliament. But, with the exception of these general limitations, they are the masters of their own actions. It is incumbent on them to see that the streets are well lighted, that all quarters of the town are well drained, that the thoroughfares are kept in decent repair. They control the police, they have the election of the borough coroner and of the stipendiary magistrate, and in some places their recommendation is accepted by the Lord Chancellor in making appointments to the commission of the peace. They manage the baths and parks of the town, and its free libraries and museums; they superintend the markets and fairs, and levy tolls therein; they maintain the lunatic asylum, the industrial school, and possibly the cemetery; they provide a borough hospital, and establish a borough fire

brigade. They are manufacturers of gas, purveyors of water, farmers at the sewage farm, and chemists in the analyst's laboratory. The whole district under their control is frequently inspected for sanitary purposes; nuisances are removed by their orders; new buildings surveyed, and old ones ordered to be repaired or pulled down. Finally, they have their representation on many of the educational and charitable foundations of the town, and possibly command by the votes of their members the administration of the local grammar school and other similar institutions.

The best way to gain an idea of the municipal administration of the United Kingdom will be to watch its machinery in active motion, and this we shall most successfully do by visiting one of the great provincial capitals where it is at work. We are entering, the reader will suppose, a very handsome block of newly-erected buildings—the municipal offices of a busy, prosperous community. The Town Hall itself is accidentally, not necessarily, a separate edifice. The rooms in this present structure consist of a spacious chamber in which the Town Council holds its periodical meetings, of committee-rooms, of the Mayor's private parlour, furnished in a style calculated to impress visitors with a due sense of the dignity of the representative of the citizens; of clerks' offices; of reception-rooms, and a smoking-room; of a spacious kitchen at the top of the building, placed there that the deliberations of the councillors and the occupation of the officials may not be invaded by the odours of the cuisine. Under this roof are the head-quarters of every department charged with the government of the town and responsible for the well-being of its inhabitants. Here it is that the architects and surveyors, with their several staffs, are domiciled, here that the Town Clerk—an official who may be compared to the Permanent Secretary in the great offices of State, the Mayor being the temporary head of the system—is seated in his bureau, transacts his business, and gives the council and the committees of the council the benefit of his legal acquirements.

To each of the departments of the public work there is assigned its own special committee of, probably, eight in number. The entire council, whence these committees are chosen, consists, let us say, of sixty-four members, three being elected triennially by the ratepayers of each of the wards into which the town is divided, making in all forty-eight, and sixteen being aldermen, who are the nominees of the Town Council, and have received that titular dignity in recognition of some signal merit or distinguished service. The different committees of the council are answerable to the general body for the superintendence and execution of the tasks distributed among them. Before any work is taken in hand, an estimate of its expenditure is submitted to the council, is ratified or amended, as the case may be, and is not to be exceeded without the council's special consent. In each com-

mittee there is a finance sub-committee, which examines its accounts and reports them to the finance committee of the entire council. The exqenditure incurred through the instrumentality of these bodies suggests one of the chief points of contact between the Imperial Government at Westminster and the Local Government in the provinces. Successive statutes, of which the most important are the Public Works Act of 1875, and the Artisans' Dwellings Act of 1876, have materially enlarged the independent jurisdiction of the municipalities. The most fervent advocates of the principle of municipal autonomy would allow that such centralisation as still obtains in the relations between the provinces and Whitehall is indispensable for the protection of the interests of provincial communities. As to the merits of that specific measure of legislation which has transferred the control of the prisons from the local bodies to a commission, different opinions exist, and probably the time has not yet come when it is possible to express a final judgment concerning them. The only thing which now seems certain is that the local inspection which was reserved by the Prisons Act to municipal authorities, is gradually being suffered by these authorities themselves to become a dead letter.

Such interference as the Central Government exercises in the municipalities is designed for the exclusive purpose of checking precipitate action, or a recklessness of expenditure which might involve generations of ratepayers as yet unborn in heavy financial embarrassments. If the authorities of the large towns only display the same prudence as the shareholders in a company demand from their trustees and managers, they will have no reason to complain that their action is hampered by the Local Government Board, to which they are subject, and acquiescence by the Local Government Board in the proposals of the municipality may be expected as a matter of course. Some great work, let us suppose, is in contemplation or progress, which involves the sale or transfer of land, and probably in addition the borrowing of a considerable sum of money. What is the mode of procedure which the municipality adopts? Formal application with full particulars of the scheme is made to the Local Government Board to sanction the undertaking, to allow the expenditure, and to authorise the loan. In a little while an official from Whitehall, having previously made it known to all whom it may concern by the medium of advertisements in the papers that he will attend on a particular day, at a particular place, for hearing the objections which may be advanced by dissentients from the enterprise, arrives in the town. He proceeds to examine the nature of the contemplated work, weighs the arguments which are advanced for and against the compulsory sale of particular properties, judges for himself whether or not the security offered is sufficient for the amount required, and duly reports the result of all this to his department in London. In cases where the action of the

municipality interferes with the rights of private property, it is the approval of Parliament, expressed in legislative enactment, which has to be secured. When, in addition to this, a sum of money is required for the accomplishment of any enterprise, there are two modes of action which may be resorted to. In the first place, there is the simple expedient of the municipality going into the money market, and starting a loan of its own upon the security of its rates and works, which loan it can usually get at about four per cent. In the second place, resort may be had to the Public Works Loan Commissioners, who are authorised to lend sums of money at not less than three and a half per cent., to be paid off in a period not exceeding fifty years, to municipalities, with a view of facilitating improvements in the sewage, gas, and water arrangements of big towns. It may be remarked that the theory underlying this procedure is, that the Commissioners borrow on consols, payment of which might of course be indefinitely deferred. As a matter of fact they borrow on exchequer bonds, which very speedily fall due. There is a manifest disadvantage incidental to this arrangement in that the sudden payment of these liabilities might in times of great financial pressure involve considerable inconvenience. It is, therefore, a question whether the sums lent by the Commissioners ought not rather to be raised by terminable annuities. As for the security which the municipalities in these contracts provide, it is indisputably adequate. Seeing that the Commissioners never lend more than the amount of the total value of two years' rating, it is clear that nothing but the most scandalous carelessness can ever result in a realised loss. Even supposing that this neglect were at all a likely contingency, there would still be the safeguard of that extreme jealousy of local expenditure entertained by the representatives of the Central Government.

These details, which, troublesome as they may seem, it is quite necessary that we should not ignore, have kept us waiting for some time on the threshold of the really gorgeous chamber in which the members of the Town Council have assembled for debate. It is the House of Commons in miniature, with some of the features that remind one of the Chamber of Deputies at Versailles. Councillors and aldermen are collected in little knots, discussing with each other, and with their constituents, the ratepayers, the issues of the coming discussion, in the rooms and lobbies contiguous to the place of actual deliberation. The apartment dedicated to this purpose is an exact amphitheatre. Stout oak chairs, with stout oak tables, in continuous line before them, are ranged tier upon tier, and last of all is a gallery with some half-dozen rows of seats, exactly resembling the dress circle in a theatre. Opposite to them, at the other end of the apartment, where in a theatre the stage would be, is a raised platform or daïs, in the centre of which sits on the chair of state the Mayor

of the municipality, supported on the right hand by the Town Clerk as his official interpreter of vexed points of municipal law or deliberative procedure, and on the left by a couple of aldermen who have been his immediate predecessors in office.

The orders of the day have now been read, and the active business begins. A good deal of it is already cut and dried, prepared by the different committees of the council at their several sittings, and only waiting the final registration and formal sanction of the entire body in full council assembled. Then the council, like the House of Commons on analogous occasions, resolves itself into a committee, and, unlike the House of Commons, appoints by a unanimous vote as its chairman, its ordinary speaker or president—in other words, the mayor. A Bill is presented which it is proposed to ask Parliament to pass in the ensuing Session. The clauses are gone through one by one with some discussion, and then the council resumes, and the Mayor reports that the committee has passed the Bill without amendment, whereupon a resolution is adopted, authorising the Town Clerk to take, on behalf of the council, all such proceedings as may be necessary to promote the Bill in Parliament.

Not much excitement can be said to attach to these routine transactions. It is evident, however, from the manner in which the seats in the strangers' gallery are filling, that something in the nature of a sensation is expected. Before long it comes. An important committee brings up a report involving recommendations the policy of which has apparently been keenly contested outside the council. It soon appears that the principle at stake is complicated by a purely personal controversy. Mr. Councillor, or Alderman Brown is vaguely conscious of a grievance at the hands of Mr. Councillor or Alderman Smith. He has nothing very specific to allege in the way of complaint, but he has a distinct idea that the comments of his fellow-townsman on his words or actions upon a recent occasion were charged with a subtly caustic flavour, and had the effect of making him appear in a rather ludicrous light to the local public.

This is true human nature. The Briton will forgive a direct insult, and forget a well-planted and indisputable blow, but the rapier-thrust of a phrase, which, apparently innocent or unobjectionable, in reality hits him in a vital part, is an outrage that he cannot endure. His wound is made worse because for a long time he hugs the weapon which inflicted it. At last the moment has arrived when he must liberate his soul. He watches his opportunity, rises to address the assemblage, and is pronounced by the Mayor to be in possession of the house. The honest controversialist is too acutely sensitive of the bitter sting of the viciously turned sentences of his critic, too indignant at the accusations he can detect in them, to be epigrammatic or even relevant in his retorts. Instead, he is very prolix, very prosy, and is

perpetually wandering into themes not wholly akin to the subject in hand. Reminded at not infrequent intervals by the Mayor or some other member of the assemblage that he must be more pertinent in his observations, he sits down for a moment, and rises, hot, angry, and nervous, to renew the attack, which he is firmly persuaded is a defence necessary to his honour as a citizen and as a man. Meanwhile, the occupants of the strangers' gallery are beginning to display signs of sympathy or disapproval; this, of course, is as much in violation of the established rules of municipal procedure as the applause of spectators in a court of justice, or the cheers of an appreciative phalanx of the recipients of orders to the Speaker's gallery in the House of Commons. The Mayor interposes a mild but firm rebuke, the intrusive shouts are silenced, and the excited rhetorician continues his discourse.

This is only an incident, and by no means a common one, in the debates of the Town Council. As a rule the proceedings of this body are conducted in a severely business-like spirit and with a full sense of the responsibility proper to a body which is entrusted with the expenditure of a sum not much less than one million annually. An ordinary Town Council displays an ability in debate quite equal to that witnessed in the House of Commons when sitting in committee on some question of domestic legislation. Naturally the political influences and advantages of such municipal training as this are considerable. The citizen who has served his apprenticeship to the active work of the corporation, who has borne a prominent part in the criticism and advocacy of local measures in the council, who ha worked actively on the committees to which he has been elected, has received a valuable preliminary training as a member of the imperial legislature. On the other hand, though this very training may enable him to take a broader and more comprehensive view of the wants and institutions of England; though it is quite certain that it will prevent his ignoring, as there is always more or less of a tendency in members of Parliament to ignore, that complex, provincial system which lies outside the metropolis, it is attended by certain manifest drawbacks. The man thus educated grows up indeed with actively developed ambitions and with invigorated capacities. But strongly convinced that the provincial corporation is the true unit of imperial government, he may be apt to forget that the same positive certainty and precision are not possible in imperial as in municipal affairs; that when the complexity of the subject matter is infinitely increased, the method of procedure which was once applicable is applicable no longer, and that the burden of larger principles cannot be supported in the same attitude which was adequate to sustain the affairs of a town. Yet, if he has a native elasticity of mind, he will soon adapt himself to the new conditions. Municipal statesmanship will prove but a transient phase of his

political development, and he will gradually become a power in the House of Commons by the exercise of the self-same gifts, accommodated to the changed circumstances that have secured for him pre-eminence in his own municipality.

Meanwhile, what of the functions of the personage who presides over the deliberations of the council—his Worship the Mayor? The Mayor of a great town is carefully to be distinguished, as to his position and power, from the chief officer of the corporation of small provincial boroughs on the one hand, and of the City of London on the other. Onerous and exacting as are all his labours, the Lord Mayor of London has a host of duties to discharge, which, for the sake of distinction, may be indicated by the epithet ornamental. While, in conjunction with the City aldermen, he is the chief administrator of justice and law within the City precincts; while almost every national movement for the relief of national distress may be said to emanate from the Mansion House, which is the Lord Mayor's palace; while he is the one officer of the realm whose initiative and sanction are the main-springs of English charity, the decorative attributes of the post are not less conspicuous and in their way important. Large independent means have become essential for the maintenance of the state in which the Lord Mayor is expected to live, and for the pageants and hospitalities of which he has to bear the chief burden. Periodically he entertains as his guests distinguished visitors from abroad, now an Asiatic despot, and now a European prince. There are few days in the week in which he has not, clad in the robes and ensigns of his office, to take his place at some public meeting, or to occupy a prominent position at some public dinner. In these duties he is frequently accompanied by the sheriffs; but they only enhance the ceremonial effect, and do not relieve the chief magistrate of the City of any of his actual work.

The mayoralty in provincial cities is a position not less coveted and honourable than in the capital city of the empire. In small places it may have sunk into disrepute, but in towns like Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Birmingham, and many others much inferior to them in importance and influence, it is still regarded as a considerable mark of distinction. In all these cases, with the notable exceptions of Liverpool and Dover, the ornamental attributes of the office are somewhat in abeyance. At Liverpool, indeed, which as the great port of communication with the New World, abounds in opportunities of doing honour to illustrious strangers, the Mayor has to participate in entertainments and pageants involving an expenditure that it is only partially recompensed to him by the salary he is paid. Elsewhere in the provinces the Mayor is generally an unpaid officer, and when his yearly term is over he can scarcely hope to find himself less than £1,000 or £1,500 out of pocket. It is the chief function of the pro-

vincial Mayor to be president of the Town Council; and the feeling of his fellow-townsmen is, that he should not sink his business work in this capacity in the mere pomps and vanities of his office. The routine labours of the post occupy his entire time, and if he happens to be a member of any great business firm, he cannot hope to give more than an hour a day to its affairs, and will probably have to make some arrangement with his partners during his twelvemonth of office. He represents the council and the town on deputations to ministers of state, while if the Central Government want information on any local matter, it is to the Mayor that they will apply. He presides over public meetings of all kinds, whether held for political or charitable purposes. At purely town meetings he fills the chair in virtue of his office. He takes his place on the rota of magistrates, and presides over all their meetings. In addition to this, he is a member *ex officio* of every committee of the council, and is thus held, as, indeed, from the necessities of the case he must be, responsible for the general working of the entire municipal machinery.

Passing to the administration of justice in municipalities, the Mayor, as has been seen, is always the chief magistrate of the corporation. Provincial aldermen, unlike London aldermen, have not any magisterial power, while most of the practical duties of the magistracy are often discharged by a stipendiary officer, whom it is optional with every corporation to appoint. The borough magistrate differs from the county justice in that he is not required to possess any property qualification, and that he need not even be a burgess of the municipality in which he acts. The sole legal qualification which exists is that he shall reside within seven miles of the borough. On the other hand, various practical disqualifications have gathered round the office from time to time, at the discretion or caprice of different Lord Chancellors, with whom—and not, as in the case of counties, with the Lord Lieutenant—the appointment of borough magistrates rests exclusively. Lord Westbury was the first keeper of the Sovereign's conscience to exclude brewers from the commission, and this disqualification has been subsequently extended to all persons engaged in any branch of the liquor trade. It is also customary to disqualify practising solicitors, and, sometimes, persons connected with the local newspapers. The Mayor continuing to hold magisterial office during the year succeeding to that of his mayoralty, it follows that the borough bench is always occupied by two magistrates elected by the burgesses—a fact which the champions of popular privileges and the principle of popular representation naturally adduce as the explanation of the general superiority of urban to rural justice. For this superiority there is a further security in the circumstance that the administrators of urban justice live in the full light of public opinion, are subject to the criticism of an active and inquisitive press, and

belong to a complex body animated by great diversity of interests and convictions.

In one respect at least the borough magistrates are sometimes at a disadvantage. Although a political bias, more or less strong, occasionally possesses the county bench, it is kept discreetly in the background; but in the case of the borough bench the appointments are habitually made on political grounds. Hence arises much rough criticism of a purely partisan character, which is not calculated to promote a spirit of respect for either the administration or the administrators of the law. The Lord Chancellor, unlike the Lord Lieutenant, is not the incumbent of his office for life, and it consequently happens that, as each successive Government acquires place and power, a fresh batch of magistrates is made by the incoming Chancellor, for the purpose of satisfying the claims of ministerial supporters in the different boroughs throughout the kingdom. Town Council debates, and occasionally debates in Parliament itself, show how the vehemence of parties is aroused by these judicial appointments. In some instances—and it must be remembered that in such things as these, which depend wholly upon an infinitely varying social usage, it is impossible to lay down an absolute and comprehensive rule—the Lord Chancellor allows the town councillors little or no option in the matter, and the corporation has only a nominal veto upon applicants, or finds that the list of names which it submits is disregarded. To such a system certain abuses and disadvantages are inevitably incidental. It does not add to the dignity of the magistrate's office, or to the popular regard for justice, that the commission of the peace in boroughs should be bestowed as the reward of political service, and that new magistrates should be indefinitely multiplied in consequence of political exigencies. Three Town Councils, those of Leicester, Worcester, and Rochester, during the first session of the Parliament elected in 1874 succeeded in obtaining a discussion of the alleged grievances which they had sustained by the appointment of Conservative magistrates. On this occasion the representatives of the Government admitted that the appointments were the results of political necessity. The local feuds and mutual recrimination to which this state of affairs gives rise, are at once unfortunate and humiliating.

These facts will convey some idea of the difficulty of preventing political considerations from extending themselves into other non-political issues, and colouring purely municipal affairs. Hence the question arises, whether it is not better to accept and make the best of the inevitable. Much has lately been said against the introduction of political influences into the candidature for municipal offices. The object, it is urged with absolute truth, in the case of the election of a town councillor is that the choice shall fall upon the best man forth-

coming, independently of his views as to the government of the State. But it is much easier to protest against the confusion of qualifications than it is to see precisely how the evil is to be remedied. Englishmen have a way of thrusting their political beliefs and views into almost every matter of daily life and business, and whenever a number of Englishmen are gathered together they divide themselves by an irresistible impulse into opposing political camps. When, therefore, the charge is brought against the leading members of any municipal corporation that they carry the spirit of political exclusion outside the political sphere, it is open for them to reply that they are merely endeavouring to turn to the best account a force which is not of their creation. There is, further, some plausibility in the argument that if the political issue was not introduced into the competition, some other issue, of a less worthy kind, infallibly would be, and that it is better for a municipal election to be decided by political considerations than by considerations of social position. By identifying municipal with political issues town councillors may consider that they secure men more competent for the discharge of municipal duties, and that the simple fact of a parochial office being the coveted prize of a political competition raises its status above the level of vestrymanship, and induces a better class of men than would otherwise come forward to descend into the arena.

It is not only in the parliamentary and municipal institutions of England that the representative principle is actively and beneficently asserted. To such depositaries of the principles of local government as Town Councils, Boards of Guardians, and Vestries, must in the case of some cities, notably of Sheffield, be added another. What Chambers of Commerce do for employers and capital, Trade Councils in some degree do for the employed and for labour. The former bodies are organisations of merchants and capitalists, whose purpose it is by periodical intercourse and deliberation to ascertain what is wanting to advance the best interests of the trade and commerce of the neighbourhood, to see that these deficiencies receive proper consideration at the hands of the legislature, to communicate special wants to parliamentary representatives, and upon occasion to present memorials or despatch deputations to the Imperial Government.* In the Trade Council the principle of organisation may be seen in a like state of activity. This council is really a confederation of working men's delegates for industrial purposes. The members of each industry choose by universal suffrage a parliament of their own, whence some one individual is selected by vote to a place on the general council of the collective industries, whose business it is to

* Here, again, it is impossible to lay down a universally applicable rule. Thus Unionism, which, as is said in the text, is a politically powerful principle in Sheffield, is almost politically non-existent in Birmingham.

watch over the interests of labour and to bring the wants and grievances of labour before the members of the Imperial Parliament, just as the employers do in the Chambers of Commerce. Consequently, the political representative in the case of every great industrial town stands between employers and employed, each in confederated conclave assembled. As he will, if he is wise, be able to exercise a wholesome influence with the employers, so also will he be able to contribute much towards the political and economical education of the employed.

The Trade Council, in addition to its periodical meetings, usually holds an annual dinner, and at this dinner one or other of the parliamentary representatives of the borongh may be expected to take his place as the guest of the evening. The dinner is not a luxurious banquet. The apartment in which it is held is neither too roomy nor too well ventilated. The diners number over a hundred, and they are very closely packed away. During the daytime they have been occupied with their different callings, some of them engaged in work requiring only the mechanical exercise of brute strength, others in the manipulation of the most delicate machinery. Now their working dresses are laid aside, they have donned their suits of black broadcloth, and in point of decent presence, good manners, intelligent looks, they are an exceedingly creditable company. The meal only consists of a couple of courses, joints roast and boiled, tarts and puddings, solid and satisfying. It is consumed with the swiftness and appetite which one expects to see in English working men. Good fresh meat is not, indeed, strange to their lips; what is strange is the bulk in which they see it displayed. To those who only know beef and mutton from the small morsels which it falls to their everyday lot to taste, there is something of irresistible fascination in the visible presence before them of the entire joints whence those morsels are taken, and at which the diners may cut and come again.

But their intelligence is not dulled by the solidity of the repast and the glass or two of beer with which it is washed down. They are looking out for a speech—not on politics, but on matters connected with trade and industry—from one of their borough members, who happens to be among them. What they want is not flattery but truth. They know very well that they are sometimes short-sighted, and that many of the rules of their societies call for amendment. They wish to be dealt with fairly, to be told when they go wrong and why they go wrong, and if their mentor does this they will not be satisfied merely, but grateful. It is difficult to leave such an assembly as this without feeling that those members of the House of Commons who represent large business constituencies have a daily increasing responsibility. If our elective legislators fairly face the situation, dealing honestly with the working men electors, neither neglecting

their interests nor appealing to their vanity, they will have little reason to complain that they are delegates and not free agents. The game is almost completely in their own hands, and they will be acting most unwisely if they neglect these opportunities of meeting their constituents and teaching them—for membership of the House of Commons is not solely a political but also an educational responsibility—lessons of something more than partisan fidelity.

If good citizenship ought to be the ideal of the individual, and if the standard of good citizenship is the completeness with which the duties of a citizen are discharged, it is to the provincial capitals, such as those we have just visited, that we should go. In London itself the active qualities of citizenship are, for the most part, imperfectly displayed. The Londoner pays his rates and taxes, and says with perfect truth that these are heavy enough to secure him every creature comfort outside and inside his home—good drainage, well-paved and well-cleaned streets, pure water, unpolluted air, and gas of good illuminating power. If such boons are not always forthcoming, the Londoner vents his dissatisfaction on those whom he considers the responsible officials, grumbles at his club or his home, or writes a letter to the newspapers, but seldom attempts personally to take in hand the redress of his own grievances. London, indeed, is so hugely overgrown that its size eclipses the sense of private and personal responsibility. The Londoner is a ratepayer, a taxpayer, a subscriber to charities, a voter at political and sometimes municipal elections, but scarcely a citizen. There is no sense whatever leavening the mass of the nation of London of a corporate life in which each one is bound to take his share, and of the responsibilities of which nobody can divest himself. This is one of the reasons that London is probably the worst governed of English cities, and that publicans and small tradesmen are the majority in those vestries which are the local parliaments of the capital. The provincial Englishman, on the other hand, lives in a more stimulating atmosphere; he is not oppressed by the same consciousness of vastness of space and number. He is a unit, not a cipher. Invigorated by the knowledge that action is not necessarily followed by failure, he nerves himself to action, and action begets ambition.

London, again, is the most wealthy and one of the least commodious capitals in the world, for the simple reason that only a very limited portion of that aggregate of towns of which it is composed—namely, the City—enjoys municipal rights. A municipality for London is what generations of metropolitan reformers have been endeavouring to secure. The vision that they have before them is that of an Hotel de Ville, a group of buildings which should consist of the central offices of all the departments of metropolitan government—Justice, Police, Drainage, Gas, Water, Fire Brigade. This would be the harmonious

blending into one organic whole of the fourfold empire from which London as it is suffers—the City Corporation, the Westminster authorities, the Vestries, and the Metropolitan Board of Works. The area of London is divided into thirty-nine districts for vestry action as well as for poor-law administration, and is partitioned anew, with no regard for uniformity, for police, county courts, duties under the Registrar-General, for militia, revenue, postal, gas, water, and parliamentary purposes. Divided and multiplied authority means increased and unnecessary expense, and the annual pecuniary loss to London in consequence of ill-regulated administrative expenditure may be estimated at a quarter of a million, while that upon gas and water amounts to half a million.

Nothing more costly, indeed, than the present system of London local government under vestries can be imagined. Westminster, for instance, has five Boards, equal in the aggregate to only one in Marylebone, with five administrative staffs; and the multiplication of vestries involves, of course, in such a case, a multiplication of official salaries. In the same way, vestry halls are multiplied for small areas. The action of medical officers is controlled by vestrymen, who are the owners of house property, and it is painfully significant that the total which the vestries have considered adequate to expend in sanitary work for fifteen years is one shilling and sixpence per head of the whole population. Gas companies, water companies, and parish authorities act in the matter of repairs independently of each other—a fact which affords some explanation of the phenomenon that two hundred trenches are annually opened in Regent-street alone. In that limited area, which is co-extensive with the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works, these inconveniences are minimised. But even the Board of Works has no municipal status: in other words, whereas Manchester, Liverpool, and every English town, under the Municipal Act of 1835, can procure from a standing parliamentary committee the permission for improvement—the application for such permission being treated as unopposed private business—no kind of substantial reform can be effected in the capital without the risk of a long parliamentary debate. On the whole, London has reason to be thankful to the Metropolitan Board of Works. It has improved drainage, made new roads, cheapened and improved the gas supply.

The example of the Metropolitan Board of Works, in the successful performance of its wide and varied range of duties, seems, indeed, materially to have influenced the Ministers, and especially the Home Secretary, in framing the measure providing for the future government of London, recently under the consideration of Parliament. Of the multitude of schemes for the civic reform or reconstruction of the capital which have been advanced during the last half century, there are two which have for a long time virtually divided the suffrages of

all practical men between them. It was proposed by the one to create a single municipality, of which the administrative jurisdiction should be co-extensive with the whole of the existing metropolitan area; and by the other, to establish a series of separate and independent municipalities, conterminous with the several parliamentary boroughs into which the existing metropolitan area is divided for political purposes. It was to the second rather than to the first of these plans that the Royal Commission of 1854, over which Sir George Cornewall Lewis presided, gave its adherence. "We think," say the Commissioners in the report drawn up by their chairman, "that if an attempt were made to give a municipal organisation to the entire metropolis by a wider extension of the present boundaries of the City, the utility of the present Corporation, as an institution suited to its present limited area, would be destroyed, while at the same time a municipal administration of an excessive magnitude, and therefore ill adapted to the wants of the other parts of the metropolis, would be created. But we see no reason why the benefit of municipal institutions should not be extended to the rest of the metropolis by its division into municipal districts, each possessing a municipal government of its own." The mere fact that a single municipality for the whole capital would have to supply the wants and protect the interests of so vast a population as that of London in its entirety, appeared to Sir George Cornewall Lewis and his colleagues a conclusive reason against its introduction. But at present very different counsels are in the ascendant, and the change is not altogether unjustified by the enlarged experience of the last thirty years. Sir William Harcourt, in introducing the London Government Bill into the House of Commons last session, derided the notion that the civic well-being of four millions of people could not be safely entrusted to a central authority such as the abortive ministerial measure was designed to establish, and he was able to appeal to the satisfactory discharge of the multifarious and accumulated functions which have been from time to time allotted to the Metropolitan Board of Works in support of his contention.

It is not, however, on the ground that the administrative jurisdiction of a single municipality for the whole of London would be of unmanageable dimensions that the opposition to it has been exclusively or even mainly based. It has been urged that any project with such an aim in view would meet with the implacable hostility of the vested interests, not simply of vestrymen, but more particularly of the existing corporation; that it would be impracticable to secure, as members of a body of the kind in contemplation, a sufficient number of citizens whose zeal, honesty, public spirit and private leisure would adequately qualify them for belonging to it; and that even supposing these preliminary difficulties to be

overcome, and that a great local parliament were to be constituted in London, especially were the police at its disposal and subject to its authority, it might not impossibly, should the occasion arise, be able to menace the independence of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster itself. The late Bill appeared, so far as the necessities of the case would permit, very adroitly to steer clear of the more important of these objections. The Common Council which it was to establish was to have been an expansion of the existing corporation, while the District Committees which were to act in subordination to it were to reproduce in an improved shape the chief of, at all events, the less objectionable features of vestrydom. Nor were the police to be placed under the control of the municipality, a point which will, however, scarcely seem of the highest moment to those who reflect that in the event of any great crisis it would be the command, not of "the force," but of the guns at Woolwich, which would determine the fate of the capital. Again, the eminently significant history of the London School Board amply warrants the belief that fit and proper candidates for seats on both the Common Council and the District Councils would by no means be wanting when they were required. The fear that there would be a dearth of them for the first has been signally falsified by the result, and it may be confidently anticipated that similar apprehensions with regard to the second and the third would in due course prove to have been equally without foundation. At the same time it cannot be doubted that the London Government Bill, whenever it again makes its appearance, will encounter, as it has encountered, very determined opposition in many quarters, and that if it should ever find its way into the Statute Book it will arrive there a very different measure from what it was when it was originally brought into existence by the Home Secretary.

With corporate enterprise and private energy combined, London is undergoing a triumphant process of rehabilitation. In the Albert and Victoria Embankments it has the finest riparian boulevard in the world. When the mansions which will stand upon what once were the grounds of Northumberland House are finished a superb avenue to the Thames will be opened. The new thoroughfare leading from Sloane Street to Walton Street is rendered imposing by Queen Anne mansions, not more spacious than picturesque. A complete transformation has been wrought in the district which was once called West Brompton, but which is now known as South Kensington, by the mile after mile, the acre after acre of miniature palaces, whose lowest rental is more than equal to a middle-class income. On every side, in almost every quarter of the great city, something like this is going on. Imagine the feelings of Addison, could his shade revisit the earth, gazing down upon what once were the fields and woods of his "Old Kensington," and seeing instead of sheep-cropped meadows and

leafy trees an infinite expanse of houses, each of them rivalling in splendour and dimensions the biggest and finest that he knew.

Nor are the triumphs won by the spirit of modern improvement in London material only. We have made great advances of late years in the matter of taste. There is visible in summer a large expanse of well-diversified and well-distributed colour in the admirably-kept flower-beds that fringe the road between Hyde Park and the Marble Arch. Nor is it only the parks and the Thames Embankment which have received a new grace by the care bestowed upon them. Collections of gay geraniums and scented mignonette, hanging gardens, as fair as any which can have added their charm to the old Babylon, are the common ornaments of the houses of the new; and the horticulture of windows is as much of a fine art as the horticulture of enclosures in the London Squares. Kensington Gardens, indeed, demand more attention than they receive, and a walk through what is really as noble an urban pleasaunce as any in the world is too often, to all who love trees and know how they should be tended, a succession of melancholy experiences. Before London can vie in natural beauties with such capitals as Paris or Brussels, it is necessary not only that she should be better supplied with trees, but that those trees which she already has should be better cared for.

CHAPTER VI.

TOWNS OF BUSINESS.

General Characteristics of Commercial and Manufacturing Districts of England—Humanising and Educating Influences at work in the Great Towns of the North—Employed and Employer in Lancashire and Yorkshire—Manchester and Liverpool generally compared—Aspect of Life in the Cotton Manufacturing Districts—Newcastle-on-Tyne—Birmingham.

Every city, it has been remarked, symbolises in concrete form some great idea; and the large commercial cities of the England of to-day are the embodiments of human science applied to facilitate the processes and augment the results of human industry. The external aspect of these vast hives of toil is seldom picturesque. There is little or nothing pleasing to the eye in the approaches to them, yet there is much that is profoundly impressive in the appearance of their outskirts as the traveller enters them by night. Looking forth from the windows of the railway train, after having crossed miles of barren moor and deserted fields, the passenger becomes suddenly aware of the flaming beacon-lights of a never-ending labour. In the distance he descries pillars of flame, lost in huge spiral exhalations of murky smoke. At first the glowing sentinels which guard the portals of his destination are few; soon they multiply, till at last his entire track seems to be a line of fire. Above him are the same peaceful moon and silent stars which he saw when he was being hurried through the desolate levels of Yorkshire, with nothing save the mighty rushing throb of the steam-engine, as it whirled him along, to violate the serenity of the night. But everything else is changed, and as he is shot across the giant bridge spanning a great river, he can not only descry an endless vista of watch-fires of industry, but can hear also the tremendous reverberation of forges mightier than those of the Cyclops.

Yet though man, by his all-powerful enterprise, is perpetually transforming the face of Nature, though it is this interminable series of swift transformations which impresses the traveller through England so strikingly, the continuity of national life and feeling is preserved unbroken. This is mainly due to the very suddenness of the change from manufacturing England to agricultural England. The denizens of the two districts may have little in common, in the way whether

of personal characteristics or mutual acquaintance. Yet as an hour and a half will take the traveller from the heart of the Black Country to a typical agricultural neighbourhood, so, in the higher social influences dominating town and country, is there a near relationship. The fact that the great country landlord is also, in many cases, the great proprietor of mines and factories, is at once a guarantee and a sign of the fusion between the different elements of English life, and the diverse sources of our national power. The new is ever being incorporated with the old, and the result of the process is a growing identity of interests and of feeling.

If the visitor to the large manufacturing towns of the kingdom is struck by the gloom of their atmosphere and by the squalor of some of their quarters ; if he sees, or thinks that he sees, around him a race of men, half of whom are preoccupied with the anxieties of opulence, while the other half are consumed with the cares of poverty ; if he finds upon the surface nothing but the worship of Mammon and the desolating influences of want,—he has only to examine a little more closely into the system, and he will find that there is no lack of humanising influences at work. It is a population which may seem to live for money and material success, but it is also stirred by higher thoughts, and its dreams of the prosperity which is reckoned by the ledger are abundantly tempered by tastes and pursuits of a more softening and elevating kind. The teaching of art and letters is not wanting to the members of these communities. Science has attractions independently of the power over Nature with which she invests man. The workers may appear as wholly absorbed in the pecuniary successes of their tasks as the artificers of Dido with the walls of rising Carthage. But there are the instruments of culture as well as the greed of gain ; and if Manchester is to England all that and more than Carthage was to Africa, the graces and ornaments of Athens are not quite forgotten.

A century ago the whole of Lancashire was in a condition little better than barbarism. Life was unsafe ; property was insecure ; strangers were attacked simply because they were strangers. Sixty years ago the favourite sports of the inhabitants of Blackburn and Oldham were bull-baiting and compelling old women to race in sacks. The improvement which has taken place in the interval has been confined to no single class of the population ; and if native refinement of mind has not in all cases proved a grace within the reach of art, there is at least a very considerable amount not only of material but of intellectual civilisation. Such towns as Manchester and Liverpool may be fairly described as being at once capitals of English commerce and centres of English culture. There may be in them something of that tendency to glorify the acquisition of wealth which is so common in America, but this wealth is not exclusively sought for mere wealth's

sake. Many thriving representatives of Lancashire trade and manufacture regard the pecuniary reward of their energy and enterprise as a means, not as an end—as building the edifice, but as not crowning it. Their aim is not even mainly selfish, and the Lancashire merchant hopes above all things to transmit the fortune he has made to a son who will add to it the graces of an education and a training which he himself has not. Music, painting, the drama, collections of art-treasures, science, are regarded not merely as the superfluous embellishments, but as the indispensable accompaniments of prosperous existence. The Handel Festivals, and the other great choral jubilees, are never so successful as when they are held in the great cities of the north. Opera-singers and actors meet there with the most sympathetic and the most critically appreciative audiences. Without the patronage of these cities the studios of London would languish. China, bric-a-brac, and the whole world of antiquarian curiosities, find in them their most ready and generous purchasers. The books which are read in the capital are read, not so much simultaneously as previously, in the large towns of the north. Lectures on science, history, and literature meet with hearers as numerous and as attentive, if not as distinguished, as at the Royal Institution in London.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the only type of the prosperous manufacturer is that of the showy and luxurious plutocrat, with his picture galleries, his well-stocked cellars, his graperies, his conservatories and their precious contents of delicate exotic plants. There is an old proverb in Lancashire—"Four generations from clog to clog"—which means that the cycle of gradual rise and fall, the process of crowning the edifice of success and bringing it down to the dust, are comprised within the lives of father, son, grandson, and great-grandson. The adage probably had a good deal of truth in it when the wealth and prosperity which followed the introduction of free trade had the dangerous attractions of novelty. It is only verified to-day in those instances in which the successful Lancashire manufacturer pays little attention to the education of his son, who in his turn will beget a more ruinously reckless offspring. But spendthrifts and profligates, whether in spite of parental solicitude or in consequence of parental neglect, are not confined exclusively to any one portion of the population, and the proportion of young men who squander the patrimony which they have inherited is not larger among the manufacturers of England than among any other class. It will be found that the fortunes of which the foundations have once been laid in manufacturing families are often of an enduring character, and undoubtedly the tendency is, not for the circular progress from "clog to clog," but rather to the translation of a newly created family to a higher social sphere.

It may be that for the simple thrifty manufacturer, who is as much a representative man as the merchant living in princely state, we should go rather to Yorkshire than to Lancashire. In some kinds of manufacture, minute care, judgment, and frugality do the work which is done in others by enterprise, courage, and money. Naturally enough, these two distinct kinds of undertaking tend to develop two corresponding kinds of character. We have glanced at the great cotton lord and millowner living amid all the pomp of wealth, and sparing none of the lavish expenditure which that pomp entails. Take the case, which is equally real, of a manufacturer in a much smaller way of business—a proprietor, it may be, of a gold and silver smelting factory—who realises, by dint of incessant care and unflagging personal attention, something like £3,000 a year. He inhabits no gilded mansion with marble staircase and corridors, decorated with costly canvases; his drawing-room is not furnished with the choicest articles of *vertu*, and as you leave it to pass into the garden, you do not find yourself in a fragrant grove of oranges, blossoming under a crystal roof, nor are your ears lulled by the murmurous plash of fountains. The establishment is not wanting in refinements, but they are the refinements of a somewhat austere simplicity. The house is furnished more in the style of the thrifty tradesman of fifty years ago, or the clergyman of straitened means in our own day. Yet neither education, nor culture, nor moral grace is wanting to the household. Though the private expenditure of the head of the family is probably less than a thousand a year, no trouble or money is spared to secure for his children the highest and most complete instruction which they can have. The girls are under the care of the best governesses as well as of their mothers; and when the boys are old enough, they will be sent to a judiciously selected public school. In such a household as this there is no lavish dispensation of hospitalities, there is little visiting of any sort, there is much severity of atmosphere, and there is, perhaps, not enough of sweetness and light. It is probable that the family is brought up on the principles of a rigid teetotalism, and that wines, beer, and spirits are never seen upon the table. It is not less likely that the whole household is dominated by a distinctly religious spirit, and it will probably be found that the religion is one of the creeds of Nonconformity.

Doubtless, whether in Yorkshire or in Lancashire, the prevailing tendency is in the direction of an increasingly luxurious style of life. As Manchester and Liverpool have their suburban palaces, so are the environs of Bradford studded with the costly homes of Bradford manufacturers, while at Sheffield, a couple of miles from the heart of its busiest industry, the Eccleshall and Radmore districts abound in really superb houses, solid stone structures, placed in the midst of park-like grounds, splendidly furnished, highly

decorated, often enriched with modern masterpieces of painting and sculpture.

Again, though the traditions of primitive simplicity linger with a more visible influence in Yorkshire than in Lancashire, there are tastes and habits peculiar to the county and common to the Yorkshire merchant and its territorial aristocracy. Every Yorkshireman loves a horse. Most Yorkshiremen have no objection to a bet. Both these attributes of the Yorkshire character are illustrated to a very conspicuous degree in two of the towns of the county—Sheffield and Doncaster. At Doncaster the race for the St. Leger is more of a genuinely popular institution than the race for the Derby on Epsom Downs. It attracts Yorkshiremen from far and near, and especially from the neighbouring great towns, where there is always an unlimited indulgence in wagering.

But cricket and football are the pastimes of which Sheffield may be considered the metropolis, as much as it is of cutlery and of iron and steel manufactures. It is also the capital of pedestrianism; running matches and walking matches are perhaps more plentiful here than in any other town in England, and these matches provoke much gambling. All the approaches to the ground which is the scene of the contest—many of them miserably squalid and dirty—are densely crowded. Hundreds of men throw up work for the day in order that they may get a glimpse of the sport, and make their books, or have an opportunity of backing their fancy. The interest taken by the women is scarcely less keen—though the mothers and wives of Sheffield workmen can have small reason to feel pleasure in the match, for wages are recklessly squandered in betting and drinking on these occasions, and the natural consequences are hunger and want at home for a long time afterwards. The more respectable working men of the place tell you, with evident bitterness, that betting is one of the curses of their order. In other respects, Sheffield, like other central towns in the districts of the mineral industry, shows little of that thriftiness which is to be seen in the cotton districts of Lancashire. The explanation probably is that the fluctuations of prosperity and adversity are within much narrower limits in the textile than in the metal trades. Lancashire earnings are not so large and are much more regular than in mining neighbourhoods; consequently expenditure is much more carefully made by textile artisans and their families than by miners, and, as might be expected, the co-operative movement has never attained in Yorkshire anything like the same successful development which has fallen to its lot in Lancashire. While the balance of social and economical advantages is thus rather on the side of the textile workers, they do not fare equally well from a physical and sanitary point of view. The great steel and iron works of Sheffield and Middlesborough, with the tremendous demands they make upon the

muscles of the workers in them, have been instrumental in giving us a far finer race of men than the textile factories; and as are the men, so are the women.

There are marked points both of difference and similarity in the social life of London and the social life of Manchester and Liverpool. Like London, they have their suburbs and their clubs, their hansom cabs, omnibuses, and tramways, their theatres and music-halls, their mainly fashionable and their purely business quarters. But there is infinitely less concentration of trade, industry, and their representatives within certain districts, in the case of the capitals of the provinces than in the case of the capital of the empire. The sense of labour and of poverty pervades these great towns to a much more conspicuous degree than it pervades London. In London one may spend the day in walking through streets, squares, and entire neighbourhoods, without encountering any, or many, visible signs that the wealthiest and most luxurious capital of the world is also the scene of the most numerous and in the aggregate the busiest human industries ever collected together. In Leeds and Manchester, the presence of a nation of toilers is much more generally perceptible, and the contrast between squalor and splendour is sharper, more sudden, more ubiquitous. It is possible in London, by a judicious ordering of one's movements, to keep almost all that is suggestive of misery and destitution out of sight. This cannot be done in cities where the haunts of luxury and toil interpenetrate each other. The shadows of the great factories and of those who work in them are cast over the whole place, and at certain hours of the day there is no street which is not more or less surrendered to the patrol of factory operatives.

It follows from this that in towns like Manchester and Liverpool the working classes are a much more visible power than in London. In other words, there is in these cities more of the impressive assertion of a complex corporate life than in the capital. London may have its working men's mass meetings in Hyde Park, and its sectarian demonstrations in Trafalgar Square. Hundreds and even thousands of London artisans and operatives assemble on occasion in the East End, and make more or less of a triumphal progress to the West. But none of these celebrations produce anything like the effect of a gathering of Lancashire or Yorkshire working men in a Free Trade Hall or Corn Exchange. The reason, of course, is that in London the vastness of the adjoining area dwarfs the significance of the spot in which the particular gathering is held, and the consciousness of the almost infinite hosts around and about who do not participate in it, prevents the imagination from answering readily or vividly to the popular appeal.

The composition, character, and customs of the working classes in their two representative capitals are entirely different. In each of

these respects very distinctive peculiarities exist at Manchester, while Liverpool possesses most of the features common to large towns. What the mill-hands are to Manchester the dockyard labourers and the sailors of all nationalities are to Liverpool. Both cities have necessarily many occupations in common—the flour-mills, rice-mills, oil-mills, refineries, and foundries, in which they abound, as well as the trades of the ordinary artisan classes, bricklayers, carpenters, and joiners. But in Manchester these classes seldom come prominently before the eye, being to a large extent merged in the overwhelming number of factory operatives. Few things are more remarkable in Manchester than the vast crowds of mill-hands which dominate the streets and monopolise the pavements when the hours of work are over or suspended. The manner of these busy toilers is marked by little of superficial polish. There is nothing in their address which recognises the existence of social gradations. To touch the hat is a thing unknown, while "Sir" is rarely used, even to their employers. But, bluntness and roughness notwithstanding, these mill-hands are a well-read, a thrifty, and an intelligent race, good citizens, and kindly fellows. Their dialect is uncouth, but they take pride in it, and are encouraged to do so by their masters. High wages, and the adaptability of the work to women, girls, and boys, give them comparatively ample means, while improvidence and extravagance are either exceptional, or come only in infrequent outbursts. When these occur, the manifestations are often curious, sometimes taking the form of a lavish indulgence on the part of men in the luxuries of schoolboys.*

The mill-hand is not seldom of diminutive stature, this physical defect being the result, in some degree, of indoor and comparatively sedentary employment, but more often of early marriages. A young man of eighteen can earn 25s. a week, a girl of sixteen 14s. On the basis of this income the two take each other for better or worse, and continue to work at the mill until the woman is detained at home by maternal cares. The pair will now find it difficult to make both ends meet, until their children begin to earn wages; and when these in their turn have arrived at adult age, they will marry off-hand as their parents did before them. The factory housewife is saving, cleanly, loquacious, and very often extremely shrewd. During courtship in Lancashire as in Cumberland, much laxity of conduct is condoned by general custom; but the conventional immorality of great towns is, as a rule, unknown among the factory classes.

Theatres, music-halls, and excursions round Manchester provide ordinary amusements, while literary institutes and entertainments are very popular with the mill-hands, who are often great readers and fre-

* I have myself seen in Manchester two factory hands (men) enter a confectioner's shop, buy a piece of wedding-cake, price 4s., to eat with their mug of beer.

quently keen politicians. Some of the pastimes are sufficiently primitive. At the fêtes held in the Pomona Gardens, in Manchester, on the Saturday half-holiday, men may be seen dancing together, turning slowly round and round; while others, mostly youths of eighteen or nineteen, will stand face to face in couples, and do a limited clog movement to a monotonous tune, their companions remaining on the watch to take their turn. It is, in fact, the negro tom-tom dance without the savage exuberance. For it is a necessity that, though the average intelligence is high, there must be, among the stunted produce of early marriages, a certain amount of congenital imbecility. At Whitsuntide the mill-hands go in crowds to Liverpool, but mix little with the inhabitants. The chief object is to cross the river, and have a dip in the sea. The ordinary dress on these holiday occasions is a drab moleskin, while men and women alike are much given to bright silk neckties, scarves, and shawls.

But though in Manchester itself the masses of the mill-hands outnumber the representatives of all other trades, yet they are not so completely lost to sight as in the adjoining districts. The warehouses in Manchester employ large numbers of "packers," whose business is the baling and casing of goods, as well as to act as porters and carters. In the outlying manufacturing places, on the other hand, at such towns as Hyde, Stalybridge, Blackburn, Bolton, and Oldham, and in the scattered villages, the factory hand of the purest type will be found, employed whether at a mill, a factory, a print-works, or a bleach-works. Here there is not, as in the chief centre, any degree of mixture, any blending with other social or industrial callings. Coal-fields, indeed, are sprinkled throughout the neighbourhood, but colliers, wherever they may be, hold little general intercourse with the surrounding population. If there be any perceptible difference between the habits and ways of those residing in the smaller towns and of those settled in the country villages, it is that there may be observed in these districts all the independence characteristic of the Manchester mill-hand in an unmitigated form. The result of town life—at Blackburn, for instance—is to weaken the bonds of the friendly association existing between master and man in the rural districts. Though the operative may live in one of his employer's cottages, and call him "John," there will be no personal cordiality. On the other hand, in the village of Compstall, in Cheshire, for example, the whole place belongs to one great concern, every inhabitant being directly or indirectly in its employment. A church and clergyman, schools and lecture-hall, are provided by the firm, who in various ways personally interest themselves in the pursuits and amusements of their people.

The daily life of the factory operative is nowhere so characteristically seen as in these villages and towns. At six o'clock on a

March morning, just as the sun, yet struggling through a bank of clouds, catches the high roofs and taller chimnies, the loud clanging of a bell summons the hands to work. The numberless windows, facing eastward, of the group of gaunt buildings known as "the mill," reflect back the bright rays as with the vivid glow of mirrors. Beneath them, close under the wall, runs the canal, across which, through the row of poplars fringing the towing-path on the farther side, are seen undulating meadows and leafless woods stretching to the hills beyond. Similar buildings, the windows looking out on the streets of the busy little town itself, face north and west; while to the south the square is completed by a high wall, above which peep the roofs of the engine-house and offices. Between these the wide entrance-gates stand open, disclosing beyond the lodges the paved and gravelled quadrangle within. Outside, and at a considerable distance, seemingly unconnected with the buildings it serves, the great chimney rises from a grassy mound to the height of 160 feet.

This, briefly, is the appearance presented by the exterior of one of the great factories or cotton-mills of Lancashire, in which are carried on both spinning and weaving—the two distinct processes that convert the raw fibre into calico. Rows of neat cottages with grimy walls, but scrupulously clean doorsteps, sills, and interiors, line the paved streets without. Here and there the gayer window of a dwelling turned into a shop adds variety; and, in such small towns as we are now describing, on one side will rise, storey upon storey, a huge factory.

As the bell resounds, these streets are peopled with a moving throng pressing in the direction of the entrance-gates. Men and boys, girls and a few women, the former making the pavement ring with the patter of their clogs, the latter protected against the raw air by a shawl drawn over head and neck, form a crowd too eager to reach the work of the day for idle talk. Nevertheless, there is not wanting an occasional greeting to the housewife, who, through the open cottage door with its footboard, is seen busy in the duties which have taken her away from the occupation of girlhood and early married days. The bright fire, the clean children, the chest of drawers with its painted tray and array of books, the special pride of the good man who has just risen to join the human stream without, reveal something of the comfort of the mill-hand's home.

But the entrance is reached, and pressing past the lodge, not without a friendly word to overlooker, foreman, or the watchful time-keeper, the crowd disperses across the gravelled square. While some go to the warehouse, the greater number enter the tall buildings where the spinning is carried on, and others, chiefly women, cross to the three-storeyed building ending in the low weaving sheds with their pointed semi-glass roofs.

Within the preliminaries are quickly completed. The operatives have got rid of their superfluous clothing. In the various rooms for scutching, lapping, carding, and roving the raw fibre which lies in a snowy heap in the first of them, the spinner or minder has seen that his mules and frames are in working order, and stands in the narrow path which divides and gives access to the different machines. In like manner in the shed the weaver is at her post beside the power-looms which are her care. In both places the space above is full of driving-wheels and enormous leathern bands to transmit the motive power. In the engine-house, through whose long windows the beam, crank, and fly-wheel of the machinery within are visible, all is ready; and as the finger of the clock touches the hour, the first laboured beat of the engine proclaims that the work of the day has begun. Inside the factory the giant strength which has lain quiescent is, all at once, in motion. In mid-air the great leathern bands commence their endless course. Below, mules and frames move quickly backwards and forwards along the ground, cylinders revolve at various speeds, the countless spindles and bobbins turn round and round; while in the other department the looms work up and down as the quick shuttle flies from side to side. In the one place the minder narrowly watches the machines for which he is specially responsible, and in the other the weaver is equally as careful to control the action when any hitch shall threaten a flaw in the work; while their subordinates attend to their individual tasks.

And so, with a short interval for breakfast, the absorbing process continues until the dinner-hour, when the mill is deserted and the streets are again enlivened by a throng now inclined to linger and chatter, and, in their broad dialect, crack their rough jokes. Home has been reached, dinner eaten, the comforting pipe enjoyed by the men as they saunter back, and once more work begins, to cease at six o'clock. Then, as the clock chimes, the busy hive pours out its workers—weary it may well be, but yet content as they plod homewards to the welcome that awaits them as the fairly-earned reward of a long day of watchful toil.

Of Liverpool the marked feature in the industrial population is, as has already been said, the nautical class. Quite distinct from the longshore men are the sailors—many of them foreigners—engaged in the real mercantile marine for long voyages. This is scarcely a class of persons calculated to add respectability to a neighbourhood; and though a Sailors' Home has been provided for them, and other attempts to reform them have been made, low public-houses, disreputable lodging-houses, and other noisome dens still flourish. Another prominent community in Liverpool are the Irish, who inhabit a neighbourhood of their own, of which the centre is the locally notorious Sawney Pope Street, a spot enlivened by perpetual dis-

turbances. The Irish in Liverpool for a time increased at a very rapid rate. As each new batch of immigrants found employment, they were followed by friends and relations from their native land. But as Ireland has grown more prosperous, and an Irish middle class has begun to develop itself, this movement has been arrested, and it has ceased to be probable that the Irish may constitute a preponderating element in the Liverpool population. Another point to be noticed among the Liverpool working classes is the prevalence of the representatives of unskilled labour. Since the city on the Mersey is the depôt and point of departure of imports and exports, it follows that the unloading and loading of ships and storing of warehouses is the principal labour employing lumpers, cotton porters, and carters. No technical skill is required in this work, a fact which, combined with the direct steam communication with Ireland, is mainly responsible for the many emigrants from the other side of St. George's Channel. Liverpool, as statistics and reports show, has by no means a good character for morality and decorum. But, in judging of this evidence, it is always necessary to remember that the repressive measures enforced by the Liverpool magistrates are exceptionally severe, and that the police often apprehend upon charges which would be deemed trivial elsewhere. The shipwrights of Liverpool, who form a distinct class, are an industrious, intelligent body of men. One or two regiments of volunteer artillery, which in efficiency have few equals, are exclusively recruited from their number. With these exceptions the working classes of Liverpool have no characteristics that separate them from the working classes of other large towns. Theatres and music-halls, both thronged nightly with enthusiastic but more or less critical audiences, provide the staple of their amusements. The town has been beautified by the extension of a belt of fine parks, well wooded and admirably kept. Here in summer the inhabitants find their recreation, while there are other opportunities of enjoyment in the excursions easily made by the cheap ferries to the Cheshire side of the river, where at Eastham rural, and at New Brighton seaside, pleasures are within reach.

As Manchester and Liverpool, in respect whether of their working classes or their superiors in the social scale, differ from London, so they each of them differ from the other. Thus, though there are in Manchester few families whose connection with the town in any notable way could be traced back to the beginning of the century, yet that city has more hereditary worthies still associated with it than Liverpool ; in which in the course of a generation, not only are there new faces, but changed names. There is an obvious reason for this difference. Success in manufacture—the kind of success achieved in Manchester—implies extensive property in building land, and plant, a property not only productive but readily transmissible from

father to son. In the operations of mercantile business, of which Liverpool is the seat, there is less permanence and more vicissitude. The makers of a fortune bid farewell to the place in which they have made it, or, dying, have no freehold to bequeath, but simply money and credit. A disastrous fluctuation sets in, trade is bad, and the money vanishes. This distinction between mere buying and selling and manufacture is inevitable, and will always continue. Again, Liverpool, one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world, may be called the Marseilles of England. In a Liverpool morning paper, a name such as Manuel Garcia or Christino Nicopoulos, sure evidence of the nationality of its owner, will almost certainly be found figuring in the lists of police-court celebrities of the previous day. Ascending in the social scale, there will be seen in Liverpool something like a reflection of the mixture of races which is visible in the migratory nautical population. From Scotland and Ireland, from the United States, from all parts of the continents of Europe and Asia, there is a perpetual stream of new blood circulating through the community. The aliens and foreigners soon become permanent settlers, and the old Liverpool families are merged in the hybrid mass. This infusion of new blood occurs to a very much smaller extent in Manchester. Germans and Levantine Greeks are the most conspicuous among the strangers who make that city their home. But these seldom become assimilated with the native population. They, the second in particular, form a distinct class, perpetuating the peculiar habits of their native land in the country of their adoption.

A healthy, quickening, and instructive element in Liverpool society is to be found in the number of men who, having been abroad in India, North and South America, China, the colonies, and elsewhere during part of their lives, come to end their days on the banks of the Mersey. Often, as part of his commercial training, a Liverpool youth will pass some years in a foreign land, necessarily having his wits sharpened in the process. The very different character of the Manchester trade affords only a few accidental experiences like these. On the other hand, there are more men, young and old, at Manchester who have received a public school and university education than at Liverpool. The very best society in Manchester or Liverpool is not more accessible to residents than the very best society in London, and is very seldom entered by families who have made fortunes by shopkeeping, never by those whose fathers have been shopkeepers in the town itself. The social antecedents of strangers are less critically examined. Military or naval officers, clergymen, and barristers are general favourites, and in Liverpool there has been of late years a perceptible importation of scions of noble houses who have taken to commerce.

There has existed in Liverpool for more than half a century a select

and fashionable institution framed after the model of the old Almack's of London, known as the Wellington Rooms. Election to it is by ballot; the claims and positions of candidates are closely scrutinised. To be a member of the society is to obtain a sort of hall-mark of social consideration. Dances are given once a fortnight during the winter, and the building is used for no other purpose. Parties from the different noblemen's seats in the neighbourhood attend frequently, and always in the race week. In Manchester an attempt of the same kind has been made in a series of balls given at the Free Trade Hall, but the experiment has not proved equally successful. There are other social attractions possessed by Liverpool which in Manchester are wanting. The Manchester races are entirely given up to the mill-hands; but at Liverpool the Grand National, the Autumn Cup, and also the Altcar Coursing Meeting collect brilliant assemblages of fashionable sportsmen and the fair sex. Liverpool attractions are further increased by its yacht clubs, the River Mersey thus helping to give the town a social distinction of its own which Manchester lacks.

Liverpool and Manchester toilets are equally costly matters. The young men of both places, ambitious of the reputation of dandies, patronise London tailors. But ladies' dresses are abundantly provided by local modistes, and it is only occasionally that costumes are procured from London or Paris. In consequence of commercial vicissitudes and a floating population, Liverpool has never had the wealth of Manchester. Liverpool life has been showy, Manchester extravagance has been marked by a certain solidity. The ball-rooms of Liverpool are always excellent and enjoyable. The invitations are restricted to dancers, the music and appointments are good, and there is plenty of available room. The form of entertainment most popular in Manchester society is the dinner party, at which London hours are kept, and the fruit and other table luxuries are purchased at London prices. Probably there is little to choose between the dinner-parties of the two northern cities. In both, the wines produced will usually be of high excellence, since the habit of keeping a large cellar obtains widely among those whose hospitalities are upon any considerable scale. A two years' supply of wine, matured for drinking, in addition to wine in the process of maturing, is usually to be found in the house of the Manchester or Liverpool Amphitryon.

Of late years private carriages have become almost universal among the richer classes in both places. In each of them the élite of society usually inhabit fine houses, with conservatories and elaborate gardens, in the outskirts, though in Liverpool some of those who are called the "best people" live in the town. Many of the richer families have houses in London, to which they come for the season; and some dwell all the year round at a considerable distance from the city in which their business is, in the rural districts of Cumberland

and Staffordshire. The visit to London late in the season is equally common to the local aristocracy of either town, as is the trip on the Continent, often extending as far as Egypt. Fishing, shooting and hunting are the regular pastimes of the men; Liverpool has two local packs of harriers, and, as has been said, its yacht clubs as well. Cricket and football, which are common among all classes of the youths of manufacturing and commercial England, are played as much by the Irwell as the Mersey. Manchester is to-day the county centre in cricket, while the palm at football may probably be claimed by Liverpool.

The change of the hours of business in the two cities has resulted in a species of social revolution. Formerly merchants were at their work by nine in the morning, and seldom left it until eight or nine at night: now the universal closing hour in Liverpool is five in the afternoon; and in Manchester, although the warehouses may be open until seven, the principals leave about the same time. This alteration has naturally proved favourable to the development of club life, which is marked by special features of its own in the two places. In Manchester there are many clubs, of which the chief—a very large one, and a fair specimen of the remainder—is the "Union." Here the old practice of dining early is still in force. Between one and two, warehouses are universally deserted, and the club is full; though the early club dinner of some members may be only the substantial lunch of a few, which is to support them during the interval that has to elapse before a seven or eight o'clock dinner at home. Formerly the wealthiest manufacturers coming in from the country on market days (Tuesdays and Fridays) were accustomed to dine at inn ordinaries between one and two, when, after dinner, spirit-bottles would be put on the table, and long clay pipes produced. But to-day the club coffee-room has taken the place of the inn ordinary. On the market days business with many is supposed to be over at dinner-time, and cards and billiards are played during the afternoon. But on other days, and almost invariably in the evening, the Manchester club-houses are deserted, except at this mid-day interval. In Liverpool it is very different. The "Palatine," a small and select club, which takes precedence of all the others, has comparatively few frequenters at the luncheon-hour. At seven or eight o'clock it is always full, and both after and before dinner there is plenty of card-playing and billiards. Loungers fresh from the theatre drop in, and it is much frequented by officers of the garrison, who, as well as the leading barristers of the Northern Circuit, are honorary members. Altogether this club endeavours, not unsuccessfully, to imitate the clubs of London. If there is thus more of social pretension at Liverpool than at Manchester, such pretension is not without its influence on social education. Clubs are the cradle of sound public

opinion in matters appertaining to manners, if not to morals. Rowdyism and club life cannot co-exist. It should be added that the Gun Club and the Polo Club, make the resemblance between Liverpool and London still closer.

It is a marked peculiarity of the Lancashire mill-owner, educated and travelled though he be, to affect a certain humility or homeliness in his native place. He will know all his mill-hands personally, call them by their Christian names, nor be offended when he is saluted, "How are you, John?" in return—a more respectful address, as before said, not commending itself to the employed. The art connoisseur of Manchester—his cultivation often no mere pretence—will in business affect the Lancashire patois: will answer his neighbour when a bargain is being struck, "I'd loike to, but I canna do't." This has probably given rise to the proverbial saying, "Liverpool gentlemen and Manchester men." The extent to which freedom of manner and independence of mien on the part of the mill-hands is carried at Manchester is not without its disadvantages. A free and easy mill-hand is apt in his sports to bear a disagreeably close likeness to the London rough. At the Manchester race-course, as already observed, and at every open-air meeting, the mill-hands muster in force; and the stranger fresh from the United States might be disposed to compare the streets of Cottonopolis on the Saturday half-holiday to New Orleans on Sunday, where the coloured pedestrians monopolise the pavement, to the entire exclusion of the shrinking whites. There may be no reason to suppose that the morality of Liverpool is exceptionally high; but the rigid system of police inspection enforced at the great English seaports renders the signs of public immorality few in number, and when visible not of a kind to attract the fastidious voluptuary. Vice, when it is permitted to flaunt itself for the allurement of mixed nautical nationalities in the public streets, only on the condition that it shall submit to the surveillance of the law, can scarcely fail to become a monster of a mien sufficiently hideous to insure a very genuine amount of disgust.

Perhaps the least agreeable feature in the social life of Liverpool and Manchester—and it is to the former town that the remark applies with especial force—is the establishment of drinking bars, and the extent to which they are patronised. This is an American importation, and it does not exercise a wholesome influence upon the young men of the place. Wine-shades, bodegas, and saloons abound both above and under ground. If they do not result in much actual drunkenness, the amount of tippling to which they lead, and the wanton waste of time which they involve, are deplorable. Twenty years ago the habit of drinking during business hours was comparatively unknown at Liverpool; now, it is so common as scarcely to attract attention, and certainly not to carry with it an adequate stigma.

The opportunities of the higher education are abundant and excellent at each of the two cities. Liverpool has its College and Royal Institution, Manchester its Grammar School and Owen's College. An idea may be formed of the assiduity and success with which music, as well as art and letters, is cultivated, from the attendances at fortnightly concerts during the winter months at the Liverpool Philharmonic Hall, and at the concerts under Mr. Charles Hallé in the Manchester Free Trade Hall. Debating societies and literary clubs are also established, while both Liverpool and Manchester boast the possession of a newspaper press which in ability, influence, and enterprise, is scarcely second to the press of London. Generally, indeed, and in Manchester in particular, at the present day the journalism of the provinces is provincial only in name, and, both in purely literary qualities and universality of well-digested intelligence, reaches the highest standards of metropolitan excellence. Almost as much may be said of the theatres of the two cities, which are the rehearsal grounds of pieces destined for the London stage, and, on the occasion of their frequent visits, are the profitable empyrean of London stars.

It is the stately river on which it stands that gives to Liverpool its peculiar and in some respects unique position among the great towns of England. The forests of masts, the spacious docks, the daily despatch from its harbours of grand ocean steamers bound to all parts of the world, the constant arrival of ships laden with treasures, the stir and bustle of a thousand wharves, the incessant and audible throbbings in the machinery of a commerce conducted with every quarter of the earth and every nation under heaven—these things are to be seen at Liverpool as they are to be seen nowhere else in England. Hull, Plymouth, and Newcastle-on-Tyne are mighty emporia of trade, whence argosies are sent forth to all points of the compass, each with some special trait of its own. Hull is identified with the spirited business carried on by the descendants of Danish forefathers—the stock which predominates in Yorkshire generally—and with happy ventures in the Norwegian timber trade. Plymouth is identified with military transports and emigrant ships. If the great capital on the banks of the Tyne has a gloomy atmosphere, it is remarkable as the battle-field on which some of man's mightiest triumphs over the colossal obstacles which nature has opposed on his path, have been won. For mile after mile stretches the long line of black factories. In that dark row of gaunt sheds, covering an area of upwards of two hundred acres, the implements of destruction that annihilate armies, the Armstrong cannon, are forged. Such as these continue to be the ornaments of the banks on either side till Newcastle has been left behind, and a place has been reached where operations are going on, which, when completed, may bring a second Newcastle upon the scene.

But what we are chiefly concerned to see in this coal-blackened, antique Northumbrian capital, with its immemorial past, and its infinite future—its old buildings, venerable churches, hoary traditions, its inventions, improvements, and devices of yesterday, its busy plottings and cunning contrivances for to-morrow—is the influence exercised by science upon the course of the river. The Tyne is no longer the stream which nature made it; its bed is deepened, its channel changed. Headlands and promontories have been removed, and thousands of tons of soil have been uplifted from its depths, in order that ships of heavy and still heavier burden may float up to the very walls of the town. The chronicle of the work accomplished under the auspices of the River Tyne Commissioners alone is one of the most interesting and significant of the narratives of modern energy and enterprise—the record of a long war patiently and successfully waged against difficulties that the mightiest machinery in the world, guided by clear heads and steady hands, has alone surmounted. Fifty-one millions of tons of material were dredged out of the river in the three years between 1871 and 1873, were taken out to sea, and were finally deposited two or three miles from the entrance of the river, in a depth of water exceeding twenty fathoms at low tide. The width of the river has been increased in different parts, from one hundred and fifty to four hundred feet. A point, or cape, seventy-five feet above high water, which was a most dangerous obstruction to navigation, and which prevented those in charge of vessels from seeing vessels approaching on the inner side, has been cut away. Existing docks have been enlarged; and a new dock, with an enclosed water-space of ninety-four acres, surrounded by 3,650 lineal feet of quays, has been built. The commercial consequences of these colossal operations are seen in the increased size of the vessels frequenting the port. In twenty years the average tonnage of vessels has risen from 149 tons to more than 500.

Of the great towns of the North, Leeds, perhaps, has the largest future in store for it. For certain reasons, the counterpart of Leeds in the Midlands may be said to exist in Birmingham. Birmingham has made immense strides in wealth and importance during the last fifty years, but in point of opulence it is behind both Manchester and Liverpool. If there is in the Warwickshire capital a high average of substantial fortunes, there are few of the colossal incomes which have ceased to be remarkable in Lancashire. The social life of Birmingham, which gives a fair idea of the social life of Leeds, differs materially from that of Liverpool or Manchester. The fashionable thoroughfares of the capital on the Mersey, with their long *queues* of carriages and footmen waiting in attendance about the shops which ladies love, present much the same appearance as the fashionable thoroughfares of the West End of London. In Birmingham, equipages planned on

anything like the same scale as those of Liverpool are comparatively scarce, and it may be doubted whether, twenty years back, there were more than a score of persons in Birmingham who kept their own carriages. Again, even at the present day, men-servants, with the exception of coachmen and grooms, are rare in the most opulent of Birmingham households; and where in Liverpool the front door is opened by a butler out of livery, in Birmingham the visitor is announced by a neat waiting-maid in her plain dress of black alpaca or merino. Yet Birmingham is not without its comforts, its luxuries, its great houses with handsome and gracefully laid-out gardens and artistically decorated interiors. There are many good picture collections in Birmingham, but they have been slowly, lovingly, and appreciatively acquired, not purchased ready-made as in Liverpool or Manchester. The Birmingham art connoisseur sets to work quietly and deliberately, buys for himself, judges for himself. Thus, whereas in a representative mansion in a great town in Lancashire paintings, ornaments, and furniture are often without a history, in a corresponding home at Birmingham these are the centre of many memories and associations, and have been the object of a chase, itself more pleasurable than possession.

Of the two there is more which Birmingham has in common with Manchester than with Liverpool. The capital of cotton and the capital of hardware supply materials both for parallel and contrast. As Manchester was the head-quarters of the National Educational Union, so was Birmingham the home of the National Education League. On the other hand, as Manchester—which also, by-the-by, first put forth the programme of the Free and Open Church system, the abolition of pews—is the cradle of Free Libraries, so is Birmingham the town in which the experiment was adopted with conspicuous energy and very little delay. Again, as Manchester has a reputation for picture-galleries and institutions, so, too, has Birmingham. These are probably the two towns in the kingdom in which these institutions—the most beneficent that a great city can have—flourish best. The industrial products of each capital are unlike. Manchester has few manufactures, but all of them on an immense scale; Birmingham many, some of them on an exceedingly small scale. On the Irwell cotton is everywhere; while in the metropolis of the Midlands the industries and trades of the entire earth seem collected. Everything that assists, graces, or destroys life comes from its teeming warehouses. There is no kind of implement used in war which Birmingham does not make, just as it supplies the most delicately-pointed of needles and the coarsest as well as the finest of locks, pins, jewellery, thimbles, watch-chains, caskets, awl-blades, buttons, screws, every variety of gun, and every tool which the manual worker knows. The manufacture of many of these commodities requires an exceedingly modest "plant," and the

consequence is that Birmingham abounds in small, independent manufacturers, who contrive to make a living out of the work they can carry on in the courts and alleys they inhabit.

As at Leeds so at Birmingham, ladies organise themselves into social as well as religious missionaries for the benefit of the working classes. They endeavour to inculcate the laws of hygiene, the rudiments of wholesome cookery, the simple laws of domestic economy upon the dwellers in the poorest districts of the town. Lectures, with the same or analogous intentions, are given in the schools belonging to the School Board at frequent intervals. In Birmingham, if nothing else has been done, the secret seems to have been discovered of utilising every available opportunity, and the entire sum of existing human intelligence.

CHAPTER VII.

TOWNS OF PLEASURE.

University Towns and Cathedral Towns—The New Oxford—Settlers in the Cathedral Close—County Towns and Garrison Towns—Exeter, Plymouth, Clifton, Cheltenham, Bath—Peculiarity in the Social Life of English Watering-places—Essentials of the English Pleasure Town—Sports and Games: their Influence upon English Society—Rapid Multiplication of English Seaside Watering-places—The Genesis of the English Watering-place—Common Features of these Towns—Scarborough—Buxton.

Leaving now the great manufacturing centres of England, we may proceed to visit a few representative places, which, if not towns of pure pleasure, are neither exclusively nor chiefly devoted to the pursuit of business or trade. Country towns, cathedral towns, scholastic towns, and garrison towns—one very often uniting in itself the characteristics of all—may be described as holding a position midway between the abodes of pleasure and business. Of country towns and the influences visible in them, something has been already said.* The cathedral towns of England are mainly pervaded, as might have been expected, by the ecclesiastical element, and the visitor to such a city as Salisbury has no sooner set foot within its boundaries than he is conscious of something like that lingering mediævalism, not yet completely expelled from Oxford.

Indeed, the ordinary English cathedral city has about it a more distinctly old-world air than the great academic capital of the country. The last few years have wrought a complete change in Oxford, and have assimilated it in many of its social aspects to a London suburb. When, several decades ago, it was first proposed to extend the Great Western Railway line from Didcot to beneath the august shadows of the spires and towers on the Isis, it was objected by the champions of the old régime that irretrievable injury would be done both to Oxford manners and Oxford morals, by bringing the place into immediate contact with outside existence. The townsmen, it was urged, would be less passively obedient subjects of the academic rule. Undergraduates would be constantly relieving their studies with trips to the capital; even the common-room—that apartment consecrated to grave talk or discreet humour, and crusted port—would soon acquire a

* See Chap. V., Municipal Government.

perilous likeness to a London club. All that was feared, and more than was feared, have been accomplished. Town and gown still lead tolerably harmonious lives, but town has an independent existence and trade of its own, which it had not in the pre-railway days. College fellows, and even college fellows who are tutors, live almost as much in London as in Oxford; while among the guests at the high table in college halls, London guests, very often of great distinction, may frequently be seen. The institution of married fellowships has brought to Oxford an element of domestic life which is entirely new. The establishment at Oxford of a military depôt has given Oxford a society which it little dreamed of in bygone days. There are dinner-parties and dances in nearly as great abundance during the term-time as at Bath or Cheltenham. An entire colony of professors, tutors, and lecturers, with their wives and children has sprung up on what twenty years ago was vacant ground. Where once the pale student paced solitary are nurserymaids and perambulators, while audacious engineers have even dared to unite these outlying suburbs with one of the most picturesque thoroughfares in Europe—the High Street—by a tramway such as runs from Islington to Holloway, or from Westminster to Woolwich.

In none of the typical cathedral cities of England is there anything like this amount of busy, bustling, various life. Even in those where there is a considerable quantity of business done, such as Chester, Lincoln, Durham, and Peterborough, there is always a quarter of the town that seems never to lose the deep charm of unruffled quiet which an Oxford college garden seldom knows except in the heart of the long vacation. Round the cathedral itself is a close—here an open expanse of well-kept turf, and here dotted with a group of forest-trees. The shadow cast by the tall Gothic tower extends to a row of houses, ranging in space and design from the cottage to the mansion, but all equally comfortable, dignified, and inviting to repose. These occupy, perhaps, three sides of the entire enclosure. Some of them are inhabited by the ecclesiastical officers of the place—canons, minor canons, and chaplains. Others, again, have as their inmates families who are attracted by some tie of kinship or sentiment to the spot, and have settled there tranquilly to spend the residue of their days. Few echoes from the outer world break the calm of this hallowed precinct. In the afternoon the noise of carriage-wheels is heard at intervals, and perhaps in one of the corners of the close stands the cathedral school, whither twice a day boys with their satchels go, and whence, twice a day, they issue with clatter and laughter. But the most familiar sound to those who have pitched their tents in this peaceful spot, and that which chiefly strikes the stranger's ear, is the note of the cathedral bell summoning worshippers to prayer, and the musical chimes that ring out once or twice a day. The most noticeable sight is the officiating clergyman walking to the cathedral, clad in

surplice and college cap. To some of the dwellers hard by these spectacles are not only the best known, but, next to the cathedral itself when service is being held, the only spectacle they care for. There are many aspects of social life in a cathedral close, and more than one novelist of the day has given us a series of clever and effective pictures of the mutual jealousies and heartburnings which are concealed in episcopal and decanal breasts. But Mrs. Proudie is not necessarily the predominating spirit of the place, and here, under the cathedral shadow, there could probably be found ladies to whom the world contains very little but that cathedral and its sacred functions. Life is to them but one religious exercise, and the great fane, reared by the piety and devotion of centuries ago, is the only earthly object which sorrow and affliction have left them as the visible centre of their existence and aspirations.

The cathedral city may have indeed an aspect of its life very different from this. It may be a great commercial city like Bristol, where the consecrated fabric looks down upon a busy river, crowded wharves, and thoroughfares choked with traffic; or like Durham, where the stately pile is blackened with the smoke from furnaces and factories; or like Exeter, which is a county capital and a garrison town as well. Exeter, moreover, has not only a considerable trade of its own, but is also a picturesque metropolis of western pleasure-makers. It is, to begin with, a great centre for all West of England tourists, and it has no lack of regular residents, many of them attracted from a great distance by the beauty and healthiness of the neighbourhood, many locally associated with it, and possessed of friends, near whom they wish to be, already settled in that part of the world. Clergymen, military and naval officers, retired civilians, swell the list of residents. There is much to do, to see, and to talk about. Even without the regiments, or sections of regiments quartered here, there would still be plenty of life and gaiety, for Exeter is as good a specimen of an English county town, at once prosperous in business, and with a quiet air of aristocratic distinction about it, as could be found within the four seas. There are balls, concerts, flower-shows, and promenades, picnics, excursions, and pleasure expeditions of every kind. Here, too, as elsewhere, the military element coalesces happily and closely with the local or purely county element. Men who have been quartered in Exeter—and what is true of Exeter is true of many other garrison towns—when bearing Her Majesty's commission, have been so much struck by the attractions of the place, that when their term of service has expired they have become permanent inhabitants. There are various and substantial educational advantages for their children, and there are possible alliances for their marriageable daughters. Of Plymouth it may be said that all which Exeter has it also boasts. Indeed, Plymouth, of the two, though it has not a cathedral, is a focus of even more social movement

and variety, seeing that it is not only, like Exeter, a county town, but in addition a great commercial, naval, and military centre. The same conditions are forcibly realised in the cases of Canterbury and York. Both are garrison towns and cavalry stations; the second also the head-quarters of the Northern District. There is a close intimacy between officers and the county or city gentry, and these cathedral towns boast always of a pleasant semi-military and official society which keeps them generally full.

A majority of the purely pleasure towns of England are of very modern growth. Their development in every instance presents nearly the same features, and is marked by much the same incidents. The chief elements in their composition are identical, and the objects which belong to one are common to all. It is indispensable that they should possess certain physical qualifications and aptitudes, that they should have a more or less organised machinery of amusement and pleasure; that they should be endowed with certain distinct hygienic qualifications, such as mineral springs or a particularly fine climate; that they should have one or two tolerably good schools, a popular preacher, a fashionable doctor, and that they should, if possible, be within tolerably easy distance of the meets of a good pack of hounds. Bath, Cheltenham, and Leamington are all indebted for much of their prosperity at the present day to the qualification last named. They are capitals of pleasure and also of health, but they are in addition capitals of sport. Bath, indeed, is not quite so conveniently situated for the fox-hunter, but Cheltenham and Leamington have each many of the recommendations of Market Harborough or Melton, as well as no lack of attractions for intending settlers all the year round. These towns have, too, a reputation of some antiquity. Bath was for years a national as well as a provincial capital, and still continues gallantly to hold its own as one of the great inland spas of the kingdom. Cheltenham and Clifton belong to the same category, but at Cheltenham there is probably more fashion, and at Clifton there is certainly more wealth. Than these three towns, Cheltenham, Clifton, and Bath, there are few more beautiful to be found in the United Kingdom. So far as picturesqueness of architecture and of situation is concerned, there are few cities in the world with which Bath need fear comparison. Its houses, considering the period in which they were built, are as good as the houses of London. With the exception of Portland Place, there is no street in London which is as fine as Pulteney Street, and no square or terrace to be compared with the Circus in Bath. Nor are the natural and artificial beauties of Clifton and Cheltenham much less striking. The great feature in Cheltenham, in addition to its delightful public gardens, is the really supurb boulevard leading from the Queen's Hotel into the High Street, known as the Promenade, with its shops and trees on either side. In

Clifton there are not only the natural beauties of the Downs, with the glimpses and breezes of the Severn Sea, but there are also stately mansions, inhabited mainly by Bristol merchants, in their own perfectly ordered grounds, on the central highway leading to the table-land beyond.

It is not enough that the English pleasure town should possess a fine situation, good houses, picturesque views, and popular clergymen; it must have also good schools and the favourable opinion of eminent doctors. The medical profession can do more towards making or marring the fortune of an English watering-place than architects, land agents, or even nature herself. To give a place a bad climate is to take certain steps towards inflicting a calamity of undefinable extent upon the landlords; and in any town once popular in which rents have suddenly depreciated in value, it will usually be found that the malignant influences of the medical profession have been at work. Having obtained a favourable certificate from the faculty, the watering-place which wishes to be popular must next contrive to equip itself with one or two popular churches, and at least one successful school. The proprietory college, which may or may not subsequently succeed in obtaining a royal charter, is a stereotyped feature in the modern watering-place. There may be the spa, the boiling, hot, and tepid waters invaluable for rheumatic patients, the chalybeate so unpleasant to the taste and so beneficial to the system; but unless there is the great school, it will be as idle to think of the place prospering as it would be to dream of its existence without the great hotel. Cheltenham, Malvern, Leamington, Clifton, Brighton, and Bath—though in the last-named place there has not been the same amount of concentration as in the others—are each of them names suggestive not only of the hygienic value of waters and atmosphere, but of schools which will compare not unfavourably with those of older foundation. The significance of the fact is not affected by the relation in which the school may stand to the prosperity of the place; whether, as at Cheltenham, it has been one of the efficient causes of its prosperity, or, as at Leamington, Clifton, and Brighton, it has been one of the material consequences; the great thing is to have the school.

Nor is the church, or rather the variety of churches, less essential. Every English watering-place or town of pleasure is also a centre of English religious thought, a representative battle-ground of English theology. University professors and doctors, ecclesiastical controversialists holding important offices, may preside over the evolutions of the combatants from afar, and may supply the principles which are the armoury whence the weapons of local disputation are drawn. It is not the function of the great leaders to mix in the heart of the vulgar fray. If hard fighting, dexterous tactics, skilful manœuvring

are to be seen, it is to the pleasure towns of England, where there is enough of leisure, idleness, and spinsterdom for militant ecclesiasticism, that one must go. Roughly speaking, there are two demarcating lines which mainly divide the community in these places. Both of them are of venerable antiquity; one is the geographical and the other is the religious. When Solon first took in hand the legislation of ancient Athens, he found a state of things in which the inhabitants of hill, plain, and vale were separated by the most embittered contentions. There is hardly a pleasure resort in England in which the outlines of an animosity based upon the same principles may not be traced. The inhabitants of the crescents and terraces may, for example, consider themselves superior to, or may be looked upon as natural enemies by, those who have established themselves on the plateau at their feet, or in the still lower ground lying beyond. The religious sentiment is an even more prolific parent of cliques and coteries. It has greater power than social rivalry or professional jealousy.

Yet even thus, though supplied with its sanitary credentials, its big hotels, it educational institutions, its local rivalries, its religious enmities, the English town of pleasure lacks something to be quite complete. It requires an entire machinery of social amusements. Some account will be given in another chapter of the pastimes and the recreations of the great masses of the people. It is to the pleasure towns of England that we must go to witness, in their most highly finished shape, the amusements of which polite society is especially fond. Every form of recreation which of late years has become popular in England has, if not originated in, been cultivated with conspicuous success at, these local capitals of select enjoyment. Lawn-tennis is the amusement of the hour; croquet and rinking have had their day, and a long day too, at some one or other of these provincial pleasure capitals of the kingdom. The immense popularity of each in succession serves to emphasise a fact, which in this busy, hard-toiling age we may imperfectly realise, that there are among us a vast number of persons of both sexes who are not merely ready but anxious to make by their patronage and favour, the fortune of anybody who will be good enough to invent for them a new mode of agreeably, and more or less athletically, beguiling the passing hours. Almost all the more important pleasure towns are in turn the scenes of tournaments between proficients in some one of these pastimes. Archery was a few years ago the favourite sport of society at Cheltenham; but we move quickly nowadays, and archery was soon voted slow. Later there have been contests from time to time for championships and grand prizes at lawn-tennis, just as a few years before the game was croquet at every place at which pleasure-seekers congregate.

The second noticeable fact suggested by the great development of these recreations is the superiority which we are gradually establishing over many of our insular prejudices. In these games English families, whose members are at first mutually strangers, mix freely with each other, and speedily find themselves on terms of more or less intimate acquaintance. Naturally this process has had the effect of very materially modifying the relations which formerly existed between young English gentlemen and young English ladies. When a number of young men and young women meet each other, day after day, on the lawn-tennis ground, whatever the effort to keep parties distinct, some amount of fusion is inevitable. The casual acquaintances made at such games are perpetuated on the promenade, and improved in the ball-room; and the daughter of the English middle-class parent, who, twenty years ago, was living in a state of almost vestal seclusion, has now acquaintances on every side. Her parents may approve or disapprove of this state and tendency of things, but it is very seldom that they can hope successfully to fight against them.

The social consequences of the insular position and the picturesquely indented coast-line of England are quite as important in their way as the political. The impulse which drove George IV. to Brighthelm stone, as it was then called, and Brighton, as it is called to-day, is the same which now urges the entire English people to the shores of the sea when summer has come. The desire animating all sections of the population to scent the fresh odours of the ocean is so great that wherever Nature presents the slightest opportunities and capacities, there a watering-place is at once created. Where one of these resorts is fairly established, a number of others are sure to follow in an inconceivably short space of time. The consequence is that the whole littoral of the island is, with occasional intervals, a fringe of seaside towns of pleasure. On the north-west coast, Rhyl, Llandudno, Penmaenmawr, Llanfairfechen, Bangor, Beaumaris, are presently followed by Barmouth and Aberystwith. The south-western coast of England, on the large inland bay made by the Bristol Channel, from Portishead, at the mouth of the Avon, to the Land's End, presents the same succession of pretty and popular resorts. On the south coast one passes Plymouth, Torquay, Dawlish, Teignmouth, Sidmouth, Seaton, and Beer, and only leaves Devonshire to find oneself in a superb bay, with shining sands, with a magnificent breakwater in front, and a handsomely built town inland. This town is Weymouth. Passing thence eastward, one skirts the Hampshire coast and the Isle of Wight, the bluffs of Sussex and the cliffs of Kent, witnessing the repetition of the same picturesque phenomenon at intervals of scarcely a league. Between the North Foreland and Flamborough Head are situated at least fifty similar pleasure towns.

All this provision for the pleasure and health wants of the people

represents a great deal of business enterprise, much profit, and some loss. These new watering-places have often restored the fortunes of the impoverished proprietors of neighbouring estates, or increased to fabulous amounts the incomes of astute landed gentry, who have realised the possibilities of the place and developed its capabilities with much enterprise and judgment. Not seldom the advantage is reaped by some go-ahead speculator, whether in bricks and mortar or in land. The way in which the edifice of success has been reared is in many cases the same. Having discovered some available locality, fronting the sea, the watering-place creator at once sets to work to cover it with houses. He has, at a venture, obtained the ground-rent of the soil upon tolerably easy terms; he has an infinite faith in the development of his property—by advertisement. It is desirable to procure from some recognised medical authority a certificate as to its singular salubrity. If he can also discover a mineral spring in some unsuspected recess, he will have materially improved the chances of the new experiment. It is much to be wished that the scene of his operations should be tolerably close to one or two thriving towns, and that it should be, if possible, on the main line of railway to and from the metropolitan terminus. If it has no railway station at all—and in this case he will have been a bold man to have selected it—he will labour night and day until he has secured the requisite railway extension. Once the new venture is fairly started, all will follow in due time, and in pretty regular order of succession. The streets, shops, and hotels having been built, and a promenade having been established, the next thing is to secure the services of a band of fairly competent musicians. Pleasure-gardens will then begin to be laid out, furnished probably with a skating-rink, and certainly with the inevitable lawn-tennis courts. Before long the admiring visitors and the inhabitants, hungry after novelty, will perceive that a building, which is to consist of an aquariam, winter gardens, and concert-room, commences to rise. It will be finished with great prompitude, and covered with a crystal dome. Standing on a lofty cliff, the edifice commands a fine view of the sea; and the next thing will be to establish, by subterranean passages, communication between the shore below and the terrace walks above. Meanwhile, in the more frequented portions of the town, great changes and improvements have been taking place. A town hall has been built, which is alternately used for concerts, recitations, and religious, literary, and scientific lectures; a branch of Mudie's library has been established at the post office; the rows of pony-chaises and donkeys for hire have increased; and the lodging-house keepers are doing a brisk business. There is a constant succession of arriving and departing guests, and the place, if it prospers, is only quite deserted in the depth of winter. If, however, the gentlemen who have authority over the spot are really as acute as they ought to be, they will at once

establish a winter season. This is being done now at most of the chief watering-places of the United Kingdom.

Every well-to-do sea-side haunt is a faithful testimony to the bold activity that has descended to this century from pre-historic times. English watering-places are the most determinedly go-ahead places on the face of the earth. No sort of improvement is introduced in architecture or drainage which is not immediately taken up. Very often there are not merely new works to be done, but old abuses to be rooted out. When a quiet fishing village is suddenly exaggerated into a large pleasure town, there are many sanitary defects in existence to be remedied, as well as new sanitary precautions to be taken. It is curious to notice how in some of these cases the new town is visibly an excrescence upon the older settlements. While at Hastings, St. Leonards, and Brighton the development has been equable, the old town spreading out in all directions, the Eastbourne of to-day is at some little distance from the Eastbourne of old times, and in the middle of the new streets there may be seen growing forest trees of remote antiquity. There are other features which the seaside towns of England generally possess in common. For most of their patronage they are dependent on the middle classes—the highest have little to say to the pleasure resorts of their own country. When the London season is over they go abroad, or on a round of country house visits, and this occupation is enough until the season for their return to London arrives. Flying visits are indeed paid to Brighton, Folkestone, Hastings, or elsewhere, by the most distinguished representatives of English rank and fashion, and places of mainly sanitary resort, like Torquay, have always a fair proportion of titled or patrician denizens, ordered thither by their doctors. It is further to be noticed in connection with the pleasure towns on the English coast, that, though largely patronised by visitors from all parts of England, they consistently preserve their local character. Scarborough is still mainly the pleasure town of the North of England, just as Brighton is the great holiday resort of London; as Folkestone and Dover are mainly peopled with the natives of Kent and the neighbouring counties; or as Morecambe Bay is with the representatives of Lancashire manufacturing industry. There are also certain aspects and seasons common to all these watering-places. However exclusive they may pride themselves on being, they are still scenes of periodical holidays and cheap excursions, and Margate or Gravesend cannot upon certain occasions boast a more genuinely cockney appearance than Brighton. They have, too, their stated times for particular classes of visitors, and the Scarborough or Brighton hotels or lodging-houses are full of very different sorts of people in the early summer, the late summer and autumn, and the winter months.

In their social life there are at once marked points of similarity and

difference. They have all of them their clubs, their picturesque drives, their promenades on the pier, and most of them have really noble concert-rooms and institutions, which, without the card-playing, are very much like the *Etablissements* of Continental watering-places. In all there is pretty much about the same amount of flirtation and love-making, of gallantry and scandal, of pleasure parties by sea and by land. The same average of men inhale the inspiring virtues of the sea breezes by the highly rational process of spending their days in the tobacco-laden atmosphere of billiard-rooms. There are the same eccentricities and extravagances of costume and possibly of conduct. But in small matters of social etiquette each place has more or less a definite code of its own, and as much may be said of social amusements upon a larger scale. The interchange of hospitalities, including dances, between the inmates of different hotels, is hardly known except at Scarborough. At Buxton something of the kind occurs, but not to an equal extent. On the other hand, Buxton has advantages and recommendations which are exclusively its own. Standing a thousand feet above the level of the sea, it not only possesses a purer and clearer atmosphere than is perhaps to be breathed on any other populated spot in the United Kingdom, and a warm mineral spring of virtue so powerful that it is unsafe to bathe in it without having previously taken medical advice, but public gardens of extreme beauty, in which is situated a concert-room where music that is not surpassed in any pleasure town of England or of the Continent is to be heard.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL ENGLAND.

Capabilities of the Subject for Popular Treatment—Relations of Finance and Commerce—Their Cosmopolitan Character—London the World-Centre—Representatives of our Financial System—Bank of England and Lombard Street—The Stock Exchange—How Loans are granted—London the Centre of Commerce—Characteristics of English Trade—Signs of Change—Possible Causes of Decline—Hope for the Future.

The mechanism of the money market and the mysteries of the organisation of credit may seem abstractions to the many, yet in some way or other they make themselves felt as the most concrete of realities by all. They constitute not merely a system of procedure, but an aggregate of individual men. Above all things their growth has coincided with the development of English influence and power in the world at large. It is credit which lies at the foundation of English trade, and which has chiefly enabled us to rear the edifice of national prosperity that is the result of centuries. A practical investigation of the different component parts of this colossal fabric will bring us face to face with the changing aspects of our financial and commercial system, and will reveal the fact that in this, as in other regions of activity and enterprise, England is now in a transitional state.

It is not necessary to thread the maze of causes that have contributed to place England at the centre of the finance and commerce of the world. Enough for our purpose that she is there; and as London is the heart of the British Empire, it is the heart of universal enterprise, which regulates and feeds the pulses of life that beat throughout the whole vast framework. All roads may be said to lead to London, and all impulses to trading activity, all outgoings of enterprise and energy that build up markets in the most distant parts of the earth, make their effects visible and palpable in the capital. An abundant harvest in the wide sweeps of the Western States of America cheapens wheat in Mark Lane; famines in India and China, which diminish the ability of the natives of those countries to purchase our cotton goods, reduce the demand for our manufactures and make our produce markets flat and stagnant; bountiful supplies of the precious metals, or scarcity in the output of the gold and silver mines of California and Australia, affect in the first instance the money market, and

afterwards, by their action on prices, carry their influence into the whole range of the relations of supply and demand in the market values of all sorts of commodities. There is a reflux of influence from England and from London as well as an influx of mingled agencies flowing from all parts of the globe towards the same common centre. The movement is one of action and reaction; but so closely are the streams of counter influences intermingled that we cannot lay a finger on any one spot and boldly affirm that here is the *primum mobile;* at this point is the mainspring of the universal system. Efflux and reflux, action and reaction, ebb and flow, are at work throughout the entire fabric; and so closely, pervasively, and intimately do they co-operate, that no quickness or delicacy of discrimination can detect the beginnings of their separate workings. We can only track them in their multitudinous results. We find out sometimes, through the sudden snapping of a weak link in the complex organisation, that there has long been a flaw in one part or the other of the huge machine. It may be the failure of a bank, or the collapse of some great firm, bringing in its train ruin to thousands, and multiplying failures throughout the length and breadth of the land. We are then able to trace the causes which have been slowly fretting against the weak spot till at last it gives way with a crash. But it is alway difficult, if not impossible, to isolate any one set of agencies and decide with dogmatic assurance that they and nothing else have brought about the interruption—that it has been the panic in the United States a few years before, or the famine in the East, or the destructive wars in the West, or the gradual reaction from over-inflation under a false currency system, or the bad harvests of successive years, or changes in the habits of communities that supplied markets for our goods, or any other of the hundred and one causes which may have all contributed in their degree to induce the final catastrophe. The streams of commerce may have been flowing languidly to the common centre, and in its turn that centre, with diminished powers of absorption and reduced capacity to scatter the beneficent products throughout other lands, may have failed to discharge the functions that were easy in times of vigorous health. But we shall rarely be able to set apart the intermingling currents and unravel the intertwining threads so as to fix upon each its precise share of the responsibility. It is with commerce, and with the finance which is partly the creature and yet in great measure the creator of commerce, as with the phenomena of life —we can follow the processes by and through which it works and produces its effects, but when we reach the border line between life and death we are baffled, and the original obscurity remains as impenetrable as ever.

Of late years in particular, the most prominent features of trade and commerce, as of finance, have been their increasingly international

and cosmopolitan character. The laws under which they act, and the tendencies they are ever striving to realise, are peculiar to no country or people, for they are illustrated by all. To this fact is due the universality of their effects and influences. This universality is in great measure owing to their diversity; so that what is lacking in the forces and elements supplied by one nation is supplemented from another. There must be a common meeting point for all these varying and counterworking factors, and this is found in London; not, however, in the whole metropolis, but only as to geographical extent and locality in one comparatively small section of it. If England be the heart of international trade and cosmopolitan finance, and London be the heart of England, the City is the heart of London. The City, too, has its peculiar nerve-centre. Within the superficial area on which stand the Bank of England, the Stock Exchange, the various edifices of which Lombard Street consists, and, on the other hand, the several spots where dealers congregate, and which constitute the metropolitan markets, may be said to be ranged the congeries of local habitations and names that give regulations to the finance and commerce of the whole world. For the sake of distinctness, although, as in regard to other phenomena already spoken of, the diverse series of influences run into, overlap, and reciprocally act and react upon each other, it may be useful to take the broad distinction, which we shall work out into clearer detail, of Financial London and Commercial London. All the facts, laws, influences, and tendencies of trading enterprise, mercantile or monetary speculation, credit with its widespread and multifarious ramifications, and exports and imports of necessaries and luxuries, together with the means of their distribution, in virtue of which, in being made exchangeable, they become economical phenomena, will fall into their places under one or the other of these heads.

Without attempting to establish which of the two series has precedence in the order of time—for it would be difficult, in regard to this as to the other facts already adverted to, to draw any broad line of demarcation—we select, for convenience sake, Financial London. which will mean, it is hardly necessary to say, Financial England. To give a vivid sense of reality to the subject, let us then take the Bank of England, with its surrounding feeders and suckers in the banking circle of Lombard Street, as the one leading representative; and the Stock Exchange, the great mart for dealings in all kinds of stocks and shares, as the other. The Stock Exchange is pre-eminently cosmopolitan. Among its members are brokers and "jobbers" of many nationalities. Specially conspicuous among them are the descendants of the great Semitic race. The Bank of England, on the contrary, is, or is supposed to be, national, and as the agent of the Government and the keeper of the Government balances it ought to be so. Yet

little consideration is required to show that the Bank of England is very much more—though in some respects it is also very much less—than its name would seem to indicate. Outside and beyond the specially national functions which the Bank is bound to discharge—in being the banker of the Government, the issuer of notes that, under certain conditions, are legal tender and therefore national currency, in taking charge of Government securities and paying the dividends thereon to the holders, and in performing the other various offices of a bank for the public—there are other multifarious duties which it is compelled by its position to fulfil. The Bank of England, for example, is pre-eminently the bankers' bank. It keeps the balances of all London and of most provincial banks under one form or another. These sums make up on the average half what, in its weekly balance-sheet, are called the "other deposits," to distinguish them from the money of the Government. This function gives it a paramount position at all times, and also enables it, in conjunction with the Bankers' Clearing House, to facilitate all manner of debt payments with a rapidity unknown anywhere else. The Bank of England does not govern the money market merely through its commanding position as the bank of the State. It would not endure a year on that ground alone as the greatest and most powerful institution of the kind that the world has ever seen.

This point will be understood more clearly when we explain that the essence of all good banking is economy and dispatch. Economy in the use of the precious metals in the settlement of debts, and absence of delay in completing transactions. Now the London banking system, whose pivot is the Bank of England, excels all others except, perhaps, the money market of New York in this particular, and it is because this is so, almost as much as because those who have debts to receive or to pay, know that gold can always be obtained in London, that the "City" is the universal liquidating point of international exchange. Bills are drawn from any centre of trade in the world payable in London, and the daily mass of exchange and banking transactions which are carried through the Clearing House in consequence of this habit seldom falls far short of £20,000,000 in the dullest time of the year. That this great turn over of what is called money, this unexampled change in the ownership of banking balances, should take place usually without affecting the reserves of cash held by the Bank of England by more than a few thousand pounds, is the best testimony possible to the efficiency of the system of which it forms the base. And, as most excellent things are, the whole business is extremely simple. The Bank holds the fund for all other banks, and the Bankers' Clearing House is the institution where the leading banks all meet daily to offset their accounts against each other. Suppose that an Indian

bank has in a given day to pay £200,000 on account of drafts executed in the East. It deposits the funds with its London bankers, either in the form of fresh securities, or of a cheque drawn on the Bank of England, where it has a balance. In either case the payment becomes available as an offset against some other debt which may be due to this Indian bank or to its London banker. All the various debts, in short, that arise in the course of a day out of the enormous exchange business done in London focus in the Clearing House. One debt is put against another and liquidates another, until, at the end of the day, certain banks are found to have balances left to pay to one or other of their neighbours. These they immediately settle by a draft upon their balance at the Bank of England, which has the effect of causing the necessary sum at the credit of the debtor to be transferred in the Bank's books to the institution in whose favour the draft has been drawn. In this way not a single bank note or coin may change hands the whole day, and at night the money in the Bank of England lies untouched. Some of its cash has been transferred from one set of people to another, and that is all. Country banks and all foreign banks that are not in its Clearing House keep an account with some other bank that is, and so through that institution and the Bank of England, manage to get their business done with the utmost facility. The Bank of England itself will act as "clearing" agent to its customers if necessary. Hence promptitude, rapidity, and accuracy in the settlement of debts, combined with the minimum disturbance, or wear and tear of the hard cash, which forms the ultimate basis of all credit. Hence, too, the jealousy with which the rise and fall of the stock of bullion in the vaults of the bank are watched by the money market. When the current of exchange throws this country into the position of debtor to some other nation, bullion comes into play, gold has to be deposited to liquidate this debt, and if the outflow of gold be large, bankers take alarm lest the total should sink below what is necessary for the daily requirements of credit. Exports of large amounts of gold are therefore followed by advances in the rate charged by bankers for accommodation, as the inevitable effect of what is called dear money in London is to first stop the outflow and then reverse its current. If money becomes what is called "dear" with us, bankers elsewhere transmit their spare cash for use in this market, or they send here the debts that would otherwise be paid out in order to secure the extra profit. Such, briefly, is the economy and method of the London money market. Its mechanism is wonderful in its simplicity and efficiency, and so long as it retains this pre-eminence in Europe, so long will London be the place where the debts and borrowings of international trade will in the main be arranged. It is not improbable that its mere banking and brokerage profit upon this class of our business

alone amounts to the revenue of a great kingdom, say to £50,000,000 per annum.

Turn now to the second representative of England's cosmopolitan finance—the Stock Exchange. It is difficult for city men to conceive a London without a Stock Exchange; yet it is only half a century since it became an institution of much magnitude, and very much less than that since it assumed anything like its present dimensions. Primarily—as already indicated—it is the great mart for the sale of various classes of documentary securities. Its organisation is such, that there is a ready market within its walls for all sorts of stocks and shares which may be offered for sale; and the intending buyer of any particular kind of security may be reasonably confident that by employing one of its recognised members, or brokers, he will get what he wants. This is the main service which is rendered by the Stock Exchange; and it is facilitated through the presence in the building of a class of middlemen called "jobbers," or wholesale merchants, who are always buying and selling, and make their profits, as a rule, out of minute "turns" in the prices of the market. The jobber, if disposed to deal at all, is bound to quote two prices to the broker; one, the price at which he will buy, and the other his selling price. When the stock in question is one much dealt in, the difference between these two quotations is usually 2s. 6d., and never more than 5s., but if one of the many securities seldom bought or sold be inquired for, the "jobber" often quotes prices £5 or £10 apart. In these latter instances the weak side of this otherwise excellent system makes its appearance. When the jobber can hope to sell what he buys the next minute, a 2s. 6d. or 5s. "turn" pays him; but when the market is so uncertain that what he may sell may not be buyable again for weeks, and what he buys may not be saleable perhaps for months, he protects himself by quoting what is called a "risk price." The holder or buyer has then to pay dearly for this market facility.

Most people who read the newspapers must have formed in their own minds some vague notion of what the Stock Exchange is like; but probably few who have done so would not feel their fancy-picture sadly disturbed if they were to make their way any day to one of the several entrances to the large building—in the immediate neighbourhood of the Bank of England—in which the business we have described is carried on. The public are not admitted within the turbulent precincts of "the House," and all the anxious inquirer can do is to scan it from one of its several exits and entrances, at Capel Court, or Hercules Passage, or Throgmorton Street. Stationed at the open door, he sees busy men—the brokers and jobbers—thronging in and out, occasionally stopping to speak to clients by whom they have been "called" out—a process performed by attendants, who shout with stentorian voices through a tube the name of the person wanted,

until the word is taken up inside, and made by a second stentorian voice to reverberate through the room. The building is parcelled out so that separate quarters are assigned to the dealers in different classes of securities; thus we have the Foreign, the American, the Home Railway Markets, and so on. The din and clatter inside are deafening and confusing; though in this respect the Paris Bourse bears away the palm from the London Stock Exchange.

In this building, which has recently undergone great enlargement, out of and into which flows almost uninterruptedly from eleven until four o'clock each working day, except Saturday, when the hours are shorter, the stream of brokers and jobbers and their clerks, numbering about 2,500 in all, dealings for the sale and purchase of all kinds of securities are carried on ceaselessly within these hours. But, in truth, we have gained a very partial conception of what the Stock Exchange is and does when we have only learned to understand so much as this. It, too, like the Bank of England, has other varied, vast, and complicated work. In addition to men selling shares of banks, railways, or gas companies, for which they wish to get the value in money, and others performing the counter-process of buying such securities for investment purposes, so as to obtain a good return in the shape of yearly interest, there is a mighty array of operations called speculative transactions. Speculative accounts are opened by respectable brokers on behalf of clients, in whose ability to meet possible losses they have confidence, or from whom, if there is any shade of doubt, a sum of money is exacted, under the name of "cover," to assure the broker that he shall not lose, however the speculative business may turn out. Buying or selling speculatively—being in Stock Exchange parlance a "bull" or a "bear"—does not mean that the client for whom the broker buys or sells in the one case wishes to purchase and pay for the stock he offers to buy; or in the other that he has a supply of the stock he offers to sell, so as to be able to hand it over to the person who may have bid the highest price for it. The "bull" buys in the hope that when the time for arranging the next fortnightly account—at what is called the settlement—comes round the price of the stock will have risen, in which case he will pocket as his profit the "difference" between the price at which he bought and the price on the account-day, *minus* the broker's commission. And in like manner the "bear" sells, hoping that by account-day the price of the stock he offered may have gone down, when the "difference" between the two prices—again *minus* the broker's commission—will go into his pocket. As however, instead of rising the price may fall, or instead of falling it may rise, the "bull" or the "bear" must pay the "differences" when they are against him. So that in reality this kind of dealing by means of speculative accounts comes to be a mere series of wagers that stocks

will fall or rise, and is justly held to be gambling by the law, so that the "differences" cannot be recovered by legal process. But although this introduces an additional element of uncertainty into the business, since the law cannot be set into motion to enforce the completion of gambling bargains, speculation is carried on in such a variety of ways, and to such an enormous extent, through the machinery of the Stock Exchange, that no description of our financial organisation would be complete without some reference to speculative accounts.

In addition to being a market for investment and speculation, the Stock Exchange is also the intermediary through which public loans, home and foreign, are floated. This function has developed naturally out of the other functions spoken of. The Stock Exchange is the place where investors, having money which they wish to employ to good purpose, meet and bargain, through agents, with those who have securities to sell that yield returns in interest to their holders. Consequently, it is part of the duty of those who have the regulation and control of the Stock Exchange to arrange the conditions on which stocks, shares, and other securities may be dealt in, so as to bring them within reach of investors and speculators. As it is scarcely conceivable that any loan on the part of a foreign state or a home company would be taken up—that is to say, subscribed for—unless it could be dealt in on the Stock Exchange, the authorities of that institution, who are represented by the committee for general purposes, have large powers of promoting or frustrating the very largest financial operations on the part of foreign governments and home corporations. A foreign country in need of a loan, even if it go to Paris bankers for assistance in the first instance, always tries to domiciliate it in London, so as to have a wider area from which to attract subscribers than can be found anywhere else in the world, and also to obtain a quotation from the Stock Exchange which will make the scrip of such a loan capable of being readily dealt in.

It may simplify matters yet further if we sketch in outline the steps of the process of issuing a foreign loan. The enumeration of these may suggest the necessity for reforms; but it is no part of our business to consider that matter here.

The first step taken when a foreign state has applied to some well-known financial house, whose name is a power of itself, is the drawing up of a secret "contract" between the Government wanting the money and the London bankers, who will, on the faith of the anticipated success of the loan, give advances on terms profitable to themselves. A prospectus is then made ready by some competent firm of London solicitors, setting forth in as glowing terms as possible the advantages which will accrue to investors if they lend their money in return for the bonds of the said foreign government. Copies of this prospectus are forwarded several days in advance to

an enterprising advertising firm having wide connections, which undertakes to do the advertising for a consideration. But these agents in London usually do a great deal more than the advertising. In the heyday of the foreign loan mania, some of these firms—the leading Jews especially—used to keep hacks to write newspaper puffs for them, and regularly bribed the writers of city articles to secure their insertion in the money market columns of the morning papers on the same day that the advertisements appeared. The advertising was itself in a great measure a means of bestowing hush-money on newspaper proprietors, and fortunes were often wasted in this and similar ways to "float" a loan. But much of that kind of thing has now disappeared. The decoying of the outside world, however, has still to be provided for, and the manipulations inside the Stock Exchange are trusted to effect that. Two or more "jobbers" who deal in the particular market the loan is connected with—foreign, American, or home—are secretly employed by the "contractors" to bid for the bonds 1 or 1½ premium; that is, £1 or £1 10s. above the price at which the loan is nominally issued—the price, that is, named in the prospectus. The fact of this being done superinduces the belief that these new bonds must be a valuable security, seeing that habitual dealers on the Stock Exchange have already offered more than the Government which is responsible for them itself asked for. Outsiders are induced to apply to the contractors for a number of the bonds, in the expectation of securing the premium by afterwards selling at the higher price already quoted in the market. Thus, by the help and with the co-operation of stock brokers and "jobbers," the loan is gradually worked off upon the public; and English investors and capitalists may give their hard-won earnings to construct some impracticable railway in the wilds of South America, to feed the cravings of semi-barbarous Oriental monarchs for Western luxuries, or do something equally wasteful. The vast sums which have been lost in foreign loans of late years show that this is no exaggerated picture, though, of course, many of their number are perfectly legitimate, and the proceeds applied to useful purposes.

The art of loan-mongering has advanced to great perfection, and has been raised almost to the dignity of a profession. But hard times have of late made many minor and some important changes in the way in which the business is carried on. Formerly, manipulations on the market, bogus subscriptions, and sham dealings, paid newspaper puffs and hush-money advertisements, were the means chiefly resorted to. Nowadays, the continental system of forming a "syndicate" is much more in vogue. A group of capitalists take up a loan in the first instance—underwrite it, in fact—and wait a favourable opportunity to launch it on the market. A few merchants

and bankers, aided by wealthy brokers and jobbers, can, when combined in this fashion, keep a great mass of stock at a high price, and gradually "feed" it out to the small investor. The Stock Exchange is a perfect vehicle for this kind of business. One of the witnesses examined before the Foriegn Loans Commission stated, as his opinion, that it would be impossible to float a loan in London without the use of the Stock Exchange machinery, because the real English investors, most of whom live in the country, always look to the London market quotations, and are guided by them in deciding what stocks and shares to buy. And he was quite right.

It will thus be seen that the Stock Exchange is, for good and evil, an essential part of the machinery of credit. It is indispensable as an intermediary for facilitating purchases and sales of existing shares and stocks; and its services are equally necessary in "floating" the shares of new enterprises, or the stocks of new loans sought for by foreign governments. The financial machinery would be incomplete without it; indeed, it is difficult to conceive how borrowings and lendings to any very large extent could be carried on without the medium of the Stock Exchange. There are, in addition to the London institution, provincial exchanges throughout the country; but these all look to London for guidance, and metropolitan prices regulate their quotations.

Having explained the nature of the two leading representative institutions by which the accumulations of capital are stored up or lent out, and by which, therefore, the double process is performed of collecting the surplus earnings resulting from the profitable employment of industry, in order to divert them to other channels of enterprise, there to fructify and fertilise, we shall have formed some general conception of the province and functions of finance in London and England. It is through the discharge of these important duties that London is the financial centre of the world; for without its banking system, of which the Bank of England is the head, we should not have the head-quarters of international business here, and we could not, therefore, be the financial centre. And in like manner without the Stock Exchange the vast sums of money thus accumulated could not readily be distributed for wide and varied use.

Yet financing, on however large a scale, with its twin agents of accumulation and distribution, is rather the efflorescence than the root of true national prosperity. We can conceive of a state which is rich and, in a sense, prosperous through finance alone. We can conceive of our own country as an exclusively commercial state, having ceased to cultivate agriculture, and being wholly dependent upon other communities for the supply of the wants of her population. It is conceivable that England might in such a condition of things be rich and prosperous; but she would not be the England we have known in the

past. We have attained to our pre-eminence among the nations because we have cultivated self-dependence, and have secured a population of skilled labourers who have been able to turn out goods of first-rate quality. Agriculture and manufactures have gone hand in hand ; and by developing the spirit of enterprise we have secured the position we hold in the markets of the world. And we are likely to retain that position for a long time to come, because our great Empire, our vast accumulations of wealth, make us the largest lending and tribute-receiving people on the face of the earth. The very fact that every nation under the sun able to even scrape a semblance of stable government together is in our debt, gives us a power of controlling the trade of all nations that no other country ever had. Therefore were we to sink to the place of a greater Holland in politics, as gloomy people say, we should for long continue to be great as bankers, the international Stock Exchange and bill and bullion centre, and should enjoy the profits derived from these sources. We might in that event be reduced to live in a great degree upon our past accumulations of capital, but if the interest alone sufficed for our wants we should do very well with the exchange and international banking business added. No such consummation of our greatness, however, is in prospect.

It is as an industrial and commercial state that England has prospered so wonderfully in the past, and that her wealth has accumulated from year to year. We have been a producing as well as a lending community, adding to the sum of the general wealth by enormous masses of manufactured commodities for the supply of the wants of our own population in the first instance, and then to be sent all over the globe for sale or exchange. Through the enterprise of her merchants and the industry of her labouring classes, England gained, for example, the command of the cotton trade. The products of the looms and spindles of Lancashire have provided fabrics for the inhabitants of India and the East, as well as for those of countries nearer home. By adopting and adapting all improvements in machinery, and by turning out of our mills and factories articles of good workmanship, we were able to take the lead of other nations. It was the same with regard to iron and steel, and the innumerable objects which were made of iron and steel. Sheffield cutlery became famous all the world over, just as Lancashire cotton goods did. With our supplies of coal we could manufacture cheaply, and as we had the start of other communities, because we had an enterprising and industrious population, we began to accumulate capital in advance of other nations, and the more capital we had at command the greater became our facilities for carrying on those industries, which came to be our staple exports to foreign countries. Circumstances were favourable to England in many

ways. The foundations of her prosperity were laid by the enterprise and skill of her sons and by the industry which these sons were able to direct and employ. Within the last thirty or forty years we have reaped enormous harvests of profit by the adoption of the system of free imports, through which we came to command the resources and industrial products of other nations. The simultaneous vast extension of the means of intercommunication by railways and telegraphs for a time contributed to the further development of our trading activity. The products of our manufactories were passed into all countries, and all countries to some degree responded by sending us the articles they could most advantageously produce. In this way came the mighty commercial growth of the last quarter of a century, which culminated in the excited prosperity of the years 1872, 1873, and 1874. Under the system of free trade England opened her ports to the goods and manufactures of all the world, but unfortunately she has not been able, on the other hand, to secure the abolition of the protective duties imposed by foreign nations. As it happened, first the American Union and then the Continent of Europe were engrossed with war or the expectation of war, which had the practical effect of a stringent protective system in our favour; for other nations had not the needful time and energy to devote to competing with us in industrial efforts while they were fighting the battle of self-existence, or struggling to extend their national power under the promptings of ambition and aggression. Little wonder if with the start we had we were able to make such good use of our opportunities as immensely to extend our commercial preponderance.

The prosperity of England thus rested on an industrial and commercial basis. Her great financial system has grown out of her commercial resources. We have spoken of our banking system as one of the two most important factors in the financial mechanism which is so delicately organised in Lombard Street. But though this is true in regard to banking as the outcome and the instrument of the complex organisation of credit, without which mercantile transactions on a large scale would be difficult, if not impracticable, banking comes into the field at a much earlier stage than might be inferred if this were its sole function. No sooner, indeed, does commerce by bringing in profits attain any considerable proportions, than bankers are needed to transmit money from place to place, and to keep in safety the balances that are accumulated as the profits of trading, as well as to supply—it may be—the circulating medium which may be used to supplement gold and silver coin. In this aspect of banking, in an earlier phase of commercial society, it is the inter-connecting link between commerce and finance; although in its complete organisation it is the culmination of the matured financial system. The close connection between com-

merce and banking, and the degree in which they are inter-dependent, is illustrated by the effects produced by a bank failure upon the general community. When a bank which has supplied loans to mercantile firms and traders stops, the withdrawal of the usual facilities that had been afforded by it to its customers tests the stability and resources of the merchants who have been dependent on it; and if its business has been large the stoppage may induce a general loss of confidence and consequent diminution of credit throughout the business community. When this is carried to a certain point we have what is called a panic.

From what has been said regarding England's commercial and financial systems, and the intimate connection there is between them, it will now be intelligible to the reader how both are liable to fluctuations and great changes. Such changes have already been witnessed in this country, and there are many signs which appear to indicate that we have yet greater changes before us. We have spoken of the excited prosperity of the years from 1872 to 1874, and have shown that it was due to a variety of causes wholly apart from the impetus given to commerce by free trade. Since that period—which is familiarly known as the time of "leaps and bounds" in our material progress—we have had a still more protracted era of depression.

Ten years have come and gone since then, and not only our trade, but the trade of every civilised nation, has suffered from waves of depression. Again and again banking and mercantile circles in this country have passed through what had all the appearance of a crisis, and every brief period of revival has been followed by one of augmented depression. The results of the European and American credit collapse of 1873 were hardly begun to be forgotten when, in 1875, England was startled by some of the largest mercantile failures it had seen since 1866. Millions of what had been esteemed as capital disappeared in a day in the Collie group of bankruptcies, and for a brief space the situation seemed to threaten here a repetition of the horrors of 1866. But the credit institutions of London had gained strength since then, and bore the strain in a manner that soon restored them to the full confidence of the public. The trust then begotten stood them in good stead when three years later, in 1878, the City of Glasgow Bank failed, disclosing frauds and deficiencies greater than any that banking credit ever before had to endure. This failure spread ruin throughout the northern part of the kingdom, and reacted upon English banking credit both in London and the provinces after a fashion that twenty years before must have made many banks succumb. As it was, only two or three of minor importance disappeared in county towns, and none in London. The nation therefore again endured the strain with a power of resistance that spoke volumes for its wealth and inherent prosperity. But for three years

after 1878 the trade of the United Kingdom dragged along with heaviness. Enterprise, that wholesome energy of speculation which is the soul of prosperous business, was wanting. Those who had means were afraid to risk it out of their sight, and most of those who had little or none failed to obtain the necessary credit. They could no longer borrow. Prices of commodities went to a comparatively low ebb, and we had all the sequels of a "crisis" without the thing itself; nor were we alone in this position. Complaint was universal, because the mischiefs that affect credit in one country react on all, so intimately has modern commerce tended to render their financial union. To add to the difficulties of that time, there was a severe fall in the value of silver, crippling all countries whose credit was based upon that metal, and in Europe what proved to be a long series of bad harvests commenced, whereby the wealthy and wealth-creating classes were put to considerable straits.

Out of this last adverse feature, however, arose a new experience in the history of international trade, over which the English people were at first much alarmed. The failure of European, and especially of our home wheat harvests, gave a prodigious stimulus to the production of cereals on the new lands of the West and North-West territories in the United States. There cheap lands were taken up and cultivated, usually in the roughest way, at a speed altogether unprecedented, and for a matter of three years the prospect was that the United States would henceforth feed Europe cheaper than it could feed itself. Thus in England land fell in value, and to some extent went out of cultivation, by reason of this deluge of cheap cereals from North America, and on all sides the cry arose that the country was going to ruin. Great stress in proof of this assertion was laid upon the fact that whereas our exports remained comparatively stationary, our imports bounded upwards until they reached totals never dreamt of by the most sanguine free-trader that ever lived. This could not happen, it was urged, without denuding the country of its accumulated wealth. We are selling or pawning our possessions for food, they said. Some because of the fears thus engendered wanted to impose a new protective customs tariff upon the nation, partly to check this excess of importation, and so restore prosperity to agriculture at home, partly to retaliate upon the United States, which in defiance of all the laws of fair play and prudent trading kept a "ring fence" of high duties round their coasts; others, more practically wise, laboured to create competing producers either at home or abroad, and were to some extent successful.

Events, indeed, have proved that the prosperity of the United States was altogether ephemeral, at any rate as regards this source of it. They tried to grow rich by exports alone, and have already begun to find out that the country which is able to prove its wealth

by the volume of its imports has the greatest stability. The outcome of the past six years of apparently excessive importations on the part of England has not been the national bankruptcy dreaded, nor are there indications that the nation as a whole is poorer now than it was then. Trade has again entered upon a period of depression with us —indeed it never fully emerged therefrom; complaints are as universal now as in 1878, but it is more obvious now than it was then that the cause of this stagnation is much less in ourselves than in the countries with which we trade. They have exhausted their strength in no small degree through their efforts to cope with us, and first in France, then in the United States, over-speculation of every description has brought affairs to a state of collapse.

Few things are more interesting to the mercantile community of England than the present condition of the United States. Their brief hour of prosperity has proved utterly illusory as a promise of better things to come. Their farmers were only able to produce grain cheaper than other countries because they were ready to do so and other countries were not. Directly, however, the speculative mercantile mind became excited by the sight of this source of wealth, it set to work to organise competition, and already India has become a formidable rival to the American North-West. America, indeed, has no longer the semblance of a monopoly, and at no distant date it seems probable that the farmers in our farthest-off Australian colonies will be able to sell wheat cheaper in Mark Lane than those of Iowa, Minnesota, Dakota, and Manitoba. It is but natural that this should be the case, for so long as the American tariff and navigation laws compel the native producer to use foreign ships for the conveyance of his goods and to pay charges thereon equivalent to freight both ways, because the vessels go to American ports for the most part nearly empty, every country whose people are less handicapped can outstrip him.

The fact that the States are at the present time passing through a credit storm—a cyclone of depression—of almost unexampled severity is proof to no small extent of the weakness of their economic position. They have nothing to depend upon to maintain the rush of prosperity which began in 1880 except foreign demand for their raw produce, and above all for their cotton, cereals, and dead meat or cattle. Cotton they still have a pre-eminent position in, though it is a poor business compared to what it was once, but in other respects every calculation is liable to be upset by the mere accident, so to say, of a good harvest in Europe. And it is at any rate consoling to Englishmen to find that, so far, their excessive imports, about which so many fears were excited, have not ruined them. They have seen a French financial crisis break out and die away, and credit at home has not had its serenity even ruffled. In like manner the New York crisis of May,

1884—a crisis which has thrown industry back five years at least all over the Union—has not thus far raised an echo here. It is, therefore, possible to discuss now with more serenity the question whether the trade of England is on the eve of a permanent decline or not. We venture to think that no evidence exists indicative of this being the case. There will be depressions ; one of great severity exists now, but on the whole the tendency of English trade is to grow. It is far larger in volume in 1884, exports alone considered, than it was in 1879, when the gloomy feeling about the future was most prevalent, but its greater bulk is hid by the fall that has taken place in prices. That fall again is the simple result of an over-stimulus everywhere applied to production, which will rapidly work its own cure. The chief danger to business in these days is the rapidity with which all the world gets to know what article is best paying its producer. Directly this is ascertained, speculators set to work to produce that article to excess, and thus in two or three years bring about a glut which could not formerly have been created in ten. But that has its good side. It means progress, and if all the world is on the march to greater heights of prosperity, it is absurd to suppose that England, with its stores of wealth, its magnificent industrial appliances, its trained workmen of unrivalled capacity for labour, is to be left behind. The more other nations produce, in short, the more they will have to sell, and the more they sell the more they will buy. It is, therefore, well not to allow the mind to be carried away by fear at the many histories of the industrial progress made by other nations constantly retailed to alarm us. By all means let them make progress, the more and the faster the better, so long as it is solid progress and not spurts made under doses of high stimulants. We do not at any time suffer from the ridiculous tariffs so many nations think themselves wise in imposing as is alleged, for a high tariff nearly always lowers the quality of the articles produced under its shelter, and weakens the industries it brings into being. Our iron and coal industries, much as they have had to endure since 1873, have never once sunk to the pass that has more than once overtaken those of Pennsylvania within the same period of time ; and low as the ebb of profits may be in the cotton and woollen trades of Lancashire and Yorkshire, they have never stooped to the production of such low classes of goods as the average of those the manufacturers in the States try to live by, nor are they afflicted with the same periodical collapses. It would be easy to find elsewhere telling examples of the truth of what has here been said, but the proposition is almost self-evident. So likewise is that which insists upon excess of imports being proof of a country's wealth. All nations who get back a less value of goods than they export are debtor nations. They have more to pay away than they receive, else the mere profit or increment of value upon the sales and purchases of goods abroad would

insure the figures of the imports exceeding those of the exports. Hence the words "trade balance," employed in speaking of the relative value of the import and export sides of a nation's foreign trade account, have no significance unless a consideration of this kind is taken into account. On an average of years the fact that the imports of England exceed her exports in value by from £100,000,000 to £120,000,000 is the most striking proof that could possibly be given of her abounding wealth and unexampled prosperity. Long then may her trade returns continue to afford this satisfactory testimony to her unimpaired commercial strength and manufacturing energy.

CHAPTER IX.

COMMERCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

General Principles of Business Administration—Typical Instances selected: (1) Cotton Mill, (2) Iron Works, (3) A Banking House—Gradation of Responsibility in the Management of Cotton Mills—Different Responsible Officials and their Several Provinces—The Managing Partner—Yorkshire Iron Works—Organisation traced from Pit's Mouth to Sale of the Article—Business of a great Banking House in London described—Functions of the Separate Partners—Capital employed, Political Influences, and General Principles to be observed in the Management of each of these Businesses.

It may be said of every great business, that it is in a measure the embodiment of the same principles which are recognised in the conduct of the highest departments of State. It has been shown in an earlier chapter that the possessions of the territorial nobility require in their management not a few of those qualities which are displayed in imperial administration. The conduct of the great commercial concerns of England involves the same centralisation of authority, delegated by regular gradations throughout the whole system. The cotton and iron trades of Lancashire and Yorkshire and the chief banking houses of the City of London afford the best instances of the organisation of that private enterprise which is the mainspring of English commerce.

We will select our first illustration from the large cotton industries of the north. The unbaled cotton, already mixed so as to secure uniformity in quality, passes through a series of machines, leaving the first in the form of fleece and the second in rope-like coils, until it is thoroughly cleaned and carded, or combed into rudimentary threads of an even thickness. In this form it is twisted by the roving machines and throstles and wound on bobbins or reels in its finished state as yarn; and as such is moved to the weaving shed, where it is woven into the finished material. The whole process is done by machinery; for in the shed the threads are arranged in warps and dressed with size, the loom is worked, the shuttle thrown, the warp unwound, and the finished cloth wound on the roller ready for the warehouse, by steam-power. Except in the removal of the material from one machine to the other, the intervention of man is restricted to supervision, to the control of the speed of the machine, to an unceasing watchfulness

to arrest it when any hitch threatens damage, and to the removal of the obstruction.

With this supervision the responsibility commences. An individual minder or weaver controls a certain number of hands, and is accountable to the overlooker for the work turned out by so many mules in the one case, or by so many looms in the other. Of these overlookers there is one to each room, who, again, is responsible to the foreman of the spinning or of the weaving department for the material delivered from his room, the foreman himself being accountable to the factory manager. The woven material, or cloth, when removed from the looms to the warehouse, is inspected, and imperfect lots are rejected. This is the duty of the warehouseman, who, too, will have already examined the cotton on its arrival at the mill; the bales (the original packages shipped at New Orleans or Charleston) have been opened, compared with sample, carefully examined throughout, all inferior cotton, all stones and the like, being separated by the women or young men employed under him. To his care, also, falls the due delivery of the finished material to the canal or railway which takes it to the warehouse in Manchester. Steam-power is under the control of a foreman engineer, accountable for the true working and repair of the machinery, for the supply of coal, for the lighting of the factory where gas is made on the premises, and for the conduct of the engineers and gasmen under him. The warehouseman and engineer, like the foremen, are directly under the factory manager, as are the watchman and the timekeeper; the former looking to the safety of the buildings, the latter to the due attendance of the hands.

Here, so far as the actual production is concerned, ends the organisation. If we follow the cloth to Manchester, we find a manager at the warehouse, who sees to the delivery of the goods if to order; or sells them if made for stock. It is his duty to look to the prices obtained, the orders he takes and their due transmission to the mill, the collection of accounts, and the duties respectively performed by the salesmen, clerks, and porters under him. But the counting-house at the mill is under a separate head, responsible for the book-keeping, the rendering of accounts, the due collection of money, the correct disbursements in purchases and for wages, as well as for the efficiency of his staff.

The chiefs of the three departments of manufacture and sale—the factory manager and the heads of the Manchester warehouse and of the counting-house—are in their turn severally responsible to the managing partner, the supreme controller. But the purchase of the raw material is so important a point, involving as it does two-thirds of the whole expenditure, that it is very rarely entrusted to a subordinate. It is one of the special occupations of the managing partner, who visits Liverpool on market-days or, as occasion may require, goes round with

his broker, and buys such cotton as in quality, quantity, and price may suit him. The cotton itself has been picked on the plantations of South Carolina, baled, and sent down to the seaport, whence it is shipped to Liverpool, either purchased by or consigned to, the merchant at that place,—the merchant landing and warehousing it, and placing samples in the hands of his broker, where it is seen by the buyer, in the manner already described. Occasionally these intermediaries are dispensed with; an order for a certain quality of cotton being given by the manufacturer directly to the merchant at Liverpool or Charleston. But although in this case the expenses of brokerage and of the Liverpool warehouse are saved—no inconsiderable items where everything is calculated to a nicety—this is not the rule. Such a transaction is legitimately the trade of the merchant.

It will thus be seen that the managing partner is the pivot on which the organisation turns. All the departments are reviewed by him. He settles all disputes, and specially sees that all transactions are carried out with the scrupulous fairness that has made the reputation of the house. He decides the proportion of each particular "make" of cloth which the factor shall turn out, and instructs the salesman as to prices and credits. He in his turn consults his partners as to a common view of the future course of the markets, as to the advisability of restricting or extending sales of cloth on the one hand, or of purchases of cotton on the other, and as to the credit given to large customers. Such is the system of central organisation characteristic of the wealthy partnerships in the cotton trade. The cases in which the managing partner is relieved of a portion of his responsibilities occur most frequently when the supervision of the counting-house and Manchester business is undertaken by some other member of the firm.

The aspect of one of the great ironworks of Yorkshire is very different. The barren treeless waste, the lurid fires of the everlasting furnace, the overhanging bank of smoke, the begrimed appearance of the inhabitants, the railroad running into the works with coal, and iron-laden trucks moving to and fro—these mark the neighbourhood. Within are seen the numerous calcining ovens and conical blast-furnaces, the puddling furnaces and rolling-mills, with the great steam hammer, vast stacks of coal, of coke, and of fire-bricks, the foundry with its chimney, and the open spaces where lie the products of mill and furnace. But the premises are not, as in a cotton manufactory, self-contained. In adjacent parts of the country are situated the coal-mines, the ironstone pits, the limestone quarries, which, the property of the concern, produce almost everything required in the process of manufacture, the chief exception being the fire-bricks, usually obtained from Staffordshire.

The organisation commences at the seats of production—the mines, pits, and quarries, each of which is presided over by a responsible

head. In the former, a manager controls his subordinates and the miners, sees that the wages are duly paid, that production is on a fair scale, that the coal is turned into coke in the ovens at the pit's mouth in such quantity as may be required, and that both coal and coke are sent off as wanted. His duties are, in fact, those of any other coal-mine manager; and in the same way, the foreman at the ironstone pits, and the foreman at the limestone quarries, are responsible for the work done by the miners and quarrymen severally. The transport of the material to the works and of the manufactured iron for delivery, by means of the short lines of railway which are owned by the concern, is a matter important enough to require the special supervision of a traffic manager. The locomotives and rolling-stock, the engineers and firemen, again, are the separate charge of a chief engineer, to whom also falls the superintendence of the extensive machinery used for the blast-furnaces and rolling-mills.

The processes of manufacture at the works are ordinarily entrusted to two distinct managers, whose general supervision in their respective departments includes care that coal, coke, and material are supplied as wanted, prevention of waste, the regulation of the order of work, and the delivery of the goods according to contract, in proper time, and of the specified quality. The one restricts his attention to the production of pig-iron, having under him a foreman directly responsible for the work done by the hands employed at the ovens, where the ironstone goes through the first process, that of being calcined with coal, and at the blast-furnaces, in which, with a due proportion of coke and limestone, the calcined ore is smelted and run into pigs. This "pig-iron" is sold as such, or converted into manufactured iron in one of its two forms—malleable or cast. These latter processes involve, as has been said, a separate department, distinctly under the charge of another manager. Under the latter are two foremen. The first of these is responsible for the out-turn of the puddling furnaces, steam hammer, and rolling-mills, by means of which the iron is made malleable, and manufactured into rails, ship and boiler-plates, bars, angle and T-iron. His duties are not light, because in the first operation he has to do with the puddlers, the most independent of workmen. For a puddler must not only be skilled in his work, but have exceptional powers of endurance; and he knows his value. He works or not, and for a longer or for a shorter time, at his own caprice, and when work presses, the humouring of these lusty sons of toil is not the least difficult of the foreman's duties. It may perhaps be here explained that the puddler, having first "fettled" his furnace, puts in a charge of pig-iron, and works, or "puddles," it in a molten state into a ball, which is taken to the steam hammer, and from it, as "a bloom," is rolled by the mills into bars, when it is cut up, re-heated, and again rolled into the marketable forms enumerated above. A second fore-

man has the control of the foundry, of the smiths and their assistants, of the forges for the casting of railway-chairs, and various other parts of machinery.

The watchman and the timekeeper will be directly under the managers, who, again, with the other head men (the managers of the mines, pits, and quarries, the engineer and the traffic manager), are responsible to the chief director or managing partner, to whose authority also, as in other manufacturing concerns, the head of the counting-house at the works, entrusted with the care of the accounts, is subject. The sale of the goods in London comes within the province of the London representative of the house, who has a staff under his control, charged with the supervision of the delivery and shipment of the iron, and with the collection of accounts. But the London manager, as well as the agents employed for similar purposes at the outports (Liverpool, Hull, and other places), as a rule take all their orders from the managing partner, the intercourse often—in the case of the agents almost invariably—being carried on by correspondence.

It will be seen that here, as in a cotton mill, it is usual to place the control in the hands of one man, who has a practical knowledge of every department. To him fall the decision of the proportion of each kind of iron to be made, the instructions as to sales, and the entire supervision. He consults with his partners concerning the general line of business and probable course of the market, and is sometimes assisted in one or other special department, or replaced, in his absence, by one of them. But, as a rule, he has less need of such aid than the director of any other equally important business ; because in a wealthy ironworks establishment the area of production is its own, and, its manufacture being usually sold for cash on delivery, the necessity for financial arrangements is of rare occurrence.

Much more tranquil, and presenting in its serene exterior a marked contrast to the bustle and agitation which pervade these centres of manufacturing industry, is the scene that we may next visit. Quitting one of the busiest thoroughfares of the busiest city of the world, we turn through the corridor into a house which, in years gone by, has been the dwelling of one of our merchant princes, but now is used only in the day-time as the office of his successors. The quiet and order of the great room first entered, with its thirty or forty clerks separated from the public by a long mahogany counter and plate-glass screens, gives a pleasant relief to the nerves wearied by the turmoil outside. In both the previous cases the material employed and the process of manufacture are visible enough. But here, the centre whence radiates an even larger business than from either of the others, the machinery is restricted apparently to pens, ink, and paper. It is, in fact, a directing centre self-contained, and this principle is carried from the highest to the lowest. For in the City, the business of the

present day is so subdivided—the railway and dock companies filling the offices of carriers and warehousemen, the brokers and shipping agents attending to the produce dealt in and its disposal—that in the merchant's office itself there is hardly any sign of the nature of the special trade of the firm.

Here, as in the other concerns, there are frequently partners who visit the office, have their private rooms, interest themselves in special departments, and are periodically consulted. For the most part, however, they delegate their responsibility. As a consequence of the more varied nature of the business, the delegation is not, in this instance, entirely left to one person. There is a working or managing partner of capacity and experience, such as are demanded in the other administrations, on whom devolves, practically, the general control; but one department, the finance, is distinctly the charge of a single partner gifted with a special aptitude. In wealthy manufacturing concerns, finance, properly so called, is unknown. The premises belong to the manufacturers themselves, who have ample working capital, and are seldom confronted by a more imperious necessity than that of a temporary overdraft from the banker on emergency. But in a merchant's business, however large the capital, there are occasions when transactions are entered into involving amounts of much greater magnitude. In fact, a firm which would limit its operations strictly within the amount of its capital, would not be availing itself of its legitimate opportunities. Now, as it is a principle with the largest and wealthiest houses never to obtain advances on their produce, and on the other hand always to keep a round balance with their bankers and a large sum at call with one of the great discount houses, it is clear that some special financial ability is required to provide for the engagements of the future, so that this position of unassailable solidity may be at all times maintained. This is the duty of the partner indicated, who has directly under him the head cashier. The latter, presiding over the cash department, is responsible for the correctness of the acceptances and cheques which the partner signs, for the due payment into the bank of all incomings, for disbursements of all kinds, and specially, that an exact list of the acceptances of the firm is given in to the bankers from time to time.

Another distinctive feature of a merchant's business is, that all letters and documents must be signed, and all important visitors seen, by a partner. As the managing partner is frequently out and occasionally absent, it follows that it is, as a rule, arranged that one or other of the less active members of the firm shall be present and accessible when required. But with these exceptions, the centralisation of authority is the same as in other great business establishments. Besides the duties enumerated, the managing partner has to review all business, to read all letters before they go the round of the

departments, to see the more important customers, and to consult with the other partners on all special occasions. Responsible to him for their respective departments are several chief clerks. The head of the office takes charge of the general correspondence and all matters that do not refer to a special department, and has under him also the clerks entrusted with the postal and telegraph services. Directly answerable to him, too, are such subordinates as the messengers, porter, and housekeeper. Then there is the chief of the shipping department, accountable for all charters made and for all matters connected with freightage. In the produce department, again, another expert superintends the sale and due delivery of all goods consigned to the house, though acting to a certain extent under the immediate control of the managing partner, who as a rule treats immediately with the brokers. For the convenience of communication with the controlling head, these departments are not infrequently together in the one large room or general office; but separate rooms are generally allotted to the book-keepers, the order office, and the insurance department. At the head of the first is the chief book-keeper, responsible for the correct keeping of the books and rendering of accounts by the numerous staff under him. The head of the order department has charge of the due execution and shipment of all orders received by the firm, whether it be an order for a railroad or for a case of wine, referring in only the more important transactions to the chief. And lastly, the head of the insurance department is entrusted with the important duty of seeing that all goods, at sea or in warehouse, are fully covered in the one case by marine, in the other by fire insurance. In each of the departments there are clerks answerable to their several chiefs; and it only remains to be said that the latter are men specially qualified to secure the discharge of the different services in the best and least costly fashion. It is in the selection of fit men for these posts that the administrative ability of the responsible head of all is proved.

This, then, is the organisation of a banking house. It will have been observed that these firms have their special bankers, and it will be expedient here to explain the difference existing between the two classes of business—a banking house and a bank. Bankers proper carry on a trade which is often larger in amount, and is made up of more numerous transactions, but which knows nothing of the complex operations familiar to the former. A banker mainly receives money on deposit to lend it out on sufficient security, making his profit from the difference of interest paid and received. The largest London merchants entitle themselves banking houses, because their business, although distinctly embracing that of a merchant, chiefly consists in finding the means for the trade of other merchants, having houses either in the colonies or in foreign countries, with remuneration by

commission and not by results. Of the nature of their dealings a fair notion has been given, and it may be added, their business connection is always carefully selected and exceptionally well treated. For in great crises, when the value of produce threatens to fall below that of the advance made upon it, such a firm will not sacrifice its customers to save itself, but will hold the depreciated article for a recovery with a foresight doing credit alike to its honour and courage.

The term millionaire might, without some explanation, give a false impression as to the amount of capital embarked in the large industries. It is a rare occurrence—such instances might, in fact, be enumerated in a few lines—when an individual partner has so much as one million sterling invested in his business. But applied to the richer partners in wealthy concerns, the title is not a misnomer, for these will have considerable property, in land and personalty, in other directions. In truth, manufacturing limits by its very nature the amount of money that can be usefully employed in it. Thus in a cotton factory it may be said that a capital of £500,000 actually invested in buildings, plant, and current business, would represent one of the very largest concerns, and in an ironworks establishment double this sum. In the former trade, this limit is seldom exceeded; in the latter there are one or two cases in which the capital is greater. The simplest way of giving a notion of the magnitude of the dealings of such firms will be to remark that the capital invested is turned over not less than twice in the year: this would represent a minimum average daily expenditure for material and wages of over £3,000 in the one case, and of over £6,000 in the other, and of receipts of like amounts. And it may be added that a return of 7½ per cent. on the total capital, or of £37,500 and £75,000 respectively, would represent the amount which in ordinary times would be annually divisible among the partners. It is more difficult to estimate the resources of a representative banking house, because the opportunities which offer of large operations hardly impose a limit on the amount that can from time to time be made use of. The percentage of profits, too, has a wider range from year to year. In one or two instances the means employed are exceptionally large. Apart from these, a house with a working capital of two millions would stand in quite the front rank; and as this capital is turned over more frequently, if at smaller profits, than in manufacturing, and as the transactions are not confined to cash—advances being frequently made by acceptances—it will readily be perceived that the average daily volume of business of such a firm will amount to a more than considerable sum.

A second notable peculiarity is, that although there may be many partners, yet, as a rule, the practical management of a large concern is left to one managing partner, responsible to the others for what is done, and who is not only a man of proved capacity, but one

thoroughly acquainted with the working of each and every department. The exception is, as has been shown, in a merchant's business where finance is required. There are instances where the different partners take each his special department and its responsibility. In many concerns, too, there is a senior partner whose stake is the largest, and whose right of veto is almost absolute. But, generally speaking, the partners, though present when they like, and consulted on all important occasions as well as on the general lines to be followed, and probably interesting themselves in one or other department, do not interfere with the working of the business in the hands of the one to whom it is delegated. The veto and the right to interfere are not surrendered; they are held in reserve so long as it seems that, in the interests of all, the directing control should be left to the ablest of the number.

There are, necessarily, questions which will arise that cannot be dealt with except by a consensus of opinion. National movements, as they may affect the general interest, specially fall within this category. Whatever may be the bias of the individual members of a firm, all can keenly appreciate, not only fiscal measures, but the general policy of a ministry as affecting peace or war. Although war may temporarily benefit this or the other industry, yet a more lasting and necessary element of prosperity is that security which alone guarantees a proper outlet for the whole trade of the country; for depression in one trade will inevitably, sooner or later, re-act on the others. Manufacturers have, in particular, to watch with jealous care the proceedings of their continental rivals, so as to keep pace with them in all improvements: and the spinner has specially to look to the state and prospects of trade in the United States. But the merchant, it may be said, must have steadily in view the position of affairs in all parts of the world. Disturbances in the colonies or at home, anticipations of continental warfare, a quarrel with the distant Chinese, revolutions in South America, all these things mean to him limited trade, lower prices, distrust, and loss. He must also have an exceptional power of gauging the movements of the money market; so as not to be led to mistake a warning indicating temporary disaster for one which is the herald of that most terrible of mercantile evils, a crisis, with its attendant perils—not only of heavy losses, but of absolute collapse to even the strongest houses, if their ramifications be too wide.

Another special aspect of the matter is the advantage possessed by the larger concerns over their smaller rivals. This is an important element of their success. Their means and the amount of their dealings give them the command of markets, while their old established connection and repute for fair dealing secure them the best customers. The proportion of their incidental expenses, and especially of the withdrawals of the partners, to the amount of business

done, is much less, and this tends to rapid accumulations. And lastly, they are not forced to sell their goods, and so to accept purchasers of doubtful solidity. They have thus immunity from bad debts, and from the dire necessity to make both ends meet, which often in smaller concerns takes up time urgently required in other directions.

In leaving the subject of the administration of the representative businesses of the country, it is perhaps well to say that the systems which superficially would appear to be severally the outcome of a master mind are not so in reality. They have grown piecemeal from small beginnings to the completed structure. The organisation which turns out millions of pounds of cotton in perfect cloth, or from tons of coal and ore produces our iron roads, or constructs a railway or a dry-dock in a foreign country, has been built up bit by bit, as occasion has seemed to demand. Of recent years too, new developments have been to some extent making way in the country, the ultimate result of which may be a fusion instead of an antagonism of the interests of capital and labour. A subdivision of profits between employers and employed, such as prevails in the Paris firm of Leclaire, and elsewhere on the Continent, has not as yet made much way in this country ; but the coal miners, iron workers and other hands have more or less developed their "sliding scales" of wages, regulated by the profits made. Boards of arbitration have likewise come into considerable prominence in settling the disputes between capital and labour. Here also in short the changes point towards higher development, greater perfection in the organisation of our industries ; and the more solidarity of interests is secured between masters and men, the more certain shall we be of retaining the supreme position in manufactures we now enjoy.

CHAPTER X.

THE WORKING CLASSES.

Numbers and Influence of English Working Men—Great Variety of the Working Classes and Happy Results of the Variety—Attitude of the Working Classes towards the State—Difference between French and English Working Men in Congress—Principles on which the State in England interferes between Employer and Employed—Factory Legislation—General Working of Factory Acts, and the Evils which they have prevented—Relative Powers of Factory Acts and Education Acts—Educational Reforms still wanted in Manufacturing Districts—Social and Industrial Reforms yet wanted—The Truck System not entirely removed by Legislation—State of the Working Classes in the Black Country—Mining England: its General Characteristics and Varieties—Special Types of Miners and Features of Mining—Relations between Employers and Employed—The Good Side of Trade Unions—Arbitration and Conciliation—Working Men in Parliament—Differences between the Working Classes in London and the Provinces.

ENGLAND, which has been called the nation of shopkeepers, might with equal truth be described as the empire of working men.* They bear

* The census of 1881 showed the population of England and Wales to consist of 25,974,439 persons, 12,639,902 males and 13,334,537 females. During the decade 1871—1881, the rate of increase had been for the whole population 14·36 per cent.—for males, 14·30 per cent. and for females 14·43 per cent. The total number of persons returned as engaged in some specified occupation was 11,187,564—males 7,783,646, and females 3,403,918—or 71·5 per cent. of all the males and 29·4 per cent. of all the females enumerated as of the age of five years and upwards. But if the duties of women as wives and mothers, and the assistance rendered by females to their male relations in their various avocations be taken into account, it is estimated that the proportion of occupied females is about equal to the proportion of occupied males. Among occupied persons of all sorts the "professional class" numbered in 1881 between six and seven hundred thousand, the "commercial class" nearly one million, and the "domestic class" nearly two millions. Under the several headings placed together to form the "agricultural class" 1,383,184 persons were enumerated in 1881, being a decrease of 8·2 per cent. on the enumeration for 1871. In the cultivation of farm lands, including woods and gardens, 1,278,624 persons were engaged, showing a decline of 9·3 per cent. in the decade. Agricultural labourers, indoor farm servants, shepherds, and cottagers amounted to 981,988, or, allowing for superannuation, to 962,348 in 1871, while they amounted to only 870,798 in 1881, a decrease of almost 10 per cent. Between 1871 and 1881 the number of general labourers had increased from 506,273 to 559,769, or by 10·6 per cent.; of railway navvies and platelayers from 44,169 to 58,847, or by 33·2 per cent.; and of road labourers from 8,136 to 10,947, or by 34·6 per cent. The whole group of labourers, exclusive of those engaged in specialised occupations, was 1,520,926 in 1871, and 1,500,361 in 1881, whence it appears that this section of the population had at the best remained stationary, while the population generally had advanced by 14·36 per cent. Passing from the "agricultural class" to the "industrial class," we find it comprising all persons engaged as producers or distributors of commodities, or in other words all "makers and shopkeepers." In 1881 it included 6,373,367 persons, equaling 57 per

a larger numerical proportion to the rest of the population in England than in any other European country; they have more freedom; they exercise more direct political influence. There is hardly a city in the realm which, if they were resolutely minded to do so, they could not overawe. A well-concerted rising on their part in any of the great centres of manufacture and commerce would not merely terrorise a district, but paralyse the trading system of the empire. As they are

cent. of the entire body of occupied persons, and 24·5 per cent. of the whole population of both sexes and every age. In the preceding decade, however, it had increased by only a little under 11 per cent., and thus had failed to keep pace with the growth of the community at large. The textile industries gave employment to 1,053,648 persons. In the cotton trade 530,261 persons, 310,374 females and 189,651 males, were engaged. The proportion of the former to the latter had advanced from 148 to 100 in 1871 to 164 to 100 in 1881, and the entire number of persons employed had increased by 6·5 per cent. in the decade. In the wool and worsted trade 233,256 persons were engaged, the proportion of females to males being 102 to 100 in 1881 against 79 to 100 in 1871, while the whole number had in the decade declined by 1·5 per cent. In the silk trade 63,577 persons were engaged, a decrease in the decade of 22·2 per cent., while the proportion of females to males had risen from 208 to 100 in 1871 to 224 to 100 in 1881. In the lace trade 44,144 persons were engaged in 1881, or 8·8 per cent. fewer than in 1871, the proportion of females to males having also fallen from 83 to 74 to 100 in the decade. The decrease was wholly among the hand lace makers, the machine lace makers having increased by 36 per cent. In the hosiery trade 40,372 persons were engaged in 1881 against 41,197 in 1871, the proportion in which the two sexes are employed being exactly reversed in the interval, that is, from 114 males to 100 females, to 114 females to 100 males. In the hemp trade, which includes the manufacture of some other fibrous materials, 22,471 were engaged, in the proportion of 60 females to 100 males in 1881. In the linen trade 12,065 persons—7,853 females and 4,212 males—were engaged in 1881 against 17,772 in 1871, a decrease of 32 per cent. in the decade. In the carpet and rug trade, practically a branch of the wool and worsted trade, 13,985 persons—8,795 males and 5,190 females—were engaged in 1881, an advance on 1871 of 23 per cent. in the entire number, and from 47 to 59 per cent. in the proportion of females to males employed. The building trades—including not only builders, but also architects, carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, masons, slaters, tilers, plasterers, whitewashers, paperhangers, plumbers, painters and glaziers—occupied 673,636 persons, an increase in the decade 1871—1881 of 21 per cent. Stone and slate quarriers and workers, cement and plaster makers, and brick and tile makers, also increased from 81,928 in 1871 to 105,544 in 1881, or by 29 per cent. Upholsterers, cabinet-makers, French polishers, locksmiths, bellhangers, gasfitters, house and shop fitting makers and dealers, wood carvers and gilders, furniture dealers, and carpet and rug manufacturers, numbered 124,355 in 1881 against 106,108 in 1871, an increase of 17 per cent. In the earthenware, china, and glass trades, 74,407 persons were engaged in 1881, an increase of 8 per cent. on the number returned in 1871. In the coach-building and harness-making trades 62,236 and 23,866 persons were engaged in 1881, an increase of 13·9 and 5·8 per cent. respectively on 1871. Ship and boat-building occupied 54,080 persons in 1881. But the figures cannot be compared with those of 1871, since shipwrights and others employed by the Government were then returned merely as Government servants. Mining operations in 1881 afforded occupation to 443,563 persons, including 437,670 miners, 2,291 mining engineers, and 3,602 persons engaged in mine service. The coal miners numbered 381,763, or 87 per cent. of the whole; next to them come the ironstone miners, 26,110 strong, and then follow the tin miners 12,402 strong, the lead miners 11,226 strong, the copper miners 4,067 strong, and finally the miners of other or unspecified minerals, 2,102 strong. In the decade 1871—1881, the tin miners had decreased by 34 per cent. But it is estimated that the coal miners had increased by at least 20 per cent. and the mining community generally by 24 per cent. The workers and dealers in metals and products consisting in the main of metals numbered 760,411 persons in 1881, an increase since 1871 of 15 per cent. In 1881 there were engaged in the iron and

the ultimate depositories of physical, so are they also of political power. The parliamentary suffrage has been carried into the squalid alleys and the mean courts of our large towns—the abode of the compound householder and the lodger voter. It cannot be long before the humblest cottagers in agricultural England will enjoy the same privilege, or claim successfully the same right. Yet absolutely supreme as, in the last resort, the working men of England are in the government of England,

steel trade 361,343, in the tin trade 36,923, in the copper trade 7,348, and in the zinc trade 2,265 persons, an increase severally of 3 per cent., 40 per cent., 30 per cent., and 34 per cent. on 1871. In the lead trade 2,460 persons were employed in 1881, being a decrease on 1871, of 27 per cent. Among the persons working and dealing in mixed and unspecified metals, the largest number were engaged in the brass and bronze trade, especially in the production of lamps, candlesticks, and chandeliers. In 1881 there were 30,918 of these, an advance of 36 per cent. on 1871. The white-metal, electro-plate, plated ware, and pewter trades, occupied 5,629 persons in 1881, against 3,407 in 1871, and the makers of bolts, nuts, rivets, screws, and staples had increased from 5,726 to 8,017 in the same time. Burnishing and lacquering employed 2,687 persons, mostly females, an increase in the decade of 30 per cent. The persons engaged in 1881 in the supply of animal food numbered 149,967, of bread and vegetables 159,608, and of groceries, including tea and sugar, 134,397, an increase of 15·4 per cent., 12·5 per cent., and 18·8 per cent. on 1871. The persons engaged in the production and sale of spirituous drinks amounted in 1881 to 135,158, a decrease on 1871 of 5·8 per cent., or, if the growth of the whole population be taken into consideration, practically of 17·7 per cent. At the same time the dealers in tobacco and smoking apparatus numbered 22,175 in 1881, an advance of 34 per cent. on 1871. In manufacturing and dealing in machinery 267,976 persons, almost all males, were engaged in 1881, against 160,797 in 1871, an increase of 28 per cent. Of tool and implement makers there were 48,556 in 1881, an increase of 5 per cent. on 1871. The clock, watch, and scientific instrument trades occupied 32,064 persons, showing an increase of 22 per cent. in the decade. In the manufacture of weapons 8,227 persons were occupied in 1881, the gunmakers having declined to 2,741 as against 11,576 in 1871, while the makers of electrical apparatus had risen in the same period from 428 to 2,522. The clothing trades employed, exclusively of 82,362 drapers and mercers, and 14,933 hairdressers and wig-makers, 1,048,534 persons, 404,096 males and 644,438 females. As compared with 1871 this was an increase of only 7·1 per cent. for the entire number in 1881. But milliners, dressmakers, and staymakers, 360,932, had increased by 18·4 per cent., and tailors, 160,648, had increased by 9·4 per cent. Seamstresses and shirtmakers, 23,244, had increased by 5·2 per cent., 7,524 persons enumerated as machine workers or machinists being most of them seamstresses. Putting the three groups together we have a total of 604,824 persons, an increase of 14·0 per cent. on 1871. In the boot and shoe trade, not counting 7,503 patten and clog-makers, 216,556 persons were engaged in 1881, against 219,213 in 1871. In those places where machine-made boots and shoes are principally produced, the number of persons employed had increased by 41 per cent. in the decade, and the proportion of females to males had advanced from 13 to 20 to 100. In the hat trade 53,673 persons, of whom 30,984 were straw-hat makers, were engaged. Among the makers of hats other than straw, 22,689, mostly males, there had been an advance in the ten years of a little less than 7 per cent. But among the 30,984 makers of straw-hats, almost all females, there had been a falling off of 35 per cent. In the glove trade 15,524 persons were engaged, of whom 85 per cent. were females, a decline of 31 per cent. since 1871. But there had been an increase of 13·2 per cent. among drapers, mercers, hosiers, and haberdashers, of whom there were 91,927. Altogether, including a number of minor industries, rather more than a million persons were directly occupied in supplying articles of dress to the community. In the production and dissemination of literature of all kinds 159,094 persons were employed in 1881. Since 1871 there had been an increase among papermakers of 13·3 per cent., among printers of 39·6 per cent., among book-binders of 32·5 per cent., among stationers of 30·7 per cent., and among publishers, booksellers, and librarians of 7·7 per cent

our rulers, and the ruling classes generally, do not recognise in that supremacy the source either of political or social peril. We have agitators and firebrands about us who talk of a trembling constitution and a tottering dynasty. But we think we have reason to know that wild words like these awaken no responsive echo of insurrectionary enthusiasm in the breast of the great majority of that audience to which they are addressed. We believe in the stability of the régime under which we live. In other words, we have faith in the good sense, the good feeling, and the political docility of the English working man.

How is it that we have in England so well grounded a confidence in the orderly conduct of that preponderating element in our population which is the cause of alarm, danger, and restrictive legislation abroad? One answer is to be found in the very fact which makes a comprehensive survey of the English working classes, in anything like a limited space, almost impossible. There is as much variety of opinion and of ambition among the working classes in England as among those above them. They include as many sections and schools, with differences as wide, and divisions as deep, as the upper classes, or as that complex multitude known as the middle classes. It is therefore impossible to label them with any single epithet or any one characteristic, unless, indeed, it should be said that they are law-abiding. This diversity of thought, belief, and aim among the toilers of England is at once the consequence and the cause of exceptional national advantages. It results mainly from the absolute and unfettered freedom of opinion and speech which is enjoyed in this country. The right of public meetings and demonstrations is established. We have a press which may even verge on licence with impunity. No attempt is made to check free discussion and conversation on the part of working men who assemble together in club-rooms or at lectures. There are associations of working men who take their stand upon the "true principles of democracy," and who decline publicly, or in the printed declaration of their political faith, to pledge their adherence to the existing constitution in Church or State. They aim at "self-government in the fullest sense of the term," in other words, at universal adult suffrage, and they propose to consider "any system of representation upon a narrower basis to be nothing less than disguised despotism." Since "virtue and capacity, not wealth or birth, are to be recognised as the essential attributes of the legislative body," it follows that "all hereditary privileges are to be abolished."* After the enunciation of points of the new charter so drastic and uncompromising as these, it will surprise no one to be told that there are included in the programme such demands of minor revolutionary import as the shorter duration of Parliaments; payment of members of Parliament from the Imperial taxation, and of election

* These words are taken from the prospectus of the Eleusis Club, Chelsea—a fairly representative and well-managed institution.

expenses from local taxation; complete separation of Church and State; compulsory secular and free education. Such a propaganda as this may sound appalling, but is in reality harmless. Its promoters may speak daggers, but they use and desire to use none. The association itself which is committed to such principles is social rather than political, and belongs to an order of institutions which, as we shall a little later see, are a source of unmixed good to the working classes themselves—the working man's club. The simple truth is, that the somewhat full-flavoured prospectus acts as one of the many constitutional safety-valves with which this favoured country is provided. In a land of civil liberty, in which political discontent seldom advances beyond the negative stage, or when it assumes a positive form, and is not without some justification in fact, immediately commands the attention and the action of the Legislature, words can have no alarming sound for the powers that be. They are the mere exhibition of transient humours, or, at worst, exaggerations and caricatures of fitful phases of the popular mind.

As this variety of feeling among the English working classes is the result of a state of things under which free play is allowed to every mind and to every tongue, so is one of our chief guarantees against domestic troubles and democratic discontent to be found in its effects. To coerce the multitude is too often to consolidate sedition. Englishmen are law-abiding, because they are persuaded that it is the honest intention of the law to be fair to all alike, and because they believe that in the long run the Legislature does not neglect their true interests. If this belief did not exist the spirit abroad would be that, not of reverence, but resistance to the law, and there would be a real danger lest the working classes should organise themselves into a compact mass of antagonism to the existing order of things. Once destroy this infinite complexity of thought and feeling, and a real step will have been taken towards uniting these heterogeneous groups and loosely coherent sections into one solid mass, which may form a serious menace to the institutions of the State.

As English workmen differ in their opinions, so do they differ in their worth. There is the honest toiler, who has his machine ready to begin work on the first beat of the engine, and the saunterer who, as Mr. John Morley in speaking of Lancashire puts it, "watches the minutes like a lazy schoolboy." The best type of artisan in a mill is as good as the best type of active humanity anywhere else, and the best type abounds. The fact is that the British working man, however energetically the attempt may be made to lash him up into revolutionary fervour, cannot divest himself of the conservative instincts of his race. He may be liberal, or radical, or even democratic; but so long as the shoe does not pinch he has no wish to change it for another which perhaps will. This rough estimate of the English *ouvrier* must be

accompanied—there are certain preachers of the industrial revolution who would say corrected—by reference to particular traits. Both his vices and his virtues have been unnecessarily and unwarrantably looked at through a magnifying glass. He is no more uniformly sober than he is uniformly drunken. He is no more exclusively the creature of club life—important though the club be as a factor in his civilisation—than he is of pot-house life. The tavern continues to be the house of call for a too large percentage of his order, and the publican's pocket the bottomless pit into which an undue proportion of his wages finds its way. A socially and morally perfect and faultless working man is as impossible as the irredeemably vicious baronet in novels, or the spotlessly angelic child in nursery story-books.

There is much on which we may congratulate ourselves in the conceptions which the working man entertains of the functions of the State, and, in a general way, of the position of its governors. He may call himself a democrat, but he is in practice a very good subject of the monarchy. He may profess belief in the perfectibility of mankind as a consequence of the establishment of a republican form of government, but he has not the slightest wish to do violence to the tenure of the Crown. There are, indeed, two things that have become customary among us of which he does not approve, which it may be even said he does not understand. He declines to admit that the re-settlement of the financial relations between the people and the Crown, which was made at the commencement of the present reign, justifies the grants that are voted by Parliament to members of the royal family on such occasions as marriage. He will, indeed, admit that this is preferable to the periodical demands which were formerly presented to, and conceded by, Parliament for the repayment of debts incurred by princes of the blood, but he is not satisfied as to the justice or necessity of these substitutes. He is equally unable or indisposed to see that placemen and pensioners are anything else than abuses incarnated in human shape. He wishes that high officials of State—Prime Minister, Lord Chancellor, and the like—should be paid, and well paid. But when the season of work is over he considers that their claim upon the public funds is at an end. He applies the principle of a good day's wages for a good day's labour in the most generous sense to the learned professions, but he is emphatically opposed to the solid remuneration of well-earned leisure.

Tenacious of his own rights, he is the last person in the world to deny the possession of rights to his employer, and he displays no inclination to impose fancifully exacting duties upon Government for the enforcement of what is due to himself. Here it is that the English working man may be compared advantageously with the working man of other countries. There is less tendency to socialism here than among other nations of the Old World or of the New. The English working

man takes, for the most part, a view admirably practical and temperate of the functions of the State. The national workshops of revolutionary France have no attraction for him. He makes none of those extravagant claims upon the protection of the State in the regulation of his daily labour and of the rate of his wages which are current among the working classes of America and Germany, and which cause a certain form of socialism to be equally the pest of both countries. When a congress of English working men discuss their condition, they do so in its relation to the State. When a congress of French working men meet, the State and its legislation are entirely ignored, and the assumption which underlies the arguments of all speakers is that the economic relations of society must be transformed if civilisation is to advance. The difference between French and English working men could not be better put than in a passage from an article on a French working man's congress, contributed by Mr. Frederic Harrison to the *Fortnightly Review* a few years ago :—

"The French Congress is in marked contrast to the English assemblies. With us the discussions turn entirely on matters of practical legislation; certain bills before Parliament are to be supported or opposed; certain official inquiries, regulations, or concessions are demanded. Nine-tenths of what goes on in an English Trades Union Congress has relation to the House or the Home Office. There is nothing of the kind at Lyons. There not a single bill pending at Versailles is even mentioned throughout the discussions; no reference to a single parliamentary party or even politician; there is not a public man, not a single employer, not a public writer with whom the Congress has the smallest relation, or in whom it seems to put the slightest confidence. The Radicals, the extreme Left, are all treated as being just as hostile as the extreme Right; the most ultra-republican journals, including that of M. Rochefort, are utterly repudiated; indeed, M. Rochefort is called the Red Jesuit; nor is there a single capitalist who seems to be in the slightest degree of contact with them. Now in England we know there are dozens of members of Parliament, and even members of governments, and that on both sides, from whom the bills of our workmen's congresses receive active support; at every annual meeting there are great employers and great capitalists, public men and public writers, in constant intercourse with them. Men in the same position as Mr. Brassey, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Forster, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Samuel Morley, Lord Lichfield, Mr. Hughes, and the like, are utterly unknown in the French movement. The idea of popular Conservative employers is still more completely incomprehensible. Such a man as Mr. Cross, a Conservative Minister of the Interior, legalising trades unions and codifying the vast network of factory legislation, would indeed be a portent in France. It is clear that the legislature in France is immensely behind that of England in its interest in labour questions; that the political and powerful classes in France are in no sort of real contact with the workmen; and that great employers or great landowners having their confidence can hardly be said to exist. One cannot fail to see how far more truly the governing classes in England in their own way sympathise with, and work at, the great social problems; how much less sharp is the antagonism of class here; how much the English labourers owe to that mass of protective legislation against which the men and women with a crotchet are so urgent in protesting. At Lyons, M. Gambetta is simply a bourgeois politician; M. de Marcère is simply a continuation of M. de Fourtou; Victor Hugo is simply a poet; and Jules Simon is merely an intriguer. The French workmen still cling to their old idea of fashioning the future by themselves alone—though now, be it said without subversive measures, without legislation, and even without the State."

In the course of the last fifty years we have had an entire series of legislative enactments devised for the protection of women and children

engaged in different kinds of industry. The form which this State interference has assumed has been of various kinds. It has prohibited the working of women and children beyond a certain number of hours, and in the case of children it has even enforced a certain qualification of knowledge as well as of years. The principle on which the State in these matters has throughout proceeded is that it is bound to protect those who cannot protect themselves, and that within this category children and women come. The observance of these laws is guaranteed, so far as it is possible to guarantee them, by an elaborate system of State inspection. Inspectors are continually paying surprise visits to see that there is no infraction of the laws regulating the employment of women and children, and that the sanitary condition of the factories and the workshops in which men are employed is satisfactory. Thus everything which could encourage the idea that the State is under the most minute and positive obligations to the working man has been done by the Legislature. Could there, then, be any more conclusive testimony to the sanity of working men's views of the responsibilities of the Government than the circumstance that in all this time not one petition has been presented to Parliament praying for any interference with the conditions of adult male labour? Further, it must be remembered that the demand for factory legislation came, not from the operatives in factories themselves, but from eminent philanthropists outside —Lord Shaftesbury and others. Public opinion among the working classes does what it does not do in America, Germany, France, or Switzerland; it draws the line short of which legislative interference must stop, at the daily work of full-grown men, and the right of free contract between employed and employer. Wherever it has been tried, interference beyond these limits has proved a blunder and a failure. In the United States it has broken down. In Switzerland, where it was introduced in 1877, it is the reverse of a success. In Germany and in France it has paved the way for the propagation of Socialism. It is contended by Mr. Fawcett and other authorities that the responsibilities with which the law charges itself in the case of the labour of women are an infraction of the right of free contract. Practically, the vindication of such interference seems complete. In the first place, it works well; in the second, it cannot be asserted that the average woman is at any period of her life a free agent in the sense that a man is a free agent. Up to the age of eighteen she is subject to the authority of her parents, and a very grinding despotism that authority often is. If at the age of eighteen she marries—and early marriages are the rule with the working classes—she becomes little more than the chattel of her husband.

Though it does not come within the scope of this work to trace the history of factory legislation, it is necessary briefly to summarise certain central stages in its progress. The factory legislation of to-day is

the work of rather more than three-quarters of a century. Starting from what was merely an Apprentices Act in 1802, when the factory system was in its infancy, and nearly all for whom it provided employment were regularly apprenticed, it reached, in the Consolidation Act of 1878, a culminating point of efficiency and comprehensiveness, beyond which, in the present century, it is not likely to advance. The Act of 1802, which provided for the better clothing, better sleeping-rooms, and the separation of the sexes in the case of apprentices only, was extended eight, and again twenty-three, years later to all boys and girls engaged in factories, whether they were apprentices or not. But none of these provisions, however admirable in design, accomplished much in practice, for the simple reason that the law did not supply the means of enforcing them. It was a further defect that they only applied to cotton, and not to woollen or worsted factories. In 1833, all textile factories were included in the Act, inspectors were appointed, and the hours of labour, of young persons and children only, were limited to twelve a day, it being left entirely to the discretion of the employer between what hours the work should be done, subject to the one condition that it should not be carried on during the night.

It was not until eleven years later, 1844, that any legislation at all adequate to the complexity and vital importance of the matter became an accomplished fact. In that year the principle was asserted that the law owed the duties of protection to women as well as children, and since that date factory legislation has applied to female workers as well as to their youthful sons and daughters. At the same time the machinery guaranteeing obedience to the law was improved; regular holidays were established, in addition to Good Friday and Christmas Day. It was also enacted that the machinery should be fenced. Yet even thus the statute was frequently evaded, and, as the employers worked by relays of women and children, the inspectors could never certainly know what was the precise hour at which the operations of a particular group had commenced. Meanwhile the Factory Act had been extended to print works, and the ten hours' movement had made great advances. But ten hours as the limit of time for the employment of men, women, and young persons was not conceded till twelve years later, and, instead, a compromise of ten and a half hours daily was admitted. In 1861, bleach works, and in 1864, paper-staining, lucifer-match making, potteries, cartridge-making, and all deleterious employments, were brought under the operation of the Act. In 1867, the Factory Acts Extension Act and the Workshops Regulation Act were both passed—the practical effect of the two combined being to bring all occupations in which women and young persons are employed under regulation and restriction. Especially was the influence of the Act beneficial in its effect upon the employment of young women in the dressmaking trade. Still,

one great defect in factory legislation remained—the Workshops Act was entirely in the hands of the local authorities. In 1870 this shortcoming was remedied, and henceforward the Workshops Act was enforced by the Government factory inspectors. Four years later in every kind of textile factory the number of hours a day was limited to ten. It was further enacted that no child should be employed under ten, and that no young person under thirteen should be employed full time without an educational certificate. Although, up to this time, attendance at school had more or less been enforced upon the half-time principle between the ages of eight and thirteen, no certificate had been required, and in the case of many trades—such as print works—children were permitted to keep their half-time attendances when and how they pleased—an option which frequently resulted in school being systematically shirked.

The Factory and Workshop Act of 1878, which was amended and enlarged in the session of 1883, while it repealed or consolidated upwards of a hundred different statutes, brought all kinds of factories, iron and hardware as well as textile, within the province of legislation, but did not extend to them the ten hours' limit, the reason being that the proportion of women and children employed in these industries is much smaller than in the case of textile mills. Legislation, however, seems scarcely wanted to enforce the ten hours' rule. Practically, custom has already fixed that as the period beyond which neither men, women, nor children should work. When on sudden emergencies—such as the necessity for executing an order before a given time, or of anticipating a fall in the market—employers arrange with their hands to prolong the usual spell, they find that the rate of extra production is not such as to repay the expenditure of the extra wages. There is overwhelming testimony on all hands to show that the men have acquired the habit of putting forth all their energy within the limits of the ten hours. It is the same with the women, children, and young persons engaged in bookbinding and other trades to which special immunities are granted. The labour may be continued, but the spirit and care with which it is performed are relaxed. Exhausted nature refuses to respond to the undue demand.*

* It may perhaps be as well succinctly to summarise the chief heads of the factory legislation now in force. A factory is defined to mean any premises in which mechanical power is used in a manufacturing process, or in which certain trades, such as lucifer-match making, percussion caps and cartridge-making, bookbinding, letterpress printing, tobacco and cigar manufacturing, are carried on. It follows from the above definition that all corn-mills and nearly all breweries and distilleries have now become factories. The number of protected persons employed in such establishments as these—that is to say, of women, children, and young persons—is not large, and the chief value of inspection as applied to them will consist in the additional protection which will be thereby given to the people employed from dangerous machinery or from preventible dust and effluvia arising either from the process of manufacture itself, or from defective sanitary arrangements. "Factories" under the Act of 1878 are classified as "textile" and "non-textile." There is no change made in the number of hours

For the full results of factory legislation we shall yet have to wait some time. It is impossible to make the effect of a law coincident with its passing. But the work already accomplished by the Factory Acts is immense. While they have certainly cured all the evils existing in the first half of the century, they have, in addition, created a strong public feeling in favour of their humanising agency. They have been the foundation of the Factory Acts of all other countries; and if it is wanted to know what are the evils which the existence of such measures prevent, a notion may be derived from the condition of the factories of Belgium and India. In each of these countries many of the revelations made in the Report of the Children's Employments Commission (1862), long since happily obsolete in England, are matters of daily experience. In the pottery districts of the United Kingdom, less than fifteen years ago, 11,000 children and young persons were employed under conditions fatal alike to mental and bodily health. They commenced work in childhood—some between six and seven, and others between seven and eight, eight and nine, and nine and ten. Their hours of labour were from five in the morning to six in the evening, but in numberless instances they were required to work on till eight, nine, or ten at night, and this in an atmosphere varying from 100 to 120 degrees, and in a few instances as high as 148 degrees, in rooms, or rather "stoves," about thirteen feet square, and from eight to twelve feet high. In the winter these children were sent abroad on errands, with the mercury twenty degrees below freezing point, without stockings, shoes, or jackets, and with the perspiration streaming from their foreheads. As might have been expected, numbers of them died from consumption, asthma, and acute inflammations. This condition of things is absolutely non-existent

in which women, young persons, and children may be employed in either case. In textile factories it remains at fifty-six and a half hours a week, as fixed by the Factory Act of 1874, while in non-textile factories it will continue sixty hours a week, as fixed by the Act of 1867. The provisions of the Act of 1874, which apply to the employment of children and young persons, are now extended to all non-textile factories and workshops. A child cannot legally be employed in future under any circumstances under ten years of age. At thirteen a child may be employed full time, provided that it can produce a certificate of having passed the fourth standard fixed by the Committee of the Council on Education. In the event of a child not being able to produce such a certificate it must continue at school half time till it reaches the age of fourteen. The choice is given under the Act of 1878 to all occupiers of factories, whether textile or non-textile, to work throughout the year either from six to six or from seven to seven, as they may select. The privilege of working from eight to eight is given to a limited number of trades and occupations, which do not appear to embrace all which enjoyed it under the old Act. The Secretary of State has power to give this permission to a trade when the necessity for it is proved, but a representation to him on the subject must be forwarded through the chief inspector. Various modifications relating to holidays and meal-times are granted to meet the special emergencies of particular trades. The occupier of a factory is bound to send notice to the inspector should he fail to be visited or to receive official notice. By the Factory and Workshop Amendment Act of 1883, too, some very important and salutary provisions were made for the regulation of white-lead works and bakeries.

now. Children of tender age are to be found employed at this work no longer. The law has given toilers in these places protection to life and health generally, improved ventilation, and respite from toil at regular intervals. Employers have discovered that improved ventilation means economy in production, and that unless provision is made for the escape of the moisture from the clay the articles are not properly dried. Defective ventilation there, of course, still is, and for some time must remain. Whether in the pottery districts or elsewhere, the old workshops were seldom constructed upon sound principles, and until these have been replaced by new workshops built upon an improved plan some abuses must continue to exist. Meanwhile a vital reform has been effected by the construction in every instance of the stove outside the workshop, and the factory inspectors bear witness to the laudable readiness with which all the larger employers are adopting the newest and most effective improvements.

In the same way the scandals which once disgraced the paper trade are no longer to be met with. We shall look in vain now for parents who have to carry children of seven years old on their backs through the snow, to work sixteen hours a day, kneeling down to feed them at the machine. The business is at the present moment in the hands of large employers, who have carried out the provisions of the law with equal fidelity and promptitude. The same process of improvement has been going on in the lucifer-match trade. Factory legislation has killed the small manufacturers, whose establishments were the hot-beds of systematic abuse. Thus one factory, employing six men and fifteen boys, consisted of two small sheds, one of them being about 20 by 11 feet, with no ventilation whatever. This place served for both "dipping" and drying room, as well as for mixing and heating the sulphur and the phosphorus composition. The other shed, also without ventilation, was about 30 by 10 feet. Here all the remaining processes were carried on, the number of processes varying altogether from about ten to twenty. Hither children brought their meals, and there they ate them, suiting the time of eating to their work. While in London there were, ten years ago, between thirty or forty match manufactories of this kind, there are probably at the present moment not more than half a dozen on a small scale, and even these are well conducted. The large manufacturers being able to produce the article more cheaply, the smaller ones have inevitably gone to the wall.

In the brick-making trade there were, for some time after the above abuses had been remedied, from 20,000 to 30,000 children employed between the ages of three and seventeen. George Smith, of Coalville, has said of himself that at the age of nine he was employed in continually carrying about forty pounds of clay upon his head from the clay-heap to the table on which the bricks were made. This work

had to be performed, almost without a break, for thirteen hours daily. One night, after his customary day's work, he was compelled to carry 1,200 nine-inch bricks from the maker to the floors on which they harden. The distance thus walked by the child was quite fourteen miles, seven of which were travelled with eleven pounds' weight of clay in his arms, and for this labour he received sixpence. It is only quite recently that brickyards have been brought within the operation of the Factory Acts. Until that was done the factory inspectors had no power of enforcing the Workshop Act, and many brickyard proprietors purposely subjected themselves to the operation of the second of these measures by keeping the number of their hands below fifty. At the present day the employment of girls under sixteen is absolutely forbidden in brickyards: in point of fact, very few girls are employed in them at all; and pending the settlement of the question, whether the employment should not be forbidden to all women also, the number of women thus occupied is decreasing daily.

There is one gross blot upon the social condition of industrial England which has yet to be entirely removed. It has been estimated that there are about 22,000 men, 22,000 women, and 72,000 children floating up and down the country on its rivers and canals. It also appears that some 26,000 of the 44,000 men and women are living in an unmarried state, and that about 40,000 of the 72,000 children are illegitimate.* Although these barges, for sanitary purposes, are by the Public Health Act considered houses, it is quite impracticable to exercise due supervision over such a floating and fleeting population; and thus when disease is on board, which is frequently the case, barges act as centres whence infectious maladies are propagated throughout the country.†

In the condition of workers in shops there is still room for considerable improvement. Here the factory inspectors have great obstacles to encounter, and are called upon to exercise much judgment. It is exceedingly hard to prove, without a degree of inquisitorial interference which would enlist public sympathy on behalf of the breakers of the law, that the law has been infringed. Magistrates have a strong objection to interfering with people who are engaged in

* Factory Reports for the half-year ending October 31, 1875, page 128.

† According to the census of 1881, 8,978 persons—6,225 males and 2,753 females—formed the population of barges and boats on canals and rivers on the night to which the enumeration related. It appears from the General Report that a comparison of this with earlier returns shows that the number of such persons has been progressively decreasing. In 1851 the number returned as living on barges and boats was 12,562, in 1861 it had fallen to 11,915; in 1871 it had still further fallen to 10,976, and lastly in 1881 was reduced to 8,978. But this represents only those who slept on board on the night of the census, and taking the bargemen, lightermen, and watermen who slept on shore as well as on board, there was no diminution in 1881 as compared with 1871, although there had been a considerable diminution in each of the two preceding decades. The numbers were 35,120 in 1851, 31,428 in 1861, 29,864 in 1871, and 30,223 in 1881.

the making of a livelihood. The signal success of the Factory Acts is in a great degree due to the discretion with which they have been administered. It is because the inspectors have been uniformly willing to hear both sides, to act as arbitrators between employers and employed, before proceeding summarily to arraign the first, that they have produced among the class of employers generally a disposition to obey and assist the Acts. The Saturday half-holiday, prescribed by the law, has in some instances given rise to considerable practical difficulty. The employer, when it has been pointed out to him that the law requires him to give all the young women in his establishment the benefit of the Saturday half-holiday, has replied that this would inevitably compel him to increase the number of his hands. In these cases the inspectors have sometimes been able to recommend a compromise. The Saturday half-holiday has been taken alternately by the different *employées*, with entire satisfaction to all concerned.*

The consideration of the working of the Education Acts of 1870 and 1876 must not be separated from the working of the Factory Acts. Both have been indispensable agencies in the great task of reforming the condition of the manufacturing districts; and while the number of instances in which they are systematically infringed is shown by the report of the inspectors to be annually diminishing, the feeling against those guilty of such infractions is more pronounced. The law as it now stands prohibits and penalises the employment of all children under ten years of age, and the employment of children as half-timers of less than thirteen, and who have not passed in the fourth standard—who cannot, in other words, read and write, compose a simple essay or letter on a familiar subject, who have not mastered the chief rudimentary facts of the history of their country

* The Shop Hours Labour League has been recently established for the purpose of securing by legislation the observance of reasonable hours of work and a weekly half-holiday for shopkeepers and their assistants. It is affirmed on behalf of this organisation that though in the more fashionable quarters of London the shops are closed comparatively early, and those engaged in them are only moderately worked, yet in the outlying districts of the capital, as well as in the great centres of population throughout the country, the larger number of shops are open from thirteen to fifteen hours on five days of the week, and from fourteen to seventeen hours on Saturdays. Hence the weekly hours of labour of the assistants in them frequently range from eighty to ninety; the time accorded to them for sleep and meals being wholly insufficient not only for their comfort but also for their health. Under the patronage of the Shop Hours Labour League a Bill was drafted and introduced into Parliament last Session providing that all persons employed in shops shall be allowed half an hour for breakfast, for dinner, and for tea each; that young persons under twenty-one years of age shall not be required to work for more than four hours and a half without the interposition of half-an-hour for refreshment, and that they shall not work in any one day for more than twelve hours, inclusive of the hour and a half allowed to them for meals; that no shop shall remain open after eight in the evening on five days in the week, or after ten at night on Saturdays; and that every shop assistant shall be entitled to a weekly half-holiday. Several of the leading tradesmen in the west end of London have given their countenance to this movement, and it has received the support of a large number of benevolent and influential people.

and the geography of the world, as well as the art of keeping plain accounts. How satisfactorily this system works may be judged from the reports of the school inspectors. "The Factory Act of 1874," writes one of the inspectors in his report to the Education Office for 1876, "contains a clause which is directly educational, and is likely to work important results. Hitherto every child might, at the age of thirteen, cease attending school, and commence working full time at the mill, without any question being asked about the state of his education, and, accordingly, thousands of children have passed through their half-time career without rising higher than Standard I. or II., or even without passing any standard." It is further the opinion of many who are entitled in such a matter to be considered experts, that the wits of children working half-time are sharpened, and that they can compete not unsuccessfully with the whole-timers. The reason probably is that the half-timer is compelled to be regular in attendance, and it thus often happens that a child who spends not less than thirteen or fourteen hours a week all the year round at school, derives greater benefit than the child who is at school twenty-five hours a week with indifferent regularity. Add to this that the influence of the school teaching continues when the teaching itself is not actually in progress, and that the half-timer is unceasingly exercising his receptive powers when he is at work in the factory.

Although the Factory Acts have from the first contained educational clauses, they have never primarily had an educational purpose. It was their object to prevent the child from working before a certain age, and, as the best of all proofs that he was not at work was the fact that he was at school, school attendances were required by law. Thus, from one point of view, the provisions of the Education Acts of 1870 and of 1876 may be regarded as supplementing the educational clauses of the Factory Acts. The School Boards can do anything not contrary to the Factory Acts; they may exceed the letter of those laws, but they cannot violate their spirit; they may go beyond them, but they must not fall short of them. Where the Factory Act prescribes a certain standard, the School Board may raise it, but cannot reduce it. Thus, the School Boards can override the labour laws, but only on condition that their edicts go farther in the direction in which the labour laws lead. Considerable discretion in industrial matters is thus conferred on the School Boards; they frequently refuse to grant certificates to half-timers unless they are satisfied that the circumstances of the parents are such as to render the labour of the children necessary.

It is clear, however, that on the educational side of the Factory Acts certain reforms are still wanted. In the first place, it is desirable that permission to begin to work at the age of ten should depend on a certain educational standard having been reached. This condition

is imposed by some School Boards, but it is very far from being universal. Secondly, except in cases in which factories and schools are far apart, only one form of half-time attendance should be allowed to count—namely, attendance on the morning or afternoon of every day. The obvious disadvantage of the alternate, or whole-day system, is that when they are not at school children are employed for a length of time entirely unsuited to their strength, and for which no compensation is forthcoming in the comparative physical rest of an entire day's schooling.

There is a third and more serious abuse of which the possibility will always remain until some considerable alteration has been made in the existing law. In many parts of England, especially the midland counties, agricultural and manufacturing districts mutually overlap. Parents living in such neighbourhoods as these are not slow to take advantage of the difference between the educational legislation of manufacturing and of agricultural England. So long as this difference is not removed there will be a natural temptation to the parents to send their children at the age of ten years to work on farms and in the fields, having, of course, satisfied the modest requirements of the educational standard fixed in the case of rural labour. At the end of three or four years the child will be of an age which qualifies him to obtain the higher wages paid in manufacturing labour. But since his school days have come prematurely to an end he will not have reached the educational standard prescribed by the Factory Acts. By bringing a child under the jurisdiction of the Agricultural Children Act in the first instance, and of the Factory Acts in the second, the parents have satisfied the letter of both laws, while defeating the general purpose of each. It is difficult to see how this is to be obviated, unless complete uniformity between the educational standards in town and country is established.

The truck system is another of the abuses which legislation has aimed at removing, and for whose removal the legislative machinery exists, but which, in consequence of the difficulty of putting that machinery in motion, lingers on in some few districts. It may be justly urged that the expense of prosecution under the Truck Act should not be borne by the workman, who would be sure to lose his employment, while the penalties for breaches of the statute by the masters are too small to counterbalance the influence of considerable profits. Truck is a mischief of long standing, and is in its origin contemporary with the growth of the staple manufactures of the country. Some notion may be formed of the lucrativeness of the system to those who are, or were, its promoters from a single typical example. At the branch establishment of a company in Wales, of the entire wages earned, amounting to about £200,000, £130,000 was paid before pay-day in advances, of which sum £62,000 was taken to the shops; while the

total purchases of the shops was £70,000 for the year, and the sales £84,000, leaving a gross profit of £14,000.

It would be, perhaps, safer to say that truck is steadily dying, than that it is actually dead. There are collieries of the midland districts in which what is practically truck, though the name is not used, is far from unknown. When stoppages of wages are made for compulsory club and school payments, which are in the hands of the proprietors, and out of which the proprietors sometimes make a profit; when deductions are made from wages if children fail to attend church or chapel schools on Sunday, it is impossible to speak of truck as entirely non-existent. On the other hand, it is probable that flagrant violations of the Truck Act are restricted chiefly to the nail trade. The petty nail masters, in many instances, keep provision and other shops, at which their hands are expected to deal; the wives get into debt at these establishments, and the debt is liquidated by the stoppage of a certain portion of the weekly wages. Instances, moreover, could be mentioned in which employers still give orders on these shops in lieu of wages. In an area of some fifteen or twenty miles round Dudley in Staffordshire, about 25,000 hands are employed, and speaking roughly, about 14,000 are trucked. The average wages for a nailer making common nails, working fourteen hours a day, would be 9s. to 10s. a week, and where there is a wife and children to help him, 12s. a week may be earned. These people live in hovels, and are perpetually in distress. They complain to this day that they have to pay 5d. for soap which could be got elsewhere for 3d., and 10d. for bacon which, of better quality, elsewhere costs 7d. Unable to obtain cash, these men re-sell at a loss articles purchased at the "fogger's" shop. They have been known to pay rent by re-selling flour to their landlord. The state of things disclosed by truck in the watch-making trade is not less lamentable. One of those employed in this industry remarks, "If men did not take watches from their employer they would get no work. He himself had been in the habit of taking £5 watches and getting £2 10s. for them." Another workman says, "I have had three watches from ———. He charged me £6 10s. for the first—a gold Geneva watch. I kept it for some time, and then I pledged it for £1 10s., and I sold the pawnticket for 10s."

In spite of the beneficial effects of factory legislation and the vigilant system of factory inspection, there are other specific abuses which have yet to be rooted out. Until quite recently, those attendant on the manufacture of white-lead were peculiarly serious and conspicuous. It is true that many precautions had been from time to time voluntarily adopted by the manufacturers for the purpose of reducing the risk of contracting the well-known malady incidental to the process by the workpeople in their employment, and by this means its frequency and prevalence had been much diminished. But here as elsewhere, incal-

culable mischief was caused by the absence of any definite and universally enforced rules. It was practically left entirely to the discretion of the masters whether the sanitary condition of their establishments should be good or bad. Under the Factory and Workshop Amendment Act of 1883, however, a new order of things has been introduced into this dangerous industry, and it is now unlawful to prosecute it unless a certificate has been first obtained from an inspector of factories to the purport that the requirements of the statute have been complied with. By these it is rendered imperative that the stacks and stoves in every white-lead factory shall be efficiently ventilated. Sufficient means for frequently washing the hands and feet must be afforded to all the persons employed, and for the women baths must also be provided, with hot and cold water, soap, brushes, and towels. A proper room, away from that part of the factory where any work is carried on, must be set aside for the meals of the workpeople, and there must be accessible to them a sufficient supply of acidulated drink, as an antidote to the poison they are constantly taking into their systems. Moreover, there must be provided for every person working at any tank an overall suit with a head-covering; for every person working at any white-bed a respirator or covering for the mouth and nostrils, and a head-covering; and for every person working at any dry stove or rollers an overall suit with a head-covering, and a respirator or covering for the mouth and nostrils. It may be hoped, therefore, that for the future the manufacture of white-lead has now been made as safe an occupation as the necessities of the case will allow. Mr. Redgrave, the Chief Inspector of Factories, states in his last report that he has considered it his duty to see the occupiers of all the white-lead works within his jurisdiction, and to consult with them as to the best means of giving effect to the provisions of the Act, and especially as to the nature of the particular rules it may be requisite to lay down for the purpose. He adds that he found them on every occasion anxious to do their utmost to co-operate with him and his assistants, and that by their readiness to adopt the suggestions made to them they amply testified to their anxiety for the preservation of the health of their workpeople.* As the rules by which white-lead works are to be regulated have to be submitted to and sanctioned by the Home Office, it may be expected that they will be rendered at once uniform and efficient; and with respect to this dangerous industry, it may be assumed that nothing more remains to be done except to insure the full and systematic observance of the law. But there are other employments which are almost as perilous in their surroundings and disastrous in their consequences as the manufacture of white-lead, and for the due control of which legislation, although often and vehemently called for, has still to come. Among these the silvering of looking-glasses and

* *Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops*, 1884, p. 38.

the cutting of millstones occupy a leading position. "In a shop where millstones are prepared," Mr. Redgrave says, for example, in his Report for 1875, "are to be seen men in every stage of suffering. The robust young countryman, attracted by good wages, thinking probably that he may be able to weather the storm; then he who was robust but is now pale, and harassed by cough; then through the various phases, up to the shrunken hectic invalid, whose frail body is actually wrenched by that cruel cough, and as to whom we are told, 'Oh, he won't last above two months.'" Mr. Redgrave's practical conclusion is that Parliament will not have discharged its full duty until it has insisted upon the universal use in these establishments of gloves, respirators, special clothes, caps, and boots.*

Factory legislation, as we have already seen in the case of shops, if it is to be either just or effective in its working, must be conducted upon elastic principles. It is impossible to apply the same restrictions to all kinds of industries, and it is therefore necessary to accord to the inspectors a considerable amount of discretion in making recommendations which are to carry with them the force of law. Thus, one of the inspectors, Mr. Baker, says that in the case of woollen mills where cloth is manufactured or finished, several of the processes can only be carried on in daylight, and therefore in the winter months, when the days are very short, and all such work is done by piece, he has given permission that the meal-hours of such workers shall not be limited to the general meal-hours of the rest of the workers. He has further permitted the same alteration in a few other works, with satisfaction to both masters and workers. Again, at a meeting of the sub-inspectors of Birmingham and the surrounding country, it was decided a few years ago, that there were no industries to which the clause of the Factory Extension Act of 1867, making from six to six the compulsory working hours during the summer, and from seven to seven the optional working hours during the winter, should be applied; but that whether from six to six or seven to seven should be left to the choice of the workers all the year through. The Manchester sub-inspectors were also of opinion that in the case of the various departments of the clothes manufactories the option should be given of working from eight to eight. These recommendations of the officers of the law have since become part of the law itself.

Speaking generally of the practical results, and the actual working of factory legislation at the present moment, it may be said that the

* Mr. Redgrave says that "during the inquiries made in respect to the disease in white-lead factories, another form of 'plumbism' came under notice," which attracted the attention of Captain Smith, one of the inspectors of factories resident at Sheffield. It is prevalent chiefly among the file-cutters, but it appears, from a memorandum from Dr. Porter, of the Sheffield Public Hospital and Dispensary, to affect file-hardeners, type-founders, plumbers, and other workmen as well.—*Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops*, 1884, p. 39.

latest reports of the inspectors point conclusively to two things: first, it is plain that the portion of the law which provides for the fencing of machinery, as a protection to the workers, requires to be more precisely worded and more stringently and uniformly enforced. Secondly, the unanimous testimony of the reports of the inspectors of factories proves that the law restricting the hours of employment of women works well, that it has recommended itself both to employers and employed, and that none of the evils or inconveniences or injustices which were anticipated as its possible results by Mr. Fawcett and other competent critics have actually arisen. "I have found," writes Mr. Redgrave, "the limitations imposed upon the hours of work by women most cordially approved, and the greatest anxiety and positive alarm entertained at the prospect of any relaxation which would expose them to the irregular and uncertain hours of work that prevailed prior to the passing of the Factory Act of 1867." Mr. Redgrave quotes many testimonies of working women in support and illustration of this view. "I decidedly prefer," says one, "to work the hours fixed by the Factory Acts. I never had any illness since the Factory Act came into operation." "I certainly do not wish," says another, "to see the Factory Act repealed, and permission given to women to work later." "The Factory Act," says a third, "is regarded as a great boon by all the women that I know in the trade. I find I can earn more money under the Factory Act than when we had no regulations."

"That the Factory Acts have a direct tendency to encourage morality and steady behaviour," says Mr. Redgrave, speaking of the moral effects of these statutes, "I can establish very clearly. More than once letters have reached me from parents of young girls employed in factories, complaining that they did not reach home till long after the legal time for closing. On tracing these complaints to their foundation, the fault was found to rest with the girls, and not with the employers. To parents who exercise a watchful care over their children the factory regulations, it is obvious, must be of great value, as they cannot be deceived by the excuse that such children have been kept late at work. The argument that the tendency of the Factory Acts is to place an artificial restriction on the employment of women, and thus to depreciate the market value of their labour, is refuted on every hand by practical experience in the textile manufactories. Here the restrictions upon women's work are the most stringent; and yet the tendency for a long series of years has been the opposite, the proportion of women employed has steadily increased. The same observation applies to many of the trades and occupations carried on in London. As for the rate of wages paid, there is not an employer in the metropolis who will hesitate to acknowledge that there has been during the last ten or fifteen years a very substantial and important advance in the remuneration given to women for their work."

The social and moral condition of the manufacturing classes, and the physical deterioration of factory workers, are facts as lamentable as they are indisputable. Physical deterioration must be attributed quite as much to the vicious habits of parents, to the intemperance which transmits enfeebled constitutions to the next generation, as to the actual employment in factories. Thus, while it is true that "the physical strength and appearance suffer much in factories from confined, heated atmospheres, loaded with fine cotton fibres, fine flinty sand, and cutaneous exhalations; the number of gaslights, each light destroying oxygen equal to one man; and transitions from the mills and their temperature to their dwellings," on the part of the hands, there is no doubt that injury quite as serious is done by the injudicious dieting of infants, who instead of being fed from the breast of their mothers are nurtured on pap made of bread and water, and a little later on coffee and tea. It is bad enough that, as competent medical authorities tell us, the skin should secrete all the noxious qualities of an Indian climate, but it is even worse to hear that "the offspring are reared with the bottle and drugged by the mother. No doubt factory physique is not good, but it is made worse by factory associations of vice and iniquity."

The culminating point of social scandal is probably reached in the Black Country. As a consequence of a state of things under which we read of publicans sallying forth to a township not far distant to "court and corrupt the girls of the place," it is not surprising to hear that bastardy is extremely common. The following are a few illustrations of the current abominations of the neighbourhood. Nine people of both sexes and of all ages have only two bedrooms. A man and his wife, with three lodgers—two men and the other a woman within two months of her confinement—have two bedrooms. Working men on leaving the public-house have exchanged wives on the road home; the bargain has been adhered to, and their neighbours have not been shocked by the circumstance.* These are incidents in the contemporary life of the Black Country which clearly indicate a state of things calling for further legislative interference in such matters as women's and children's labour, overcrowding, and the arrangement of houses. The State has already decided that such matters come within its province, while they obviously belong to a category in which legislative machinery has been found by experience beneficent and effective. Every improvement in the Black Country during the last forty years, we are told by Mr. Baker, "has been either originated or at least fostered and helped forward by the law—*e.g.*, the repeal of the old Poor Law, the suppression of bull-baiting, of women's work in coal-pits, the partial abolition of the truck system. If under a revised or new law a man finds he cannot screw as much out of his wife's and children's work,

* Factory Reports for the half-year ending October 31, 1875, pages 120 *et seq.*

he will be compelled to work on Monday and Tuesday instead of going out to amuse himself. Doubtless the wives and mothers among nailers will recover strength from having their hours of labour curtailed, and be able to keep house and nourish their babies. In short, English homes and English families might again become the rule instead of the exception."

Improvements similar to those accomplished in manufacturing England have been effected by legislation in mining England. By successive measures of reform which have become law since 1850, it has been provided that each colliery shall have a certified manager, who, with the owner and agent, is responsible for the due observance at the pit of the regulations prescribed by law. Government inspectors have been empowered to visit the mines and report upon their condition; the working hours of boys, and of women and girls, have been restricted; the employment of women and girls underground has been absolutely prohibited, and, with certain limited exceptions, the double shaft has been made obligatory. The compulsory appointment of a certificated master was a reform of much importance. That official now passes an examination which, though it varies materially in different districts, is always thoroughly effective. Sometimes the examiners base their decision on the candidate's qualifications as a mining engineer; sometimes on his general intelligence and education; in other cases on the extent of his experience in coal-mines. The system of inspection is an exceedingly important one, though it is not universally, and, indeed, very rarely, carried to the extreme point originally contemplated. Existing legislation, however, has about it an indefiniteness which it is most desirable should be remedied, and the fact that different "readings" of the Act are current in the same districts affords strong evidence of the need of revision.

Once we have made our acquaintance with the mining population of England, we shall find ourselves amid many contrasts and startling varieties. The conditions under which the pitmen work are far from uniform; their scale of pay, their condition, tastes, and character differ almost as much as the localities and the circumstances of their labour. The Welsh miner is unlike the Staffordshire pitman, while Derbyshire, Yorkshire, and Lancashire each has its peculiar type of subterranean toiler—the Lancashire miner being for the most part a keen politician, and the Yorkshire miner a keen sportsman. Going northwards, we shall encounter tribes of men equally distinct in Northumberland and Durham; while, if we were to cross the border, and to make our way into Scotland, we should be in another world of fresh experiences. Generally it may be said that the miners of Northumberland and Durham are the best specimens of their order, the most intelligent, the most enlightened, humane, thrifty, and devout. In Northumberland there will be found a greater purity of

stock; in Durham there is to be seen a larger admixture of foreign blood. The one county is aboriginal and exclusive; the other, though it adjoins it, is cosmopolitan and comprehensive. From the south, east, and west of England, from Scotland, and from Ireland, and even from the Continent of Europe, the great army of Durham miners is perpetually being reinforced. In Northumberland, on the other hand, there is to be seen no such continuous and voluminous stream of immigrants. Yet, though these facts cannot fail to have made themselves felt in the ways of life and thoughts of the miners in the two counties, there are many resemblances to be observed between them. Both in Durham and Northumberland—as for the matter of that in other counties where mining is carried on—the external appearance of the mining settlements does not greatly differ. Here, as elsewhere, there is the same incrustation of coal-dust upon the stunted vegetation; the same long, straight, parallel rows of one-storied houses, the dwellings for the most part studiously neat within, and the gardens well and tastefully decorated without, for scrupulous tidiness seems a general characteristic of the miners of England. As a rule, too, the pitmen in all parts keep themselves distinct from the rest of the population, a fact which is partly to be attributed to the distance of many colliery colonies from towns. Even where they are in the immediate suburb of a considerable centre of industry, the miners show little disposition to amalgamate with the rest of the community.

It is a hard and perilous life, though humanity and science have done not a little to mitigate its severity and diminish its dangers. If the average age of the miner is considerably less than that of the worker in textile factories, it is not so much because he is the victim of diseases as because he is, in a special degree, exposed to accident. On the contrary, although the average life of the miners, which may be generally computed at thirty years, is considerably shorter than that of the factory workers, which may perhaps be estimated at thirty-eight and forty, which, again, is ten years less than that of professional men; they seem to suffer from few serious maladies. Among the miners asthma, bronchitis, and other affections of the lungs do not prevail to anything like the same extent as among the factory workers. If their labour itself is exhausting, it must be remembered that not only is it not continuous throughout the week —never engaging more than eleven days out of fourteen, frequently not more than eight, and in bad times not more than six—but also that their domestic life is marked by much healthiness and comfort. In the large collieries of Durham and Northumberland, the owners provide cottages for the men in addition to their wages, to each of which a little garden is attached, wherein is usually a pigstye. The pigs are the objects of friendly rivalry and competition among their

proprietors, who sometimes parade them on holidays and in leisure hours down the streets of the little colony. Again, among the miners it is a point of honour as well as of duty for the wife—who very seldom, unless in the neighbourhood of big towns, goes out to work—to look after the house and to keep it wholesome and comfortable. The colliery districts, too, are well supplied with medical men, while in many cases the infantile diseases which were caused by want of milk have been extirpated by the introduction of dairies established by the men themselves, and in a few instances kept by the foreman or manager of the mine.

It is no small thing, too, that these strenuous workers should be as abundantly supplied as they are with the means of recreation and amusement. It is a mistake to suppose that the miner, the whole of whose affections are centred in his dog, and who feasts on champagne and spring chicken while his wife and children starve, is a representative specimen of his order. As a matter of fact, the Durham or Northumberland pitman is frequently a teetotaler, and has no more favourite place of occupation for his leisure hours than the reading-room or the mechanics' institute, which is sure to be found in every mining district. The mining youth are also given to athletic games, and are often good cricketers and quoit players. They organise brass bands successfully, and often exhibit considerable taste and skill in music. Again, the humanising influences of religion, science, and literature have been signally displayed among the mining population. Bishops and clergy of the Established Church have borne testimony to the elevating and purifying effect of the religious tenets of that Primitive Methodism which is the spiritual faith of hundreds of the colliers of Northumberland and Durham. As for secular culture, they are earnest politicians and keen newspaper-readers. Here one of the advantages of unionism may be seen. While part of the action of the unions has been shown in the opportunities they have afforded their members in times of pressure, when work has been scarce, to migrate to neighbourhoods where it was more plentiful, so their influence has not been less signally or satisfactorily displayed in the inducements which they have offered to their members to closely watch the events of the day, and to deduce from them sound political conclusions. All the natural sciences are more or less popular with the miners, geology especially being a favourite.

The working life of the miner may be said to begin when he is twelve years of age. Before the Mines Regulation Act came into force the age was often ten, and ten still is the number of hours a day which he is on duty, beginning work at six in the morning and leaving off at four in the afternoon. The phases of industry to which the miner's existence is at successive stages devoted are pretty nearly as follows: He serves his apprenticeship for the first three years, being charged

during this time with the duty of driving the horses which draw away the loads of coal from beneath the axes of the men who detach it in huge blocks. This is technically described as "putting." Really exhausting work is seldom begun until the physical system is fairly set, and at the age of eighteen or twenty the lad who has hitherto been fulfilling comparatively light duties as "putter" will be promoted to the more arduous calling of a "hewer." Hewing is the normal business of the full-grown miner, and he continues at it in the ordinary course of things until he has arrived at or has exceeded the limit of middle age. Sometimes he continues a "hewer" until he is upwards of threescore years and ten, but it is exceedingly seldom that his system stands the prolongation of the strain beyond the age of fifty or sixty. Even when he is superannuated there is still work for him to do on the establishment of the mine; thus he may be employed as a shifter when he is too old to do active work as a hewer, and in this capacity he will have to clear the ground for the hewers after the regular day's toil is over. It is difficult to speak comprehensively concerning the wages of the miner, which vary not only according to localities, but according to the state of trade, which is itself a very fluctuating quantity. The "putters," who are paid by the score, earn from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. a day; the "hewers," who are paid by the piece, may make as much as 5s. a day; the "shifters" are seldom remunerated at a higher rate than the "putters." It is to be noticed, however, that in those cases in which, as in Northumberland, the daily wages are higher, it very often happens that the total annually made is lower, because the work is less continuous.

Something has already been said of the general attitude of the English working man towards his employer. Though daily experience testifies to a great and growing improvement in the relations between capital and labour, we are still a long way from the ideal which the admirable resignation of the operatives of Lancashire during the cotton famine consequent upon the American civil war led some persons precipitately to expect. The truth is, that the Lancashire working classes, during this great struggle, curbed their discontent, because their political instructors told them to recognise the issue between two grand principles in the war—liberty and slavery. The want and suffering which they experienced, they were taught to believe, were the inseparable accidents of a contest which could only end in the triumphant assertion of the rights of human nature and the sanctity of human freedom. On the other hand, whenever the attitude of the working classes, under pressure of sore distress, has been less tranquil it is illogical and unjust to recognise the motive or source of trouble in unionism, and to look back regretfully to the period when the laws prohibiting combination were in force. Rigid restrictions were imposed upon industrial combination until within the last half century, but with results that can

scarcely be considered advantageous to the relations of employer and employed. In 1811, the town and county of Nottingham were terrorised by gangs of operatives in the hosiery trade on strike, who went about destroying frames at the rate of two hundred a week. They made their attacks in parties of from six to fifty, armed with swords, pistols, sledge-hammers, and axes. On one occasion they held the town against the regular soldiers, who were called in to quell the disturbance, and peace was barely maintained by the concentration of a military force of about 800 horse and 1,000 foot around Nottingham. Still the destruction of frames increased. At the Nottingham March Assizes, 1812, four frame-breakers were sentenced to fourteen, and three to seven years' transportation. In the same month an Act was passed punishing with death any person deliberately breaking a frame, a measure memorable, if on no other account, for the protest which it elicited from Lord Byron. "Whilst," he said, speaking in the House of Lords, "these outrages must be admitted to exist to an alarming extent, it cannot be denied that they have arisen from circumstances of the most unparalleled distress. The perseverance of these miserable men in their proceedings tends to prove that nothing but absolute want could have driven a large and once honest and industrious body of the people into the commission of excesses so hazardous to themselves, their families, and the community." Meanwhile the outrages continued. In October, 1814, the house of a man who had caused the apprehension of a "Luddite" was attacked, and an encounter ensued in which one of the assailants was shot. Altogether about 1,000 stocking frames and 80 lace machines were destroyed during this period of popular frenzy. Disturbances almost as serious were repeated more than twenty years later, with the additional accompaniment of incendiarism upon a formidable scale. There are many persons living who can well recollect the ominous spectacle, visible from Nottingham Castle, of nineteen ricks simultaneously in flames; and the great feature in all this is that it did not provoke any strong outburst of public indignation, as trade outrages of all kinds have done of late years.

In the present day, if ten men are on strike in any manufacturing town in the United Kingdom, the circumstance is immediately reported, probably commented upon, in the newspapers, and gloomy prognostications are made of an impending war between capital and labour, and its possible results. It is not to be claimed on behalf of trade unions that they have wrung from the working classes a rigid determination to recognise in their demands and in their acts the undeviating operation of inexorable economic laws, or that they have exorcised completely the evil spirit of violence and outrage. But in recent times there have only been two notable instances of unionist scandals—the first, that of the Broadhead riot at Sheffield in 1867;

the second, that which culminated in the firing of Colonel Jackson's house in Lancashire eleven years later. In both cases it is no exaggeration to say that these crimes were bitterly regretted and unequivocally condemned by the majority of the class which had to bear the burden of their reproach.

To what is the undoubted improvement in feeling between employers and employed in England to be attributed? It may be inferred from the few but essentially typical data given above, that whatever may be the charges of conspiracy and violence brought against unionists and unionism, they are entirely eclipsed by the outbreaks of popular frenzy in those days in which no such organisations as trade unions existed. The fact is, that though the trade union is comparatively speaking an institution of modern growth, it is in every way an improvement upon its predecessor, the secret society. Combination is an instinct which, as the law cannot eradicate it, it is sound policy on the part of the law to recognise. It exists in professions as well as in trades and industries; in the learned professions as well as in the unlearned; in the medical, legal, and clerical professions, as well as in the commercial. The trade union is, in fact, only an application of that principle of association which is part of human nature. This the Duke of Argyll has pointed out with considerable force in his chapter on association in the "Reign of Law." Combination has its origin in the inborn impulse of self-defence. Take the case of Preston, or Blackburn, or any other centre of the cotton industry. All the employés are engaged in much the same kind of labour, fine spinning or coarse spinning, as the case may be—for it is a notable proof of the length to which the principle of the division of labour has been carried, that not merely is the same kind of labour concentrated in given districts, but the same qualities of work is produced in them. The hands in one mill are threatened with a reduction of wages by an employer, who thinks he sees his way to a substantial increase in his profits. Why, is the natural question, should they work for less than their neighbours? When this state of feeling is once arrived at, and this question asked, you have potential trade unionism. One mill communicates with another, and the next thing is its actual existence. There is no resisting the contagious sense of united interest which is generated. Employers may like it or dislike it. It is the inevitable response on the part of the labourer to a sentiment which is quite as natural and quite as sure in some way or other to assert itself on the part of the capitalist. Society being subdivided as it now is, unionism and the spirit of unionism are its certain and necessary outcome.*

* It is somewhat remarkable that the numerical strength of trade unionism among us has never been accurately ascertained, and hence that all the estimates which have been made of it have been confessedly founded on inference and even on mere guess-

How is this resultant force to be met? How is the crash of the collision between the two antagonistic interests to be removed? Just as in human nature the instinct of sympathy is the compensating principle to the instinct of selfishness, so in the system of trade and industry do arbitration and conciliation act as the counterpoise of unionism. In arbitration, as it is perpetually exercised in industrial England, there may be found a practical fulfilment of the "Conseil des Prud'hommes." Twenty years ago the idea was first suggested by Mr. Mundella, a little later was actively espoused by Sir Rupert Kettle and Mr. David Dale, and after twenty years of trial it may be pronounced a fact. It was, indeed, at first equally opposed by masters and men. Mutual jealousies and resentments threatened permanently to bar the way to anything like friendly settlement and peaceful compromises, nor was it till after the report of the Trade

work. As usual in such cases, the general tendency has been towards exaggeration, and it can scarcely be doubted that the lowest figures at which it was customary until quite recently to place it were more or less considerably in advance of the facts. A quarter of a century ago it was commonly supposed that there were not fewer than between six and seven hundred thousand trade unionists in the three kingdoms, and eight or ten years ago the number was pretty confidently asserted, on what appeared to be trustworthy authority, to be not less than from fifteen to sixteen hundred thousand. It cannot be questioned, however, that these computations were exceedingly wide of the mark, and attributed to the movement far more formidable dimensions than any to which it has yet attained or is likely to attain for some time to come. According to the latest report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, that for 1882, 194 unions, with 216,408 members, were then registered at the central office of his department. But this of course conveys only a very inadequate notion of the actual proportions of trade unionism in this country. At the sixteenth Trade Unions Congress, held at Nottingham in the autumn of 1883, 173 delegates attended, representing 135 societies, with an aggregate membership of 561,091 persons. Mr. Trant, in his recent work on Trade Unionism, takes the statistics of the Nottingham Congress as the basis for a general calculation, and expresses his conviction that "the number of trade unionists at the present time does not exceed eight hundred thousand." He adds, however, that it is "rapidly increasing," and states in illustration that "the Amalgamated Society of Engineers increased in 1883 alone by 2,030 members, the Amalgamated Carpenters by 2,274 in the last four years, the United Society of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders by 12,558 in the last four years. Last year the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants added no less than 1,756 names to its list of members, and other societies have increased in like proportion. The five largest societies have doubled the number of their members in sixteen years." But since, as Mr. Trant observes, there are upwards of six millions of working men in the aggregate, there is "ample room for further development." At the Nottingham Congress, by the bye, three female delegates were present, representing three women's unions. Of these organisations nineteen have been already established under the patronage of the "Women's Protective and Provident League," of which ten are in London and nine in the provinces. "The principal societies," Mr. Trant says, "are among the bookbinders, the upholsterers, the shirt and collar makers, the tailoresses, and the dressmakers, milliners, and mantle-makers. In these unions there are women of all ages, from sixteen to seventy, married as well as single, and all the associations are steadily, though not very rapidly, adding to their several reserve funds, and are thus gaining in stability and in efficiency for dealing with some of the evils of overwork and under payment." But of the three millions of women who are earning wages in England and Wales, only a few hundreds, Mr. Trant states, are as yet in union. – *Trade Unions, their Origin and Objects, Influence and Efficacy.* By William Trant. London: 1884, p. 107 and pp. 115—117.

Union Commission that the experiment made any very marked degree of progress. Since then the new idea that trade disputes can be settled, without resort to strikes, by mediation and negotiation, has strongly possessed the working men of England, till now it may fairly be said that a strike, instead of being the first expedient for obtaining industrial rights, is regarded as the last. It is to be remarked that it is of the essence of this scheme that conciliation and arbitration should go hand in hand, that the conference between the representatives of the two interests should not be deferred until the struggle has actually begun, but that periodical meetings, whenever occasion may seem to render them desirable, should be held between associated workmen and associated employers. The most intelligent of the unionists perceive that many of their laws have been thoroughly bad, unjust, and therefore impolitic, both in their results to labour and their political bearing. The wisest of the unionist teachers, on the platform and in the press, do not fail boldly to point out where the defects of such laws lie, and what must be their consequences. Thus the regulations and conditions of unionism have been gradually brought into something more like accord with economic laws, and the tendency has been established to regard the natural relations between employed and employer, not as a state of suppressed war ultimately to be decided on the starving-out principle, in which full freedom to fight to the bitter end was the privilege and the right of either combatant, but as a condition in which there is much real identity of interest, while apparent differences can be adjusted without any abrupt declaration of hostilities.

The progressive development of this idea can be traced geographically. It asserted itself successively at the three great centres of the iron trade: first, among the Cleveland, or the northern iron-workers; secondly, among the Staffordshire iron-workers; thirdly, among the iron-workers of South Yorkshire. In the case of the northern iron-workers its results have been visible upon a very conspicuous scale. Actively adopted by these exceedingly intelligent operatives about fourteen years ago, it has stood the test of the two extremes of uncommon commercial prosperity and depression. Since its adoption it is to be noticed that there has been no repetition of the desolating strikes, such as in 1865 spread misery and havoc throughout the district for the space of eleven months. In every serious strike of recent years the men have either asked for arbitration, or a resolution in favour of arbitration has never been met by a counter-resolution. Thus in the South Wales strike of 1873 the men implored arbitration, and the fact is the more significant seeing that it was the employers who ultimately lost the battle. Again, in the masons' strike of 1877 there was the same undoubted desire for arbitration; while it was believed by the best authorities that the Lancashire cotton strikes of

1878 could have been entirely prevented if the proper machinery for arbitration had existed; for if the machinery is to be effective in time of trial, it must be because it has been carefully prepared beforehand.

As regards the masons' strike of 1877 in London, one of its least agreeable features was the violence offered by the English workmen to the foreign workmen whom the masters had imported from the Continent. Hence the inference was drawn that the English workman was animated by a fierce desire not to tolerate the presence of an alien rival upon any consideration, and that the demand was for the protection of native industry at any cost. Yet examples of British and foreign working men labouring in perfect peace and harmony side by side are not rare, and it may be doubted whether the outrageous manner in which the London masons resented the presence of the continental recruits was inspired by any deeper feeling than irritation at the beginning of a new order, or genuinely British prejudice against the stranger. The English working man is in these matters much as his social superior. He does not like foreigners in the mass, and he is particularly jealous of the introduction of any individual foreigner. But after a time he accepts the inevitable. The multiplied opportunities of higher and technical education which he enjoys render him the more disposed to do this. The lectures on various subjects connected with art and industry given in our great towns—many of them local centres of university teaching—the various other agencies of secondary education, the study not only of books but of the contents of art museums, have largely extended the industrial horizon of the English working man, have been as the key which has unlocked to him a new world, and are gradually impressing upon him the possibility and expediency of increasing the value of the labour of his hands by the application to it of the finish and graces of art, and of thus utilising art as a new source of industrial wealth.

Of the political questions which periodically agitate the working classes, there are three that may here be mentioned. The working man likes the idea of a big England rather than a small, for he sees in it the assertion of the dignity and power of his country on a scale worthy of its historical antecedents, and he sees in it also a long vista of increased opportunities for his order. It is an idea which gratifies his pride as a patriot, and commends itself to his interests as a labourer. But there is something that is of more immediate concern to him than a big England. Trade and labour—such is the burden of his complaint—are too generally ignored by the whole body of Parliament. Why, he sometimes asks, does not the Government create a Ministry of Commerce—a portfolio whose holder shall be specially charged with the transaction and the superintendence of whatever affects the well-being of trade, commerce, capital, and labour? Again, he inquires, how long will labour continue to be handicapped by the

unequal burdens which the repudiation of free-trade by America, by the great nations of continental Europe, by the chief of our own colonies, imposes? If it is asked how far the working classes sincerely look to Parliament to remedy these and other grievances, the answer is not quite easy to give. There is undoubtedly a disposition on the part of working men of many shades and varieties of political thought to promote the movement for the direct representation of the interests of labour in the House of Commons. But it cannot be said that working men are fundamentally agreed as to the probable efficacy of this scheme. On the contrary, working men do not as a rule seem to believe in working-men members of Parliament. They are also apt to be somewhat jealous of leaders who belong to their own number. If their man gets into Parliament they are troubled with a misgiving that he will in some undefined way or other be "got at;" that he will not be permitted to vote "straight;" that social pressure will be brought to bear upon him; that he may prove a renegade to the good cause. Yet the dream still vaguely flits before the vision of our English workmen of sending to Parliament a number of representatives who shall form a Labour party at Westminster, just as there is already a Home Rule party.

When one comes to the personality of the English working man in towns, one is met not only by the fact which has been already noticed —the multitude of typical varieties—but by the noticeable difference between the working man as he exists in London and in the provinces. One great distinction is that, whereas in the majority of instances the provincial working man leader is more or less prominently identified with some form of religion, the leaders of the London working men are more often professed secularists. Taking the industrial classes of England as a whole, there is no reason to think that the influence of religion is declining among them. Whatever may be their own professions, they have no notion of educating their children in infidelity, and when mortal sickness comes, they will ask the ministration of some church or other for themselves. Mr. Bradlaugh and other "free thought" lecturers seldom command in the provinces anything like the audiences they secure in London. On the other hand, whereas a lecture on political economy, or some other subject of commercial or industrial interest, would be listened to by two or three thousand eager hearers in Blackburn or Preston, Sheffield or Manchester, it would be addressed to little better than an array of empty benches in London. Generally it may be said that in the matter of religion, as in so many others, the working classes reflect the condition of their superiors. If there is more active aggressive disbelief in England at the present time than formerly, there is also more active and genuine religion. It is the profession of belief which is quite as characteristic of this age as the spread of disbelief. Sides are actively taken and the battle of the

creeds is fought where formerly the belligerents were lulled in an indolent neutrality.

The London working man possesses many of the best points of his order, while at the same time he has not a few of their failings. He is proud of living in the metropolis of the kingdom. He is sensible of a geographical superiority over his provincial brethren. He is very often ludicrously self-conscious and grotesquely vain. He is, at the same time, exceedingly plausible, and not less shallow—quick to perceive those features in any subject of the day which are calculated to affect him most, and in answering questions, skilful in making his replies subservient to the interest of his own case, and very careful to conceal all which he considers can in any way tell against that case. In matters relative to organisation he is, as we have already seen, at a great disadvantage as compared with his provincial brother. The immense number of industries collected together in London, the corporate feeling of the men engaged in which is exceedingly strong, go far to neutralise each other. In addition to the diversity of employments, a further force of segregation is due to the distance at which those engaged in them live from the scene of their labour, and above all to the competing attraction of the legion of popular amusements.

Another cardinal distinction between the working man in London and the working man in the provinces is that in the former he is very frequently a lodger, and in the latter, with very few exceptions, a householder. At Sheffield, or Birmingham, or in any of the manufacturing towns or mining districts, it would be considered scarcely creditable to the workman, unless he was a bachelor, if he did not inhabit a house of his own. Built of red brick or grey stone, these houses are for the most part kept astonishingly neat and clean, and frequently the lodging of the London workman is as well ordered as the home of his provincial brother. In some of the London suburbs —such as Chelsea or Kensington—it is no uncommon thing to call upon the mason or joiner who is making thirty shillings a week, and to find him settled in the basement of a roomy house, let out in lodgings, the window of his sitting-room commanding a view of a fernery improvised in the area, which is made picturesque with flowers and evergreens. But even thus the domestic sentiment has but slight influence among the working classes of London, in comparison with that which it has in the country. Music-halls and other entertainments are as popular among the working men of London as they are the reverse with the better stamp of working men out of it, and these distractions, added to the circumstance that their homes are often very widely separated from one another, render the concentration of the working classes of London, upon any given occasion and for any given purpose, exceedingly difficult. To post on the hoardings of London enough bills to reach the bulk of the working population

would cost over £100, and the consequence is that the attempt is very seldom made. Hence one of the reasons why co-operation, which has succeeded so well in the great towns of the north, has never proved successful among the working classes of the capital. Frequent periodical meetings, during its earlier days, and continued concentration of interest afterwards, are necessary for the success of such an enterprise. These are just what cannot be had in London, where the complaint is that the working classes cannot be got to act together and keep together. On the other hand, there is perhaps more sociality and good fellowship among the working classes in London than in the country, though the institutions of the Sunday dinner and Sunday tea are common both to the capital and the provinces. The first is a function of some importance. The second is a meal less ceremonious, but equally important in its way, since it is found by experience to furnish the chosen opportunity of the matrimonial diplomatist.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WORKING CLASSES (*continued*).

General View of Changes and Improvements in the Condition of the Agricultural Labourer—Type of the English Peasant—His Career traced from Cradle to Grave—His Daily Life—Different Kinds of Farm Labourers—Meals and Food of the Class—Various Specimens of Peasant Population in English Villages—Changes which have come over Village Life—The Co-operative Store—The Dawn of Knowledge—How the English Peasantry are Domiciled—Cottages removed and Cells remaining—Allotments: their Uses and Dangers—Different Modes of Hire and Manners of Rural Population—Hiring of Families—Labour of Women—General System and Progress of Agriculture in England—Mutual Relations of Farmer Farmers and Landlords—Property of Yeoman Farmers—Wages of Agricultural Class—Improvement and Fluctuations—General Position and Prosperity of the Rural Working Population.

THE combined influences of science and commerce have scarcely more transformed the surface of the earth than modern rural improvements, whether they have had their origin in legislative action or in a growing sense of the responsibilities of ownership, have changed the moral and physical aspects of the country villages of England. That neat new building, with the courtyard round it, and a compact as well as picturesque dwelling-house in a carefully cultivated garden hard by, is the new village school. Many thousands of these structures dot the length and breadth of rural England. Well ventilated and well equipped with school furniture, maps, and educational apparatus generally, they answer other purposes than that of being places for the instruction of boys and girls during the day. It is as likely as not that night classes are held in them throughout the winter months for the benefit of unlettered adults. The secular village school on week-days is probably the religious school on Sundays. Lectures, penny readings, and concerts will also be given within the same building. The schoolroom is often the assembly-room of the district, as well as the symbol and the centre of its intellectual enlightenment. Nor is the improving hand of time seen less plainly upon the cottages round about. The peasant's home is gradually ceasing to be the human sty in which for generations he dwelt. The squalid cottages, constructed and inhabited in defiance of every known sanitary principle, are disappearing, and their places are being taken by neat rows of brick houses, mostly built in sets of two, each being nearly the exact counterpart of the other, with kitchen, pantry, and sitting-room

on the ground floor, and above three well-ventilated bedrooms; a yard behind, and in it a small outhouse for the stowage of fuel. In no part of the country probably does the rent of these cottages exceed three shillings a week. In the rural districts of East Anglia it is rarely on large estates more than eighteenpence a week, and never more than two shillings. In addition to a house, and a garden yielding enough vegetable produce for a family, our labourer may perhaps have within an easy distance of his dwelling an allotment of a quarter of an acre, held on a rental, it may be, of half a sovereign a year. Here he grows more vegetables, or maintains a cow or a donkey upon the pasturage. Such allotments frequently adjoin one another, and it is a sight not unknown in some more favoured districts to watch, on Sunday evening, the tenants of these slips of ground walking round their property and inspecting its condition with evident satisfaction and pride.

The ordinary hours of day labour are ten, though in the haymaking season and harvest-time, when extra pay is given, or the work is put out by the piece, the hours are longer. But in winter eight hours, and in some cases only seven, represent the daily average of toil. The diet of the cottager and his family consists chiefly of bread, potatoes, bacon, and cheese. He has usually a cup of tea and a piece of bread, with bacon as a relish, before he leaves home in the morning. At his early dinner he has vegetables and pickled meat, and if you enter his cottage about the hour of supper, your nostrils will detect a savoury appetising smell, and your ears will catch the suggestive sound of frying. In many parts of England, notably in the north and in the midlands, there has been a sensible improvement during the last few years in the art of rustic cookery. The wives and daughters of the clergy and resident gentry have done much towards carrying the principles of scientific cookery into the homes of the poor, by giving friendly lessons and hints, by writing out receipts for them, and practically illustrating their execution on the occasion of their periodical visits. Nor must the beneficent influences of the spread of cheap and instructive publications be forgotten. "Hints on Cookery" are a regular feature in the journals which make their way into the dwellings of the rural poor.

That the reader may easily learn who and what manner of man the English country working man is, it may be well personally to introduce him without further delay upon the stage, to accompany him not merely through his ordinary round of daily toil, but also through the successive vicissitudes of his career from infancy to old age. Here, then, let it be supposed, he stands before us, long ere he has arrived at the threshold of his actively working existence—a sturdy little urchin, with face reddened and browned by the combined influences of wind and sun. The distinctively rural dress which

children in agricultural districts once used to wear is seldom seen now. The small boy we are looking on is not clad in the rough smock-frock with which we were formerly familiar, but in a suit consisting of a little round jacket and knickerbockers, bought at the market town. His sister, who is at his side, wears a costume which has equally little that is specially Arcadian about it, and is composed of a cheap material made up after the London fashion. The great ambition of this small girl will be, before her schooling days are over, to go into domestic service, and then to find a husband in some gentleman's footman or butler, attaining finally to the dignity of landlady of some country town inn or thriving public-house. For the boy a different future is reserved. At the present moment he is, let us say, eight or nine years of age, and in the old days, before Education Acts were heard of, he would have been already at work as a bird-tender or scarer in the fields. He would have grown up wholly unlettered, but before he was twelve he would have mastered many a valuable lesson from the book of nature; would have the names of all the horses employed on the farm, and the peculiarities and strength of each, by heart; would have become an authority on the homes and habits of the birds of the air and the beasts of the field; would have been able to tell, at a distance that defied the penetrative power of ordinary eyes, the spot on which the hare was couching or the bird had settled. Night-schools and Sunday-schools might have taught him something, but if he grew up to manhood tinctured with the simplest rudiments of reading and writing he was esteemed a paragon, and spoken of as a "rare fine scholard."

All this is now changed. Our future agricultural labourer is prevented by law from being sent to work at all before he is ten years old, and the tendency of School Boards and Boards of Guardians, who in some rural districts have practically the powers of School Boards, is to impose as a qualifying condition of work a standard not only of age but of attainments. On every day of the week, except Saturday and Sunday, he is, or ought to be, at school from nine in the morning until midday, and from two until half-past four in the afternoon. At Christmas there are two weeks of holidays, and during harvest-time a month or more, in order that the children may assist in the in-gathering of the grain. When he commences life as an agricultural labourer, it will probably be not in the capacity of scarer—bird-scaring is now generally done by inanimate scarecrows—but of driver of horses, or ploughboy. In some parts of England he will, during the stage of his apprenticeship, lodge upon the farm where he is employed, receiving perhaps £13 a year in addition to board and lodging. For the most part he will not be resident under the roof of his employer, but will be placed in the cottage of the hind. In the performance of these duties he will continue for some years—not the less fortunate

if he does not happen to be promoted out of the ordinary routine of a farm servant's duties. Indeed, the ordinary day-labourer on an English farm, who is expected to put his hand to any work which may present itself, is, by comparison, the best paid, as he is also the most independent, of all agricultural workmen. The shepherd is really never off duty. He is liable to be summoned from his sleep at any hour of the night, and when he is once out he knows not when he may expect to return. The carter, too, is up and about betimes with the first grey of the summer dawn, and long before the stars have disappeared from the heavens on the winter mornings. Again, the milkman has to be at his post with undeviating regularity when the day is in its infancy throughout the year. Each of these labourers has probably left home breakfastless, and has been busy for two or three hours before the rank and file of the farmer's staff are astir; if they have broken their fast it has merely been with a piece of bread, and perhaps a drink of cold tea or of milk-and-water. But the general hands are not necessarily bound to these hardships; there is nothing in the hour at which their duties begin to prevent them from having had a satisfying meal before they have left home.

But we are anticipating the development of our typical labourer. He has now reached the age of two or three and twenty. He stands five feet eight inches in his shoes; he is spare but well knit of figure, healthy in look, and singularly deliberate in manner and mien. The English agricultural labourer, indeed, is never known to be in a hurry. His costume is corduroy or fustian; probably he wears knee-gaiters; a cotton handkerchief is tied round his neck; his head is surmounted by a slouch hat; and his boots are of immense thickness, studded with heavy nails. Such is his external person, which has sufficiently commended itself to some village maiden to secure for him a wife. Even if he be a little younger than two or three and twenty, the chances are that he is married, and has a home of his own. Nor does his home see much more of him than those of many professional gentlemen. At six he is up, and busied with preparing for himself such breakfast as he can snatch. At half-past six he is off, carrying perhaps in a basket or handkerchief his provisions for the day —a loaf of white bread (the quality of the loaf of the agricultural labourer is remarkably good, and it is a maxim with his wife that "the better it is the farther it goes"), a piece of bacon or beef, a little cheese or butter, and a bottle of cold tea. He will either proceed to his work direct—to the stables, or to the business of hedging and ditching, as the case may be—or will have an interview with the farmer or the farm-bailiff, whose business it is to allot the day's labour to the different members of the staff, and will work on until nine o'clock. Then comes the first break, and a second breakfast from the contents of his basket. At noon he will devote another spell of rest to the consumption of dinner,

the materials of which he either finds in the basket already mentioned or receives from home, sent by the hands of his children—one of the urchins already mentioned—for it is seldom that he goes home till work is done. The meal over comes a pipe or a nap, or possibly both, and at half-past one he is busy again. Four hours pass, the business of the day is over, and the agricultural labourer turns homeward, bent on supper, which is "the one real family meal of the day." *

Before supper, however, he will, we may expect, look round his garden, and perhaps do a little bit of work, or examine the fattening progress of his pig. Thus engaged, he receives the summons to the supper-table. The children have already taken their places. Possibly he has a daughter home from service as a guest, who will contribute out of her wages to the domestic treasury. Under any circumstances, if times are fairly prosperous and the household is tolerably well managed, the meal will be substantial. There will be mutton and vegetables, or beef—not a prime cut, but still, eatable and nourishing—for the master of the household and the elders, or a mess of bacon and potatoes, or a savoury mixture of chopped meat, sage, and onions, and whatever other vegetables the garden produces. As for the children, they will have pudding, and bread and treacle, or bread and dripping. When this, which is really the late dinner, is disposed of, our agricultural labourer may, if it be summer, and he is not completely fagged out, do a stroke more of work in his garden; or if he takes an interest in the news of the day, or rather of several days ago, dip into the local journal, or else have the print read aloud to him. If he is less domesticated there is the public-house, a fascinating attraction which hard-toiling humanity cannot always resist. But there is less intoxication and disorderly conduct than formerly, and there is also the frequently successful competition of the village club. The hay and wheat harvest are the great events of the year, and the most profitable seasons of his industry. Then he is up early and out in the fields till late. His children are near him at work too. Money passes into the domestic exchequer, and his financial year comes to an end when the last waggon-load of wheat is conveyed to the threshing-floor. The bills which his social betters liquidate at Christmas he defrays at harvest-tide, if he has received credit from any local tradesman. Thus the year runs its course, and as it is with one year so is it with its successor. His children grow up, are put to school, go out to work if they are boys, marry in their turn, and set up for themselves; go into service if they are girls, or take employment in the native industries of the town hard by, or with the sewing machine. To bring up his family well is the greatest merit

* So called by Mr. H. J. Little, of Coldhouse Hall, Wisbech, to whom I am indebted for many facts in the account here given of the agricultural labourer. See "Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society," Vol. xiv., 1878.

which the English agricultural labourer can claim. Even when this has been done years of work may yet be before him. Nor, as old age grows upon him, will he be helpless. He can still do odd jobs. He is in receipt of an annuity from the benefit society. He is not likely to be neglected by the squire or the parson. "If he can possibly manage it," says Mr. Little, "he now contrives to put a trifle by for the decent performance of the last offices connected with his earthly career; but if this be impracticable, it does not give him much concern that the parish will be called upon to pay a portion of these expenses. His wages have not been excessive, and if his old employers have once more to put their hands in their pockets on his account, it is only a just fulfilment of his final dues. So, not without a touch of sardonic philosophy, he passes away."

Independently of his comparative indifference to much that is to the town artisan invested with paramount interest, there are several respects in which the country working man differs from his urban brother. As regards house-room and lodging, he enjoys the advantage conferred by the quit-rent system of staying on in his cottage while he is out of work, and of thus gaining an interval for looking about him. The village fair, or harvest-home festival, or benefit feast, are the chief breaks in the continual routine of work. Cricket clubs and football clubs are indeed increasing in number and popularity, but these are pastimes which are not much pursued after early manhood. He differs, also, from the town workman in knowing less of the pleasures of the regular holiday. Of the Saturday half-holiday of town workers he knows little or nothing. Sunday, indeed, is with the peasant emphatically a day of rest. He may or he may not go to church or chapel, arrayed in solemn black, or else in a waistcoat and necktie of gorgeous colours; but whether he performs or neglects his religious duties, he will sedulously refrain from all kinds of labour—unless he is employed in connection with live stock—and if he saunters about will remain all day within a stone's throw of his cottage.

If the majority of English rural villages have as their inhabitants a working population such as that of which a specimen has just been given, and if these toilers for the most part conform to the type that we have delineated, there are certain exceptions in the English village system, certain stock deviations in individual character from the normal standard, which may be briefly glanced at. In many villages there may be found groups of cottages which constitute a settlement of some distinct class, or aggregate of families who have lived on there from generation to generation, and of whose legal claim to their holdings nothing is known. It is a sort of no-man's-land, and the human beings who have fixed themselves upon it lead an anomalous, precarious, and somewhat predatory life. They work for the farmers

during the hay and wheat harvest, but for the rest of the year they subsist visibly on the produce of their not too well tended gardens. In reality, they must have other resources than these. The men of the settlement are more than suspected of being habitual poachers, and the women and children have the stigma resting on them of being systematic practitioners of various kinds of petty larceny. Even if it cannot boast the presence of these aboriginal squatters, the English village is seldom without some special characteristics of its own. Thus, in addition to the chronic drunkard who already shows signs of softening of the brain, there may almost always be found among the population the clever, active labourer, who, after having worked with great regularity and success for weeks together, has a fit of drinking, and disappears for two or three days.

Then there is usually to be found the incorrigible scamp of the community, who never did an honest day's work in his life, whom farmers would be reluctant to employ, who is an abomination to the squire, and who is considered past reclamation even by the parson. The more reputable village inn closes its door against him, but there is a low beerhouse—a sink of mischief and iniquity—of which he is a regular customer. He could tell how the landlord of that establishment contrived to get so many luxuries—fish, flesh, fowl, and vegetable—into the filthy back-kitchen of the den, sempiternally reeking with the fumes of bad drink and vile tobacco. He is seldom to be seen abroad in the village in the full light of day, but he prowls about at nightfall, as if bent upon some sinister purpose. He is a master in the art of tickling trout and of snaring pheasants; he is, in fact, the recognised village poacher, who has hitherto by marvellous good luck escaped the clutches of the law. Justice, however, overtakes him at last, or if it fails to overtake him in the village whose pest he is, it is only because he shuns its approach, and contrives to flee while yet there is time.

We have already noted in the dress of the men and children of rural England the abandonment of the distinctly agricultural garb. Something even more noticeable still is the change which has occurred in the dress of the women. Even in those parts of England where, as in Northumberland, much out-door labour, especially in the fields during harvest-time, is done by mothers and daughters, the clothes worn approximate with remarkable closeness to the prevailing urban fashion of the period. Dress and musical airs seem to travel only a little less quickly than ill tidings. The new ditties which the pantomimes popularise in the capital are dispersed throughout the provinces by itinerant organ-grinders before many months or weeks are over. It is the same with feminine apparel. The last new mode finds its way to the neighbouring market town very nearly at the same time that it does to the metropolis; and cheap bonnets of the latest shape,

or ribbons of the most approved tint, are displayed in the window of the village shop a very little while after they have been first exposed to the view of the buyers of Regent Street.

Nor is the village shop the only emporium of these goods. A conspicuous and salutary innovation in the economy of English villages in the course of the last few years has been the co-operative store. Fourteen or fifteen years ago a certain small village in the midland counties, which will serve as a type of many others placed in similar circumstances, made a sudden jump towards prosperity. A hosiery manufactory was started; it was a success, and gave profitable employment to the wives and children of the tillers of the soil. There was plenty of money to spend, but the shops in the village were justly deemed not quite satisfactory. The place was fortunate in the possession of a clergyman who had a strong idea of reducing the rules of Christianity to practice, and who was a good man of business into the bargain. He took counsel with the farmers of the place, offered a few suggestions to the labourers and factory hands, and as a result of those deliberations and preparatory measures, the Framley Industrial and Provident Society, Limited, as we shall call it, was founded, and duly certified by the Registrar of Friendly Societies of England as having rules which were in conformity with the law. The capital of the society was raised in one pound shares, to which each member subscribed at the rate of threepence per week, or three and sixpence a quarter, until the whole sum was paid up. The business is carried on under the control of a committee of management of nine persons, a treasurer, a secretary, two auditors, and five arbitrators. It is conducted on the most rigid of ready-money principles. The accounts are rendered and audited each quarter day. Some idea of its early progress may be formed from the statement that the society began business with thirty-three members and a paid-up capital of £27 2s. At the first quarterly meeting it consisted of twelve stockingers, thirteen agricultural labourers, one lock-keeper, one carpenter, one carrier, one brickmaker, one hawker, one retired tradesman, two farmers, and two clergymen. It boasted already a disposable balance of £3 4s. 4d. Seven years later the society numbered ninety-one members—among them twenty-four agricultural labourers, of whom two were the largest investors in the funds of the institution. The goods in stock were valued at £216; £180 was invested at interest; there was a balance in the bank of £105; and every day the clergyman of the parish was receiving small sums from his parishioners to invest in the association. Of course the plant of the society had proportionately increased. A cottage adjoining the original warehouse had been annexed for the purpose of additional storage. Seven acres of land were rented, and also a barn, where the crops were threshed. All the necessaries, and some of the luxuries, of existence are for sale

in this establishment, which is as much a feature in the village as the school: groceries, bread, butter, hosiery, haberdashery, stationery, drugs of all kinds, tobacco, and beer. The sale of ale was considered an experiment of doubtful expediency. It has, however, proved an entire success. It has been accompanied by a marked diminution of drunkenness, and by the disappearance of the last remnants of the truck system.

This is only one instance of the new spirit which has so largely reformed and quickened the life of the rural working man. Enter his house and you will see the æsthetic tendencies of the age illustrated in the decorations of his dwelling. There are familiar and sometimes graceful chromo-lithographs on the walls, there are ornaments on the mantelpiece, though very often these are of a far worse design, more vulgar in idea and tawdry of colour, than they used to be. Neither books nor newspapers are wanting; and, indeed, the wide circulation of the daily and weekly news-sheets among the rustic labourers of England is one of the signs of the times. It is no longer the rector of the parish, the squire, and the more important farmers who receive daily the contemporary history of the world as recorded in the columns of the London or the larger provincial newspapers. These make their way into the smaller farmhouses and the wayside inns. Means for their distribution have multiplied immensely during the last few years. The milk-carts, which make a journey twice in every twenty-four hours to the local town, are often called into requisition; and there is the parcel from the London agent, either dropped at the remote railway station, or, if there be no station in the neighbourhood, thrown out of the window of the train as it flies past, by the guard, at some fixed spot. It is no mere speculative interest in current events which has popularised the growth of journalism in the homes of the country poor. What chiefly interests the agricultural student of the hebdomadal press is that which seems specially to affect his personal condition. He would sooner have a smart attack on the policy of the Poor Law Guardians of his district than a slashing criticism on the conduct of diplomatic negotiations of incalculable moment. Similarly his literary appetite is whetted by a desire to know all that concerns the position and the prospects of his own industry. The agitation of labour *versus* capital has invested the columns of the newspaper with a fresh attraction, and the country working man is beginning to find satisfaction in reading of emigrants and emigration, scarcely second to that which he might formerly have experienced in sensational reports of accidents and crimes. Book-hawking societies constitute another agency to which a word of grateful recognition is due. Once these are established on a broad basis they often flourish admirably with very little eleemosynary assistance.

In all this may be seen progress, beneficent, considerable, and well

defined, in the condition of the agricultural labourer. But there are evils which have no more ceased to attend his lot than misery, sin, want, starvation, and disease have died out of the land. Granted that legislation has done something, that the measures which followed upon the inquiry of the Agricultural Commission of 1867, the Truck Acts, and modern sanitary laws, have provided a machinery for ameliorating his condition, against which there is, from a theoretical point of view, nothing to be said, how, it may be asked, does the machinery work? Because the labour of children below a certain age, and without a certificate that they have satisfied a fixed educational standard, is forbidden, does it therefore follow that no such children are employed? Because there is no corner of England which is not subject to a recognised authority, is our worship of the goddess Hygeia a universal act of practical homage? If some landlords would no more tolerate the existence of the causes of pestilence in the homes of their poor than they would a public nuisance in their own parks, are we therefore to conclude that the Arcadian glimpses given above of the labourer's cottage are typically faithful revelations of the average state of its interior? The true answer to these questions is that the tendency of the times is in the direction of social and sanitary reform. What is now generally wanted on the large estates is not so much an improvement in the kind of cottages as an increase in their number. It was one of the hardships of the rural labourer that he had a considerable distance to walk to his work. Houses, therefore, have, in many cases, been built on the spot or near the farmstead. The labourers now frequently object to live in them, and prefer the independence and sociability of the village. They dislike the rules of the estate, which prohibit lodgers and overcrowding, and which insist on the ventilators being kept open. The women complain of solitude—they are not near enough to the shop; the men of dulness—they are too far from the public-house. The report of the Commission of 1867 made it tolerably clear that the habit of letting cottages in connection with the farms was decidedly mischievous in its operation. "I am clearly of opinion," says the Reverend Lord Sidney Godolphin-Osborne, "that the landlord should hold all the cottages in his own hands, under his own direct control." "In all my inquiries," says Mr. Edward Stanhope, "on this point, I never yet met a man who preferred to live 'under a farmer,' as they call it. The apparent advantage in point of income enjoyed by a man in Dorset who is a yearly servant, and lives in a house attached to the farm, is great, and yet even there the labourer had the strongest objection to the system. With great reluctance I have been forced to the conclusion that there is no system more fatal to the independence and comfort of labourers than that of letting cottages with the farms." On the other hand, it would scarcely do to make the occupancy of the cottages entirely inde-

pendent of the tenure of the farm, and the farmer would certainly find it extremely inconvenient to have men living on his premises who were not working for him. Substantial as are the improvements which have taken place in the condition of the cottages of the agricultural labourers since the Commission of 1867 concluded its investigations, the report of that body is not yet an entirely obsolete document. The first great defect in the cottages of rural England is now, as it was then, the absence of proper bedroom accommodation. Many of these buildings contain only one sleeping-room; more only two. In a village of the midland counties, the writer has himself become cognisant of the fact of there being crowded nightly into a single sleeping-room, the mother —a widow—a young man of nineteen—her son—her daughter, and the illegitimate child of her daughter. Frequently, the site chosen for the cottage is some damp, marshy place; or the building is erected with its back hard against a hill, or on ground probably a foot or two below the surface of the surrounding soil, and without any attempt at drainage or ventilation. Nor is a less dire evil to be seen in the pollution of the atmosphere outside the doors, not so much or necessarily because the drainage is defective, as because the women are unable to understand that there is any harm in permitting heaps of rotting vegetable and other refuse to accumulate in the little garden. Generally, indeed, the English working classes in agricultural districts have not the slightest knowledge of the most elementary laws of health, and if education in these were included in the course of the village school a good work would be done.

Of course existing sanitary laws ought to prevent much of this. But the difficulty of enforcing them is extreme, and their full execution would often involve wholesale eviction. Nor would the cost of eviction end where it began. There is a clause in the Sanitary Act empowering the shutting up of cottages in the outskirts of towns. If acted upon, the clause would result in the overcrowding of houses in towns; for the legislation has this further deficiency, that it does not authorise the building of fresh houses in the place of those which are practically demolished. A great complaint against the Act is that there is nothing to set it in motion, and hence it has been compared to "a watch without a mainspring." Dr. Fraser, the Bishop of Manchester, one of the Commissioners of Agriculture in 1867, remarked of the then existing Sanitary Act, "that it was quite ineffective, owing to the local influence by which it is hampered," and suggested the appointment of an independent officer like an exciseman. That the Act should have failed may be accounted for in a great degree by the fact that the authorities are elected by the ratepayers and the representatives of ratepayers, who are for the most part busy men. No doubt a further extension of State action has evils, and tends towards pauperisation. But if there is no reason why Boards of Guardians should not be

empowered to pay the school fees of children whose parents are helplessly poor, and if the receipt of such assistance does not constitute pauperism, why should it be stigmatised as "pauperisation" if a man receive State aid in order to make his house habitable by his family?

The consequences of such a state of things—of which the end has yet to be seen—are, whether from a physical, social, economical, moral, or intellectual point of view, equally disastrous. "Physically," to quote Dr. Fraser's report, "a ruinous, ill-drained, overcrowded cottage generates any amount of disease, as well as intensifies tendency to scrofula and phthisis. Socially, nothing can be more wretched than the condition of 'open' parishes, into which have been poured remorselessly the scum and off-scour of their 'close neighbours.'* Economically, the imperfect distribution of cottages deprives the farmer of a large portion of his effective labour-power. The employer who has no cottages to offer those whom he employs must either attract labourers by the offer of higher wages, or must content himself with refuse." Morally, what is to be expected, save that, as Dr. Fraser says, "modesty must be an unknown virtue, decency an unimaginable thing, where in one small chamber, with the beds lying as thickly as they can be packed, father, mother, young men, lads, grown-up girls —two, and sometimes three generations—are herded promiscuously?" "We complain," continues the report, "of the ante-nuptial unchastity of our women, of the loose talk and conduct of the girls who work in the fields, of the light way in which maidens part with their honour, and how seldom either a parent's or a brother's blood boils with shame—*here*, in cottage herding, is the sufficient account and history of all." †

That many of these evils still exist—are likely, for the matter of that, to exist for a long while to come—among us must be admitted. But there is a reverse side to the picture, which has been indicated at the beginning of the present chapter, and which is equally historic fact. It may be that more legislation is wanted; it may be that the action of the legislation which at present exists is not as certain or speedy as could be desired. But, for all that, there is movement, and that movement is pre-eminently in the right direction. The low mud

* One of the consequences of the new Poor Law has been that the distinction between close and open villages has to a great extent disappeared. Villages are called close when they are the exclusive property of a single owner; open when there is a plurality of ownership. Under the old Poor Law, when every village was charged with the support of its own poor, the landlord had naturally an object in admitting as few potential paupers into his village as possible, and therefore kept down the number of his cottages; but after, by the Act of 1834, the support of the poor was charged upon Union areas, the motive for the preservation of the close village system disappeared.

† I quote thus from a report that is perhaps, in a sense, out of date as showing how urgent was the need for legislation. In some respects, the Public Health Act of 1875 has already effected a beneficial change, although much remains to be done, and primarily supervision should be made both searching and ceaseless.

and straw-thatched tenement, with its two rooms on the ground floor, has to a very great extent disappeared. The responsibilities of proprietorship have been recognised, and the very circumstance that the possession of land in England is valued quite as much for the power it confers as for the revenue it yields—"almost in all cases," as Mr. Little remarks, "a very poor return upon the capital invested"—is a favourable influence. Landlords are, for the most part, ambitious of the reputation of having good cottages on their properties, and the rivalry of the landlords is reflected in the competion of their agents. Nor is it less fortunate, from this point of view, that estates have gradually passed, and are still passing, out of the hands of impoverished squires and squireens into those of the owners of domains which are principalities, or into the hands of the wealthy members of the mercantile community. Again, if it be admitted that the law still falls short of what it ought to be, we must remember that indirectly it has done much. The abolition of the old Poor Law, and its replacement by a system under which the landlord is no longer only charged with the relief of the poor in his own village—no longer obtains a portion of his rental at the expense of his neighbours—has convinced him of the expediency of generally improving their condition.

But it must be remembered that, valuable as the reform is, it is not necessarily an unalloyed benefit to the agricultural poor. It is a great thing that the peasant should inhabit a commodious, comfortable building of brick and slate, consisting of kitchen, parlour, and pantry on the ground floor, and three well-ventilated bedrooms above, instead of the mud hovels of old, with their two rooms not removed above the level of the soil. The cost, however, of such a structure as this is not much, if at all, less than £210; and, seeing that the rental is not more than £5 a year, it is manifest that the owner is left with a loss. If he is to make the loss good, he must do so out of the rent paid by the farmer; and the advantage conferred upon the farmer is represented by the fact that he has his labourer close to his farm, and in good health instead of in bad.

Let us now quit the actual dwelling of the agricultural labourer, and see how he is situated immediately outside it. We have already watched him engaged in the cultivation of his garden or allotment, or else in gazing on it on Sunday afternoons. At once it must be said that, as regards the relative value to the peasant of gardens and allotments, some difference of opinion exists. With a garden of thirty rods of ordinary land, it was decidedly the opinion of the Bishop of Manchester, when a member of the Agricultural Commission of 1867, that a labourer would scarcely care about an allotment, probably at some distance from his cottage. The garden, he points out, is close under his eye, and can occupy many spare ten minutes of the man's

time. It is easily manured, and "there is a reciprocal and a beneficial connection between it and the sty: the garden half keeps the pig, and the pig in turn more than half keeps the garden." On the other hand, it is beyond question that the allotment system is one which has proved full of benefit, and especially in particular districts. In Dorsetshire, where wages have been exceptionally low, the labourers occupy an amount of land which provides employment for the whole family. "The redeeming feature," says Mr. Edward Stanhope, "of rural life here is the amount of land held by the labouring class; indeed, but for this the wages would sometimes hardly be sufficient to support life." One thing is quite certain, that if extended beyond a limited size, allotments are a source of danger and of loss to the peasant, and practically create the evil they are designed to remedy. In some parts of the country, what is known as Fergus O'Connor's Act is still operative. Where this is the case—as, for instance, in the west of England, near Yeovil—there may be seen a row of some half-dozen cottages, each with two or three acres of land attached. These were designed for the benefit of the agricultural labourers. As a matter of fact, they were almost all occupied by small tradesmen. If the allotment be just big enough to take up a man's odd time, it will be an immense boon; if, on the other hand, he devotes himself entirely to it, he may prosper for a season, but he will find that in the long run he cannot hold his own, and he will feel acutely the want of the weekly wages, paid more or less regularly every Saturday. When the creation of a race of peasant proprietors, such as those who exist in France, is talked about, it is forgotten or ignored that the English peasant is not like the French peasant, has not the same innate faculty of thrift, cannot live on the same simple, unsubstantial fare. The land, too, if it is to be made to pay, requires to be manured, and the labourer is not in a position to possess himself of this mode of artificial fertilisation. Again, in the case of a miniature farm of two or three acres, no provision can be made for the necessary alternation of crops; consequently the land is exhausted, while even if the cottager succeed in growing upon it a pretty regular supply of vegetables, he will find it impossible to guarantee a sufficiency of regular customers. The only way in which, as experience shows, the labourer who looks to live entirely by his allotment can hope to be successful is by having his home in the immediate neighbourhood of some town, where he can sell his produce and command a tolerably regular succession of gardens to look after, carpets to beat, and similar odd jobs to do.

There remain to be considered various other circumstances to a great extent affecting the condition of the agricultural labourer. The subject of wages may be reserved to the end of the chapter, while of the mode of their payment only a few words need be said. In

Northumberland they are paid in kind. Generally labourers are unwilling to forego their privilege of taking part of wages in beer and cider. The following anecdote illustrates the dominion which drink can thus obtain over a man's mind. A labourer having earned at a piece of task-work a considerable sum of money, left off for several days, and during that time was incessantly drinking. One morning, when all his money had been expended, he set off to resume his work at a distance of three miles from his home. On reaching the place, he took off his coat and threw it on the ground, but as it fell, a forgotten sixpence dropped out of his pocket, upon which he put it on again, and walked back the three miles to finish the sixpence before he would begin work again.

Though it is to secondary remedies, such as a keener sense of self-interest, and to the creation of a public feeling unfavourable to the vice, that we must look for the ultimate and solely effective guarantee against drunkenness, there are certain primary measures which might certainly be tried. Again and again has it been pointed out that public-houses are apparently allowed to multiply far beyond the legitimate needs of the community. The police state that those licensed under the new system, that is, where beer cannot be drunk on the premises, are worse to deal with than those where customers can go in and drink. Much may be said in favour of giving the licensing power to the magistrates. If it continues to reside with the Excise, the standard of the qualifications in the ratepayers who sign the petition for the licence might be raised until it was something like a guarantee of character. Meanwhile it may be well to point out that the farmers themselves, much as they condemn the beerhouse system, are apt in their good nature to encourage in their men a taste for liquor, by remunerating extra jobs in drink, and supplementing wages by beer and cider.

Women and ordinary day labourers are hired by the day, and generally paid once a week. The rate of wages for women is usually fixed by the day, but of the men, when employed on day-work, at so much a week. The liberal class of farmers feel themselves bound to find their men work "wet or dry," but there is another class of farmers of, as Dr. Fraser puts it in his report, "harder natures and tighter purse-strings," who will send a labourer away on a wet morning, if there happens to be no directly remunerative job which they can set him to do. If a labourer is hired by the week, it is clearly reasonable that work by the week should be found for him. The system of monthly hiring is confined to the solitary instance of the harvest. Those who are emphatically called farm servants—that is, labourers without whose services the farm could not be carried on for a single day; shepherd, carter, stockman, ploughboy, and dairymaid—are hired for the most part by the year. The usual periods of "hirings"

are in spring, or more commonly in the autumn, and where those abominations exist, the transaction takes place at the "mop" or "statute fair." The agreements are generally verbal, "but what weighs most in the mind of the farm recruit . . . . is the mystical shilling which passes from the palm of his new master into his own, which may be regarded as the agricultural *sacramentum*." These yearly hirings operate badly. The "statute fair," which is one of their accompaniments, is a demoralising institution, and one, happily, which, though it still flourishes in a few districts, may be generally described as dying out.

A child's day and a woman's day are much the same; nine hours, with an hour and a half for meals. The almost unanimous opinion of the labouring man is, that if the parents can manage to dispense with his earnings, a boy should not go out to work before he is twelve or thirteen. Medical opinion, too, is not generally favourable to the employment of child-labour in agriculture. To expose a boy of ten or twelve years of age for nine hours a day to the cutting English winds is pronounced by competent medical authorities as sure to develop the seeds of any disease that may be latent in the constitution. In some parts of England, notably in Dorsetshire, the system of hiring whole families prevails.* In these cases, when a labourer is hired for a year, the size of his family and the vigour of his wife and children are all points which are carefully investigated by the employer. There are of course many abuses incident to the employment of women in the fields, but the system is by no means one on which an unqualified condemnation can be passed. The Bishop of Manchester argues that it not only unsexes a woman in dress, manners, and character, making her masculine, but unfits or indisposes her for a woman's proper duties at home. Anybody, however, who has visited the county of Northumberland, who has seen the Northumbrian women out in the fields and by their own firesides, will scarcely accept this view. In this the most prosperous of English counties, the labour of women, which consists of clearing the land, picking stones and weeding, turnip-hoeing, hay-making and harvest-work, barn-work with threshing and winnowing machines, is considered absolutely essential for the cultivation of the soil; yet the Northumbrian women are physically a splendid race. Their work in the fields is justly considered to be conducive to health. "I shall be glad," writes Mr. Harley, of those

* The following advertisements are quoted by Mr. Stanhope from the *Dorset County Chronicle*:—

(1) Wanted, a farm labourer, with a working family; apply to Mr. G. Tett, Chiselborne.

(2) Wanted, a shepherd, with a grown-up son or two; apply to Mr. G. A. Ingram, Bagber.

(3) Wanted, at Lady-day, a thatcher, with two or three boys from 9 to 14 years of age; apply to Mr. G. Mayo, Puddlehinton.

who hold the opinion that field-work is degrading, "if they would visit these women in their own homes after they become wives and mothers. They would be received with a natural courtesy and good manners which would astonish them. Let the visitor ask to see the house; he will be 'taken over' it with many apologies that he should have seen it not 'redd up.' He will then be offered a chair in front of a large fire, with the never-absent pot and oven, the mistress meanwhile continuing her unceasing family duties, baking, cooking, cleaning, &c. Not one word of complaint will he hear; but he will be told that, though 'working people,' they are not poor; and a glance at the substantial furniture, the ample supply of bacon over his head, the variety of cakes and bread on the board, and the stores of butter, cheese, and meal in the house, will convince him of the fact. When he inquires about the children he will hear that, though they have not much to give them, the parents feel it to be their sacred duty to secure them the best instruction in their power, and '*that* they are determined they shall have.' The visitor will leave that cottage with the conviction that field-work has no degrading effect, but that he has been in the presence of a thoughtful, contented, and unselfish woman." Dr. Cahill, of Berwick-on-Tweed, states "from his knowledge of the town and country population" that "the women of the latter are far more healthy than the women of the former, and tenfold less affected by female complaints. He considers that their field-work fits them to be good bearers of children, and the strength of the population is kept up by them; and that the surplus of the agricultural population that enters the large towns maintains the standard of health and strength by marriage with the inhabitants of towns."

Having thus described some of the most important details in the condition of the agricultural classes, it remains to say a few words on the general relations of employers and employed, and, in passing, of the nature of our agricultural system. What are called Acts of Husbandry vary in various parts of England, according to the character of the soil. Their object is to regulate the scale on which money is paid to the out-going by the in-coming tenant for crops sown and for work and labour done. In all parts of England there is a regularly prescribed order in the rotation of crops; and the general rule is that arable land is cultivated in the proportion of one half corn and one half roots—thus: first year, turnips; second, barley; third, mangel-wurzel; fourth, wheat. It is, too, the universal custom, and may be spoken of as the foundation of English agriculture, that whatever is produced on the farm, and is available for the purpose of manuring the soil, shall be devoted to the soil. As might be supposed, this development of agricultural enterprise implies a series of striking improvements in agricultural processes. There is,

indeed, in the agricultural system of the England of to-day almost as little of what one can identify with the agriculture of a century ago as with that of the ancient Italians, as sung by Virgil in his Georgics. The farmer who succeeds now-a-days is scientific, or he is nothing, and the danger rather arises from his staking too much capital upon the ground than from his putting into it too little. His farming apparatus bears the same relation to that of his predecessors as the floating factories known as ironclads bear to the wooden walls of the old-fashioned men-of-war. He has learnt the use of reaping and mowing machines, each of which can do the work of ten men; of steam ploughs—costly implements, not within the reach of the smaller farmers—which do the labour of ten men and twenty horses; of steam machines of other kinds for threshing corn, cutting straw and hay, and similar purposes. In addition to these, chemical assistance, ammoniacal and phosphatic manures, have rendered the farmer comparatively independent of the alternate system of cropping; and Mr. Caird calculates that these artificially fertilising agencies would enable the United Kingdom to bear an additional wheat crop equal to our supplies from Russia, with no perceptible strain on our agricultural system. Nor has a less signal advance been made, even though no new principle has been discovered, in the matter of drainage, the construction of farm buildings, and the breeding of stock. The system may be upwards of half a century old, but its extension and development are comparatively new. One of the results of this extension is, that whereas in the middle of the century not more than one-third of the people consumed animal food more than once a week, it is now eaten by nearly all of them, in the shape of meat, or cheese, or butter, once a day. Add to this the increase of the population, and it may be estimated that the total consumption of animal food in this country has trebled in the last thirty or forty years.

The total area of the United Kingdom is 76,300,000 acres, of which 26,300,000 consist of mountains, rough pasture, and waste, while 50,000,000 are crops, meadows, permanent pasture, and woods and forests. Most of this land is in the hands of the large landowners; excluding the proprietors of less than an acre, one-fourth is held by 1,200 persons, each averaging 16,200 acres; another fourth by 6,200 persons, at an average of 3,150 acres; another fourth by 50,770, at an average of 380 acres; while the remaining fourth is held by 261,830 persons, at an average of 70 acres. The cultivation of this land is mainly in the hands of tenant farmers, of whom there are 561,000 in the United Kingdom, each holding an average of 56 acres. The tendency is for land to become concentrated in the hands of large landlords, small proprietors being bought up. Thus the small squire is becoming gradually extinct, while the yeomen, or small landowners farming their own land, have almost entirely disappeared. How rapidly we

in England have passed from an agricultural to a manufacturing people may be judged from the fact, that whereas fifty years ago a fifth of the working population of England were engaged in agriculture, those now occupied in this manner are less than a tenth.

We have already seen something of the general principles on which the great estates of the country are managed. The agricultural hierarchy may be said to consist of three—or, if we count the land-agent, of four—grades: the landlords and their agents, the farmers and their labourers. Each of these classes is being constantly altered in its composition. Landed property, to the value of several millions, changes hands annually; the tenants of farms are changed at Lady-day or Michaelmas, while the labourers are far more locomotive than formerly, and are perpetually acquiring the fresh knowledge that urges struggling men afar. Large drafts of these perpetually pass off to other industrial callings at home, and to the colonies; and the effect of this process is seen in the weakening of the tie between the agricultural labourer and the parish in which he was born.

The only point of contact between the State and our agricultural system is the Enclosure Office, whose chief duty now is to improve suburban commons under a system of regulation by which the land may be drained, planted for ornament and shelter, and the surface may be improved for pasturage, without excluding the public from its enjoyment. The administration of the Drainage and Land Improvement Acts is in the hands of the Enclosure Commissioners, the purpose of the Acts being to permit landowners to borrow money for permanent improvements, and to charge their lands with the cost of these, to be liquidated by annual payments which, within a fixed period, reimburse both principal and interest. Again, the Commissioners are authorised to carry out exchanges and partitions of lands, and with their assistance any two landowners can at very trifling expense correct whatever irregularity there may be in the boundaries of their several estates, or even exchange entire properties. The conditions upon which the sanction of the Commissioners is obtained are, first, that the exchange shall be demonstratively beneficial to the two estates; secondly, that the exchange shall be fair and equal; thirdly, that due notice is given, and that the order of exchange is not confirmed until three months afterwards.

If the production of bread and meat within these islands has nearly reached its limits, the dairy and market-garden system is extending. The country, in fact, is becoming less of a farm and more of a garden. Meanwhile the population is increasing at the rate of 350,000 a year, or nearly a thousand a day. The consumption of food is becoming prodigious, and now represents imports of one hundred millions sterling. Twenty years hence, we may have not 35,000,000 but 45,000,000 of people to feed, and, of course, there will have been a

proportionate increase in the importation of provisions. Whether and in what degree the advantage of being on the spot will enable the tenants to pay the imperial and local charges and rent to the owners, is the question of the future. The supply of foreign grain from America, and in a less degree of meat, yearly endangers his profits. But the tenant can leave his farm with more or less loss, while the landowner must remain and solve the problem. The speculative remedy proposed for the loss at which farmers may conduct their operations is the redistribution of the soil, and the creation of a class of small proprietors. Independently of the fact that in England no overwhelming desire for land exists, it is more than doubtful whether its advocates themselves are persuaded that such a scheme is practicable. Thus it is admitted by many of those who are in favour of it, that it would be necessary for tenants, should such a system ever be established, to co-operate for many of the more costly processes of industry. While we are on the subject of the general relation of landlords and tenants, it may be observed that though, as pointed out in the chapter on estate management, the same method of administration is generally observed both in the properties of individual owners and of corporations, the position occupied by the farmer is not precisely the same in each. In the first place, the individual owner, be he peer or commoner, looks for political power, and directly or indirectly influences the votes of his tenants at parliamentary elections; corporations, on the other hand, have no political influence, and the farmer who rents his land from a corporation is conscious of a certain superiority over the agriculturist who is the tenant of a personal landlord. In the second place, as corporations have no souls, so have they no impecuniosity; there is always money for repairs, and one of the consequences of this is that the position of the agricultural labourer is often better on the estate of a corporation than on those of individual owners, since, when cottages and other repairs are wanted, money is always forthcoming to supply them.

In prosperous times the wages of the agricultural labourer throughout England average little less than 17s. a week, varying from 13s. a week in the south to 18s. in the east, and 20s. or 21s. in the extreme north, where not only is the rate increased by the competition of manufacturing and commercial employment, but the work done is generally regarded as of a higher quality. These weekly wages by no means exhaustively represent the earnings of a capable or active labourer, much less of his family, supposing the family to be of working age. Both at the time of the wheat and the hay harvest there are, as we have seen, longer hours of labour and higher rates of pay. In the midlands and in the south of England there is the opportunity of supplementing the regular weekly payment by odd jobs of hedging, ditching, and draining, given out as piece-work. Add to this that the

waggoner, herdsman, shepherd, and any other labourer, who, being charged with the attention of the live stock of the farm, to use the expression already employed, is never off duty, is frequently furnished with a cottage and garden rent-free, and it will be seen that the agricultural toiler is not without substantial perquisites.* It is not the case that the introduction of machinery into the processes of harvesting has reduced the available earnings of the labourer. "In the fen districts of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire"—Mr. Little is again our authority—"a strong man will consider himself very ill paid if he cannot earn 9s. or 10s. a day in following the reaper, and 7s. or 8s. when housing the corn." Thus in the autumn of 1877, a family, consisting of a man, his wife, a girl aged sixteen, a boy aged fourteen, and two other children of, respectively, eleven and nine, earned in that part of England during a period of five weeks just £25, to which must be added sixteen bushels of gleaning corn picked up by the wife and two girls, and valued at 5s. a bushel. Thus we arrive at a total of near £29. The nominal wages of this man were 15s. a week. As a matter of fact, working for forty-seven weeks out of the fifty-two, he made an average of 17s. a week, and the entire earnings of his family between Michaelmas 1876 and Michaelmas 1877 were £97 0s. 9½d. Mr. Clare Sewell Read once remarked to the writer, that a fair day's work secures its worth in money all England over. Mr. Little's opinion is similar, for he says, "I shall content myself with the assertion that as a rule the average amount of weekly wages paid in the country may be taken as no very unfair index of the actual amount of work performed by the average labourer of such districts. Whether the nominal weekly wages are 13s. or 18s., the amount of actual labour performed bears something like a relative proportion to these sums."

But it may be urged that since 1876, and even since 1877, there has been a great decline in the rate of agricultural wages. It therefore occurred to the writer to endeavour to secure an exact return of the wages paid in different parts of England to farm labourers during the week ending February 1, 1879. This, by the kindness of a gentleman who has exceptional facilities for securing such information, he was enabled to do. The question was put to more than sixty farmers in various counties, "What weekly wages do you give this current week to an ordinary farm labourer on your farm?" The replies produced results which may be depended on as entirely trustworthy.

In the last week in January, 1879, it appears that the wages of an ordinary agricultural labourer may be taken to have been, in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, 12s. to 13s. a week; in the counties of Hertford,

* In Northumberland the labourer generally has a cow kept for him by his employer, at a charge of £8 a year. "As far," writes Mr. Little, "as the children of his household are concerned, he is, therefore, almost independent of supplies of animal food; and I cannot but attribute some of the fine physical powers of the northern race to the use of this nourishing and strengthening diet."

Bucks, Berks, and Oxford, 12s. to 14s. a week; in Cambridgeshire 13s.; in the central counties, and from Bedfordshire northwards, at 13s. to 15s.; and in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, 15s.; in Yorkshire it ranged from 15s. at the southern end to 16s., 17s., and 18s. proceeding northwards; and in Durham the rate may be taken as 19s. to 20s.; and in Northumberland as 21s. a week. In Cumberland the rate was reported as 20s. a week, and immediately adjoining to the hæmatite mines, 24s. both in Cumberland and Lancashire. In the rest of Lancashire and in the manufacturing districts and near large towns the rate varies very much according as the population is more or less employed. In the agricultural parts of Cheshire the rate was 15s.; in Staffordshire and Salop it was 14s. to 15s.; in Worcestershire, 13s. to 14s.; and in Herefordshire, 12s. a week. In Dorsetshire and Wiltshire the rate may be taken as 12s. a week, and in some cases 11s.; in Somersetshire as 13s. to 14s.; and in Devonshire 12s. Along the south coast, through Hants and Sussex, the rate was about 14s.; in Kent it ranged from 14s. in the Weald to 17s. or 18s. near Rochester and Sittingbourne. At the beginning of the current century the wages paid for agricultural labour—supplemented, as we shall presently see, very largely in every case out of the rates—was, on an average, 9s. a week; wheat being at £5 13s. 7d. a quarter—nine and a half days' work representing the price of a bushel—and meat at 9d. a pound. In 1878 the average wages have been calculated at 15s.; wheat being at £2 7s. a quarter, a bushel being earned by the pecuniary yield of two and one-third days' work, and meat being at 6¾d. a pound. To this 15s. must be added, from what we have seen above, the extra money earned during harvest-time, and allowances of beer or milk.

Further, it must be remembered that although rents are higher, all articles of food and clothing are very much cheaper than they were forty years ago. Eradicate drunkenness, practically inculcate the virtue of thrift, encourage emigration, and the agricultural labourer ought never to be upon the rates from the cradle to the grave. On the whole, drunkenness is diminishing, while as for thrift, there is reason to believe that it will come as education improves and prosperity grows. After all, want of thrift and increase in expenditure on the material comforts of life are not the evils peculiar to a class, but are common to the whole community; and there is good reason to doubt whether the agricultural labourer is relatively more thriftless than the artisan or the professional man. There is, indeed, in his household more, perhaps, of deliberate waste and of prejudice against economy than in the social level a little above him; certainly more reluctance to make experiments in new and economical foods; less dread than might be wished of an old age of pauperism, and of dependence on the bounty of others. But then let us remember what

are the agencies and influences of which the agricultural labourer is the outcome. It is not merely that his life in the south of England, where he is simply for the most part the passive instrument of the orders of the bailiff or the farmer, calls into play none of those faculties, none of that nerve or power of mental initiative displayed among the shepherds of the north, "the isolation of whose lives," writes Mr. Little, "and the difficulties of whose calling, have so contributed to thoughtfulness and reflection upon the matters which concern their every-day life and the welfare of their charges, that it would, perhaps, be difficult in any country to find a class possessed of greater natural intelligence and sagacity." The agricultural labourer generally throughout England is at the present day the victim of vicious usages and legislation, which have made his comparative degradation hereditary. Seventy or eighty years ago wages were, as the above-quoted figures prove, generally low, the price of provisions was high, the labour market was overstocked. The great wars from which we were just emerging had dislocated and paralysed the entire commercial and industrial system of the country, and the immense majority of the labouring population could find employment only in agriculture. The state of the agricultural community—itself the bulk of the nation—bordered closely upon general starvation. The expedient was resorted to of giving relief to every English peasant out of the rates, quite independently of his being in or out of work. This was nothing less than a system of wholsale compulsory pauperism, of direct discouragement to the virtues of prudence, thrift, self-help. The revenues of entire parishes went to the relief of their poor, and cases were not unknown in which the owners of estates were without a shilling of their income, which was swallowed up in this quicksand of debasing and mischievous expenditure. In 1834 came the new Poor Law, which created union districts, and gave a direct motive to the collective inhabitants of the enlarged area, instead of to the dwellers in a small village, to check the tendency towards pauperism. Other causes, equally beneficent to the British peasantry, were at work. Manufacturing and other industries became developed in the south of England, as well as in the north, and the introduction and extension of railways enabled the peasant to transfer his labour from places where it was not wanted to markets in which a demand for it existed. Still the improvement in the peasant's condition was much more rapid in the north than in the south, and in Scotland wages were 18s. and 20s. a week, long after they were not more than 10s. in Devonshire and in Dorsetshire. Yet agriculture in the south was far from stationary; on the contrary, it was making marked advances, and that wages did not rise in a corresponding manner is only to be accounted for by the fact that in the south there was more labour available, and that labour of a worse quality, than in the north.

Up to this time the farmer had been absolutely master of the situation. He regulated the rate of the daily wages of his labourers by the price of wheat, with little or no reference to the prices of the other necessaries of life. When, however, free trade had generally reduced the price of wheat, this became impossible. Still, there was no kind of organisation among the rural labourers of England, as against their employers the farmers, which at all corresponded with the unions that had grown up in urban industries. A great innovation, however, in this respect was at hand. Founded in 1871, with the avowed purpose of increasing wages, the Agricultural Labourers' Union soon covered the entire country with its organisation.* It at once sent up wages, but it also changed very generally the relations between agricultural labourers and farmers. The years 1872, 1873, and 1874 were a period of fierce struggle in the agricultural community, the last of these years being marked by the vigorous resistance to the demands of the Union, which may be described as a great machinery for the encouragement of strikes, in the east of England. Yet, on the whole, the Agricultural Labourers' Union must be allowed to have accomplished much of its programme. It has stimulated emigration both to the colonies and to the manufacturing districts of England, and it sent up wages in 1875 thirty per cent. Co-operating and coinciding with the extension of cheap literature, the circulation of newspapers, the growing contact between town and country, the Union has generally stimulated the mental activity and perception of the working man. It has not confronted us with any immediate revolutionary perils, but it has left the labouring classes in rural districts better able to take care of themselves than they were, and it has done this because it has been only one of many movements of the time towards the same goal. If it has diminished the willingness of the labourers to place implicit and childlike confidence in the justice and generosity of their employers, it can scarcely be said permanently, or to any great degree, to have embittered the relations of the two. It is not against the tenant farmers that the agricultural labourers profess for the most part any grievance. In the west of England, throughout those districts in which their social condition is still deplorably bad, the cottages being little better than mud hovels, and the filth and squalor indescribable, the admission is made by the suffering peasants that the lowness of the wages is not the fault of the farmers. "The landlords," is the burden of their conversation, "are hard."

That there are obvious disadvantages connected with the Union cannot be denied. Its political teachers often inculcate vicious and

* At the Trade Unions Congress last year the delegate of the Agricultural Labourers' Union represented 20,000 members, and the delegate of the Labourers' Union 12,500 members.

unsound principles of economy—pretend, for instance, that the owners and holders of land enjoy in the matter of taxation privileges denied to manufacturers; the truth being that the heaviest land-tax of all is paid by the corn-producing counties of England, and the lightest by the mineral and manufacturing districts of the north. It is urged, too, that the Union has deteriorated the quality of the labourers' work. It is certainly opposed to piece-work, which is the chief, perhaps the only mode of raising inferior labour to a higher standard. By insisting on a uniform rate of day-work and short hours it brings the best labourers down to the lowest level. "Upon this farm," writes a well-known agriculturist in an eastern county, "of 420 acres, I pay away annually over £1,000 in manual labour, exclusive of the skilled labour employed in steam-ploughing and threshing which I hire, and yet my work is badly done, and also in arrear. I cannot get any piece-work done, unless I happen to be on the spot, and coerce them into it, and even then the work is scamped."

"The day has now come," writes Mr. Little, "when the labourer, if he is to rise in the social scale, must look mainly to himself. If in the dark days of the past the laws seemed against him, it is no longer so. He is a free man, free from conscription or compulsory service in the army, and the equal of those about him. Legislation has done its best for him and his children. He is at liberty to move wherever he can get the best return for his labour. He is practically the only untaxed man in the community, since (except in the article of tea, on which a small duty is still paid) he can, if he chooses, by abstinence from those articles, avoid the imposts on beer, spirits, and tobacco." An admirable and practically free education is granted to his children. This education, when its effects have had time to make themselves felt, will no doubt give us a new order of British peasantry. Nor is it the only machinery at work which is gradually improving his position and extending the horizon of his views. While ploughing matches, prizes for draining, hedging, ditching, stacking, and other operations of husbandry, cottage-garden shows, and other institutions, tend to make him a better labourer, the general influences of the time are all in the direction of improvement. The agricultural labourer feels that he, too, like his urban brother, is a man. He has acquired a consciousness of power, a growing sense of enlightenment, a widening perception of rights and duties, which may be used as powerful levers for his future amelioration. Talk to the average country labourer to-day, and you will find him no longer the dull, despondent being that he was only a few years ago, the limits of his views and knowledge being the boundaries of his parish, or the field in which he was plying his task. His senses have been quickened, his moral and intellectual nature has been breathed upon with the breath of life."

CHAPTER XII.

PAUPERISM AND THRIFT.

General Appearance of the Workhouse and its Inmates—Paupers out for a Walk—Composition of the Pauper Class—Tendency towards Pauperism not peculiar to the Lower Orders—Out-door Relief—General View of Difficulties of its Administration—Social and Moral Consequences of Out-door Relief—Out-door Relief and Pauperism—Remedies for Pauperism—Effect of Out-door Relief upon Wages and Character—The Poor Law and Socialism—Should the Workhouse Test be made universal?—Antidotes to Pauperism: Voluntary Help and Friendly Societies—Attitude and Duties of the State to Friendly Societies—Penny Banks—Further Requirements for teaching Thrift—Co-operation.

Of the predisposing causes of pauperism something has been said in the last chapter. Of its existence it is impossible to be long in any great town, or indeed in any country district, without being forcibly reminded. That gaunt, graceless, red-brick building yonder, with the long narrow windows, placed in an enclosure of grass-plot, gravel-walk, and flower-bed, is the new workhouse. Everything about it seems to tell of leanness, depression, misery, and want. The walls are naked; the herbage is stunted; the recently planted poplars and other trees decline to thrive in so poverty-stricken a soil; as for the flower-beds, no seed has ever been sown in their mould, or, if sown, has ever dared to put forth its tender sproutings, which tell of coming bud and blossom. Inside this joyless edifice the guardians are engaged in examining and adjudicating on the claims of the needy throng whose members have just passed in through the iron gates, to the relief that does not involve residence in the "house" itself—relief consisting of three shillings a week, and three loaves of bread; or, if it be later in the day, the master and matron may be passing in review before them the luckless tramps of both sexes who have applied for a night's lodging in the casual ward. There are few sadder sights than this muster, and it is conducted upon principles which have about them painfully little of the associations of charity. The authorities aforesaid commence their examination of the necessitous applicants on the assumption that each one is an impostor, an habitual tramp, who spends his or her life in travelling up and down the weary roads, now begging and now stealing, as opportunity may offer. Hence master and matron alike hesitate to admit that any particular face which comes before them is new. They may ask the question, "Where do you come from?" but they place evidently no faith in

the answer; and there always comes the inquiry, "When were you last here?" Now in the majority of cases it may be admitted that the official mind is right, and that the professional pauper who is also an habitual tramp is not more honest than the obsolete highwayman. On the other hand, there are instances—and when the times are hard these instances are not few—in which the industrious mechanic or artisan, who has no funds to travel by railway, performs his journey from one centre of industry to another on foot, and is compelled at nightfall to betake himself to that shelter which is the common refuge of the penniless. But there is no distinction of persons possible to official eyes. Deserving and undeserving, the vicious, the drunken, and dishonest, the sober, the unfortunate, and the industrious, are all relegated to one category, all subjected to the same ordeal. The internal discipline and management of workhouses vary, but in the case of the greatest number the occupant of the casual ward has, during his residence inside its walls, a rougher time than many a prisoner in a convict gaol.

Who are the habitual inmates of this house, which has not, and which ought not, perhaps, to have any of the comforts or suggestions of home about it? * If you were to spend a couple of hours under its roof, you would find there men and women of all ages, and of conditions of life originally widely apart. There, too, are children who have only just come into the world, and whose mothers have fallen into hopeless, helpless want, or into sin and shame, or into both simultaneously. Yet it is better for a boy or girl to look upon light first in a workhouse than in one of the vile alleys or pestiferous slums which are the nurseries of crime and criminals. The guardians will at least not permit these waifs and strays of humanity to grow up absolutely neglected and ignorant. Directly they can learn anything there is the workhouse school, and as soon as their hands can hold any instrument of industry, they are taught the rudiments of an occupation which may help them to get an honest living. Contrast with the children the group of men and women, most of them well stricken in years or prematurely aged, weak and tottering, who have just shuffled out of the workhouse yard. These are the resident paupers of the union, and they have received permission to visit their friends and relatives in the neighbourhood, not without a stringent word of warning against mendicancy and intoxication. The true light in which to regard this throng, whose members walk on by twos and threes, is as represent-

* At the census of 1881 the pauper inmates of workhouses, including workhouse infirmaries, the Metropolitan Asylum hospitals and pauper schools were 179,620, against 148,291 in 1871, 125,722 in 1861, and 120,978 in 1851. The proportion of indoor paupers to 100,000 of the population was 676 in 1851, 627 in 1861, 652 in 1871, and 692 in 1881. The increase in the number and proportion of indoor paupers was, the Registrar-General points out, undoubtedly due in great measure to the action of Boards of Guardians in applying the "house test."

ing the failure of our civilisation. They ought to have saved a competence, or to be supported by grateful children, or to be spending the residue of their days in climes where the struggle for existence is less keen than in England. At any rate they ought not to be here. Here, however, they are, and here for some time yet to come they are likely to continue a familiar and, to those who are alive to all that their presence means, a melancholy sight. There is no mistaking their identity. The men are clothed in a low felt hat, jacket and trousers of fustian, or coat and trousers of brown cloth or velveteen, according as it happens to be a week-day or a Sunday; the women are conspicuous by their uniform of coarse dark blue cotton dress, poke bonnet of rough straw, and thin woollen shawl of shepherd's plaid thrown across their shoulders. It is curious to observe how some of those who had appeared the most hopelessly infirm before the workhouse authorities and in the immediate precincts of the building, proceed at a comparatively rapid rate, and assume naturally a more or less agile manner, when these are out of sight. For the most part, however, the paupers of both sexes pick their way slowly, keeping their eyes fixed on the ground, and walking as near the edge of the pavement on the side of the gutter as possible, mumbling inarticulately the while. There is a reason for this. There is not only the chance of their finding an odd coin at their feet—you may see the men trailing their sticks in the gutter itself to recognise by the sound the possible piece of copper or silver—but it will be hard if they cannot find some of the cigar-stumps and shreds of tobacco which they love, and from the enjoyment of which they are not deterred by an admixture of mire and filth.

Of this mixed band of dependents on the law-exacted charity of the ratepayers, some have been gravitating more or less rapidly in the direction of pauperism throughout their whole life. Educated in squalor, in shiftlessness, in sin, accustomed from the first to regard the "house" as the not illegitimate goal of existence, they have never seriously struggled to avoid the necessity of entering it. They have worked fitfully, intermittently, squandering their earnings on periodical debauches at the beerhouse at frequent intervals. Sickness has come, or they have been out of work, or they could not pay their rent, and there were no friends to help them. First they have managed to exist on the dole allowed them weekly by the guardians without residing beneath the workhouse roof. But they have found infirmity grow on them apace. Their sons, daughters, and kindred have closed their doors against them, and the choice has been between the union and absolute homelessness. Not unfrequently it happens that many of the aged inmates of the workhouse have not only seen what are conventionally known as better days, but have been nurtured in comfort and ease, in luxury and wealth.

There are few villages in England in which families are not to be found for whom the workhouse seems a bourne as inevitable as the grave itself. When one enters a cottage, passively surrendered to destitution, and notes how completely men, women, and children have abandoned themselves to the paralysing influences of want; not hopeless alone, but indifferent to any chance of amelioration; sunk in a stupor alike moral and physical; ignorant whence the next mouthful of bread is to come, and, as one may think, nearly as callous on the subject as they are ignorant; when one notes all this, one witnesses the genuine material out of which paupers are made. Again, that drink leads to beggary as well as to crime is a commonplace. It is doubtless an exceedingly frequent cause of pauperism, but there is another cause less specific and definite, but certainly not more rare. In all grades of life one meets with people who, from their infancy upwards, are impotent to help themselves. They are morally invertebrate—without energy, without spirit, without ambition. When such persons are independent of their own exertions for the necessaries of life no evil happens to them. But if a calamity comes, if the enterprise in which the capital on whose interest they live is embarked collapses, they are altogether without resource. They become pensioners on relatives or friends, if they have them, or they disappear from view if they have not. Now this temperament is unhappily far from unknown among the working classes. It is the baleful inheritance of generations, and is perpetuated from father to son. These are the drones of the hive. They are not the exclusive incumbrance of any class; they belong to all alike. The only difference is that in the higher walks of life they are spoken of with contemptuous pity as unlucky, and in the lower as paupers.

Thus, roughly speaking, pauperism consists of two sections, the first composed of those who are paupers by no fault of their own; the second of those who have adopted pauperism as their vocation in life, because Poor Law relief enables them to exist without working. For the former, the Poor Law and the workhouse, if they are to enter it, should be a relief and a refuge, for the latter it ought to be a punishment. Hence the severe regimen of work and discipline enforced in many unions—a regimen perfectly just in the case of sturdy tramps, but painfully harsh in the case of those who have been dragged down by a destiny which they could not resist. Before pauperism became the subject of legislation by the State, there existed in those doles and charities, which represented the munificence of previous generations, the means of relieving the more deserving members of the pauper class. Gradually these endowments became a machinery for disseminating pauperism among the working classes. Hundreds of men and women were drawn from the paths of honest labour by their participation in the almsgiving. It was the development of the habitual

pauper class, those who steadily refused to work for their living, which rendered a Poor Law necessary, and which naturally gave to such a measure much of its disciplinary and punitive character. Provision for the meritorious and helpless poor was a secondary purpose of this Poor Law, and it is the fusion of two purposes in one system which creates an anomaly and a hardship. Our method of dealing with the exceedingly complex aggregate of pauperism can scarcely be satisfactory so long as the workhouse is at once a place of punishment for hardened and wilful paupers, and an almshouse and infirmary for the old, the sick, the infirm, or the victims of sudden and unavoidable calamities. The problem to be solved, and which as yet has defied solution, is how, while not refusing relief which is at once Christian and economical for those who really want and deserve it, we may stamp out the pauperism which is preventable, and, therefore, so far morally criminal.

One of the questions that chiefly engages the attention of Boards of Guardians has been indicated in a previous chapter—whether residence in the workhouse shall or shall not be the condition of relief from the rates.* We will now proceed to examine the reasons that may influence our guardians in the decision at which, on this matter, they may arrive. In other words, we have to confront the whole momentous problem of the expediency or inexpediency of out-door relief. On the first view of the matter it may seem impossible to refuse assent to the proposition that it is at once more merciful and more economical to subsidise a household with a few shillings a week, enabling the family with the aid thus granted to hold itself together, and to keep a roof above its head, than peremptorily to destroy this little centre of domestic life, and to insist upon supporting those who belong to it at the expense of the ratepayers. When Christian charity and worldly wisdom point unmistakably the same way, what need, it may be asked, or what excuse can there be for hesitation? If humanity is a virtue that resides in the hearts of Boards of Guardians, why should they doubt for a moment which of the alternatives—on the one hand the destruction of a home at a large expense, on the other, its preservation at a smaller—they are bound to adopt? But the fact remains that guardians do hesitate very much indeed in this matter, and that there is a gradually growing belief among men that of the alternatives just specified it is on the whole better to choose the more drastic and the less apparently humane. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to contend that there is something in the office of a guardian which poisons the stream of humanity at its source, we must admit that there are probably good and sufficient reasons for a hesitation which is *primâ facie* inexplicable.

If it could be ensured that out-door relief was only given for the

* Chapter iv.

succour of the severest want or of absolute destitution, in cases where destitution and want were, humanly speaking, not preventible—were the results of continued illness, death, or some other desolating calamity —though all grounds of objection to it would not be removed, the system would not be as severely attacked as it now is. When out-door relief is given, it must necessarily be given to the undeserving as well as to the deserving, to those who are beggared by thoughtlessness, improvidence, drunkenness, as well as to those who have fallen victims to relentless and unavoidable fate. Theoretically, the line might be drawn by adequate investigation. Practically, the scrutiny is not only extremely difficult, but is seldom insisted on. There are three authorities concerned in the inquiry: the relieving officer, the medical officer, and the guardians. The first of these is charged with a multiplicity of duties, which prevent him from acquainting himself with the details of the different cases which come before him. "With perhaps several hundred persons," remarks Professor Bryce in a paper read at the Northampton Poor-Law Conference, January, 1876, "receiving weekly payments, and new applications continually arriving, he has no time to inquire particularly into the character or resources of the applicants, what relatives they have, whether they are secretly receiving aid from some other quarter, whether they keep their houses in a healthy state, whether they send their children to school." The doctor is frequently deceived, and, indeed, self-interest may naturally prompt him to be "a little blind." "The guardians, however fervent their zeal, have generally no means of ascertaining for themselves what the circumstances of the pauper are. If one member advocates the claim of some pauper from his own neighbourhood, the rest are disposed to accede, and thus a bad example is often set. Now," continues Professor Bryce, "a close personal scrutiny, such as is given in Elberfield or Boston, is more efficient and more just than the rough-and-ready application of the workhouse test. But that test is far better than such inquiries as our Boards can commonly make."

If we say that there is a total of 800,000 paupers in England and Wales, representing one in thirty-four, or rather less than three per cent. of the population, we shall not be far wrong. Of these 75,000, exclusive of those who are not able-bodied or are insane, are in receipt of out-door relief. The cost represented by the aggregate of the entire pauperism of England and Wales was, in 1883, £8,353,000, that by those who are not in the workhouse but are upon the rates, £975,000. What does this mean for the social and moral welfare of the country? What is the commentary which these facts and figures constitute upon the condition of the wages-earning class?

Before we address ourselves to the general question of poor relief, it will be advisable to say a few more words on the particular depart-

ment of it represented by the out-door system. A guardian, let it be supposed, honestly entertains the opinion that out-door relief has the superior economical advantages which on the first blush of the matter would certainly seem natural to it, and that such relief reaches distress which, were it not for that beneficent agency, would remain uncared for. The cost of each family in the workhouse is, he will compute, ten shillings a week; outside the workhouse the cost is only five shillings. Here, then, he may argue, is a clear gain to the rates, in other words, to the community, of more than fifty per cent. But experience proves this sort of reasoning to be fallacious. The guardian who is opposed to out-door relief in all cases says with unanswerable force that the universal compulsory application of the workhouse test stimulates the poor to exertion and self-help, keeps them clear of the degradation of pauperism, and is as economically effective as it is morally salutary, while experience shows that the offer of relief in the workhouse is refused in nine cases out of ten. On the other hand, he observes, many of the labouring classes to whom the stigma of pauperism is intolerable, when emphasised by residence in the workhouse, are unreluctant and successful applicants for out-door relief. Mr. Doyle, in one of his Poor-Law Reports, draws attention to the fact that of 647 applicants for out-door relief only twenty-seven accepted the condition of workhouse residence, from which it may be inferred that there cannot have been *bonâ fide* distress in all the cases. Not less significant is the circumstance that in Whitechapel weekly out-door relief was reduced in about five years from 2,556 to 209, or that in St. George's-in-the-East the rate has fallen from 1,200 to 85. It is impossible to suppose that these statistics merely indicate a suppression or concealment of pauperism impotent to relieve itself, and that however the figures may have changed, the facts remain the same, the total of misery and suffering just as real and hopeless. The answer to such an assumption is that the cry of suffering hundreds, if ignored by the guardians, would compel a hearing from the public. Of course the reduction of pauperism has not been and cannot be accomplished without special provisions and much expenditure of personal trouble. First, each relieving officer must have, as he has had in the two parishes just named, a district whose limits will enable him to learn whatever can be learned about the applicants for out-door relief. Secondly, the children of widows, who form thirty-three per cent. of the metropolitan paupers, must be taken into district schools, a practice which has been followed out upon a large scale in Whitechapel and St. George's-in-the-East. Thirdly, there must be close and systematic co-operation with such institutions as the Charity Organisation Society, societies for the formation of shoe-black brigades, emigration societies, and other such associations. If it is asked what is to be done when the workhouse

is made the condition of the receipt of relief, and the needy applicants decline it, alleging that they would rather starve in the street, the answer may be given in the words of the Rev. S. A. Barnett, a clergyman of great experience at the East End of London, who says that they will not refuse when they know that without the workhouse no relief is possible. If, again, it is objected that the workhouse test involves a violent and unnatural separation between children and parents, the answer is that the children will be better attended to in the workhouse and district school than in a squalid and destitute home.

Now, if it can be shown, as the facts just enumerated certainly seem to show, that out-door relief has a tendency to act as a premium on pauperism, and as a discouragement to thrift, exertion, and independence of character, it follows that whatever objections can be urged against a Poor Law—against, that is, the relief of the indigent and destitute out of contributions to the State made by those who are comparatively well-to-do—can be urged with additional force against the practice of out-door relief. Another appeal may be made to the experience of the East End of London in support of this view. So long as the East End widows were subsidised by payments from the rates they were able to compete with the seamstresses on terms advantageous in a certain miserable way to themselves, but absolutely ruinous to the professional needlewoman. Since out-door relief has become the rare exception, the wages of the class for whom Hood evoked so precious a stream of sympathy by the "Song of the Shirt," have materially increased. This suggests a law of universal application. Successive reports of the Local Government Board show that "relief in aid of wages" exposes the independent few to an unfair competition in the labour market from those who, relying for part of their support on the poor-rate, can afford to sell their labour at a lower price. Now, as Mr. J. R. Pretyman, in an able and comprehensive treatise on the whole subject, under the title of "Dispauperisation," shows, this is what mathematically, and on *a priori* grounds we might expect. "If wages were left to be regulated wholly by an adjustment between the wants of the wages-giver and the wants of the wages-taker, with no element like that of poor-rates or other taxation to disturb the transaction, wages would naturally be the higher. Agricultural labourers, in particular, cannot fairly expect that their wages should be as high as they might be if there were no poor-rates, since land, out of which both their wages and these rates are paid, can only bear a certain amount of charges, and has to remunerate three parties—the owner, the occupier, and the labourers upon it. Now, the owner on the average obtains no greater interest on the value of his land than from two to three per cent.—that is, not more than he could obtain by investment in the public funds. The occupier

makes no more than the ordinary mercantile profit on the capital and skill which he employs in agriculture; indeed, it would seem that his gains are less than those of successful trade, for seldom in comparison is a rich farmer to be found, and seldom in probates of wills is the estate of a farmer 'sworn under' amounts such as those for which the estates of merchants and other tradesmen weekly figure in the newspapers. There remains a third portion of the proceeds of land, and from this portion come wages and poor-rates. If, therefore, the landowner is to have his moderate interest, and the occupier his fair profit, all that is paid from the land in poor-rates will be in diminution of what is paid in wages. What is plus in rates will be minus in wages."*

Nor is what may be called the *a posteriori* evidence on this point less conclusive. Reliance on the poor-rates operates in much the same way with the working classes as reliance upon the indulgence of a wealthy father does with a spendthrift son. It is very well to dilate upon the humiliation of dependence upon the rates to a day labourer, to urge him to contribute to a friendly society, so that he may be able to walk erect before his fellows with the proud consciousness of being a self-supporting institution. But these arguments are deficient in practical cogency, and the reply of the sturdy son of toil to these counsels is too often virtually identical with the remark which Sir Stafford Northcote once placed in the lips of the habitual pauper, that "there can be no friendly society so good as that into which you put nothing and take out everything"—the rates. Education, political knowledge, and other salutary agencies may modify the views prevailing among the working classes on these matters. At the present moment the possibility of relief from the rates, and especially of outdoor relief, enters as much into the calculation of thousands of English labourers who are about to marry, or, for the matter of that, about to get drunk, as would the possession of a series of good investments in railway stock to the professional man who was making his future arrangements. Anticipatory reliance on the poor-rates acts as a stimulant to illicit intercourse and to early and improvident marriages. Pauperism begets pauperism as surely as crime and drink make criminals and drunkards. A new generation of paupers is thus ever springing up. The influence which reduces the rate of wages continues, the demand for the necessaries of life increases, and their cost is raised. Wages are not only kept down, but the purchasing power of wages is steadily lessened. These facts will sooner or later be clear to the working classes themselves. "I have reason," said Mr. George Houlton, himself a guardian, speaking at a Poor-Law Conference a few years ago, "to believe that some of the best men who have emigrated from North Lincolnshire have done so from a

* "Dispauperisation," pp. 27, 28.

determination to separate themselves from a burden consequent on the administration of the Poor Laws, rather than for any dissatisfaction on the labour question. One of the best men, who had not less than 3s. a day all last winter, left me in the spring, and told me he was determined to leave a country where the law compelled men willing to work to maintain those who could but would not do so." The relations between the poor-rates and labour wages are not now so scandalous as they were before the Poor Law Act of 1834. The report of the Commission which preceded that measure made it abundantly clear, first, that the pressure of the poor-rates threw a great deal of land out of cultivation—in one instance, that of the parish of Lenham, in Kent, the poor-rate on 420 acres of land amounting to £300 a-year; secondly, that the reduction of poor-rates at once leads to the raising of wages. But the principle remains the same now as it was half a century ago.

Facts are only too plentiful to show the systematic manner in which, to the ruin of their own independence and the jeopardy of the finer and tenderer feelings implanted in them by nature, the working-classes trade upon the existing provision for poor-relief. The Rev. George Portal, of Burghclere, Hants, told his hearers at a recent Poor-Law Conference of a particularly acute and audacious tramp, who, on finding himself in a casual ward, at once insisted on having a warm bath. He was refused. "Refer," was his immediate comment on the refusal, "to Consolidated Order So-and-So, and you will see I must have my hot-water bath. Give me your name, please; I shall write to the Local Government Board." If the tramp was within his legal right, no blame, it may be said, can attach to him for enforcing it. But the same astute spirit is often exhibited in an attempt not to enforce the law but to evade it. In a large percentage of applications made by women for out-door relief the women are deserted wives. Now the reports teem with proofs that very often the alleged desertion is an act of collusion between wife and husband. Take the following, which is quoted by Mr. Pretyman from Mr. Wodehouse's report for 1871-2: "At Plymouth, where deserted wives are as a rule given out-relief, one of the relieving officers informed me that he had found cases in which a wife had for several weeks been receiving relief while her husband had never been out of town, and many other cases in which the wife, whilst in receipt of relief, has been receiving remittances from her husband. Such remittances are very easily made without the knowledge of the relieving officer." The door is open to a host of frauds of this description, and lax administration constitutes a direct inducement not only to unthrift and idleness, but to deceit, trickery, and imposture. It is an equally repulsive and indisputable feature in the system that it weakens the ties of natural duty, destroys the sense of

mutual responsibility among the members of a common household, at the same time that it degrades, brutalises, and hardens. "The burden," says Dr. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, at the North Midland Poor-Law Conference, held in 1875, "of maintaining an aged parent or a sick parent is resented by children, who return to the supplication for help, the answer, 'Go upon the rates.'" Dr. Magee might have added, what the Rev. S. A. Barnett subsequently pointed out, that nowhere is filial affection stronger than among Dr. Magee's countrymen, in Ireland, where relief is scarce. Mr. Pretyman cites another illustration of this spirit from the Report of the Poor-Law Inspectors to the Local Government Board for 1874-5 :—

"'On the day on which I attended a meeting of the guardians of the West Firle Union, an application was made under the following circumstances. The family desiring relief consisted of the following: an old man, aged 67, confessedly past work; his wife, ten years younger, earned 4s. a week; an unmarried son, aged 23, living with his parents and earning 13s. 6d. a week; another son, aged 17, also living in the (parents') house, and earning 10s. a week; two children under eight years of age. It appeared to me,' continues the Inspector, 'to be a case in which the workhouse ought to be offered, and that in the case of its being accepted, legal proceedings ought to have been taken against the eldest son. The guardians, however, granted a weekly allowance of 2s. and two gallons of flour. I was surprised to find that in several other unions the guardians informed me that if a similar case was brought before them, they would not be unwilling to grant out-relief.' Such is the Inspector's statement; upon which it may be observed that had legal proceedings been taken against the eldest son, who was living with his parents, and receiving 13s. 6d. a week, he might have defeated the purpose of those proceedings by marrying, and pleading his inability to aid in the maintenance of his parents." *

To a similar effect is the testimony of Canon Willes. "I know that in many cases people have looked with astonishment, as if they were injured, by being called upon to support those who had given them birth. It was brought to my notice the other day that in one of our large manufacturing towns there is actually an association formed for bringing about a repeal of the law which 'most unjustly and cruelly,' as they allege, calls upon children to support their parents." The Scotch Poor Law was introduced in 1845. How has it worked? "A peasantry," says Mr. McNeil Caird, "who in my recollection were sensitive in the highest degree that any of their kindred had received parish relief, now too often claim it with eagerness if given in money, though they still look upon the poor-house as degrading."

* "Dispauperisation," pp. 48, 49.

"The change," says a former overseer of an East London parish, "that is made in the character and habits of the poor by once receiving parochial relief is quite remarkable. They are demoralised ever afterwards." Now it would seem as if this demoralisation had a tendency to be hereditary. "The regular applicants for relief are generally of one family. The disease is handed down from father to son. . . . . Whether in work or out of work, when they once become paupers, it can only be by a sort of miracle that they can be broken off."

The tendency, then, of the present Poor Law, both in its actual operation, and in the opinion of experienced judges, is the reverse of beneficial. It is inevitable, but it is inevitable as an evil, not as a good. On the other hand, there are some who argue that the Poor Law has distinct social and political advantages. "We believe," writes the *Spectator*, for instance, "that the secret of the comparative placability of the English peasantry, and the little success that socialism of any formidable type has attained among them, is that the Poor Law has kept absolute starvation at least from the door of the poorest class, and has prevented the kind of scenes and the kind of sufferings which make the life of the poor one long dread of famine, and transform humility into hate." It is admitted by those who think in this way that the Poor Law is a concession to socialistic feeling, but it is urged that its influence in bridging over the gulf that separates class from class, and in creating a mutual sentiment of charity and good will, must more than neutralise any of the politically perilous views which it may seem to sanction. But how if for the mechanical charity of the State there should be substituted the living charity of the individual? How if in the place of compulsory relief—in other words, of contributions which, in the shape of rates, cause the moderately well-to-do to divest themselves of any responsibility for the poor—there could be an organised system of voluntary assistance? With the great bulk of the people it cannot be supposed that a Poor Law is an effective instrument for eliciting a sentiment of Christian charity and benevolence. Its influence, indeed, upon the human mind will at best be found like that of a snow house, which sometimes succeeds in raising the temperature up to zero. The ordinary British ratepayer is certainly disposed to feel that he compounds for the charity of primitive times by a lump sum under the heading of rates.

But whether the principle of a Poor Law be inherently mischievous, as most, or inherently salutary, as a very few believe, it is not likely that we shall hear of any proposal for its abolition, or that we shall find the imperial legislature issuing any absolute prohibition of the system of out-door relief. As regards the latter, there is an overwhelming preponderance of actual testimony and of skilled opinion against it. Its discontinuance has, wherever it has been attempted,

been followed by an immense decrease in the annual rate of pauperism, and in process of time there does not seem any reason why, assuming that the remedial agencies of pauperism are properly developed, out-door relief should not become a dead letter. At present its summary stoppage would involve a serious blow to popular feeling in every district, and, for a reason suggested by Mr. Stansfeld, might even prove inexpedient. "Once," says this gentleman, "make the workhouse test universal, and you will have the masses accepting it as a matter of course. It is only the circumstance that under the existing system there is a distinction between kinds of pauperism, making the 'house' the badge of the most hopeless pauperism, which causes so many to shun it and keep out of it." As matters are, so runs Mr. Stansfeld's argument, "people make an attempt to get out-door relief. If they succeed, well and good; if they fail, they hesitate before they find an asylum in the 'house,'" for the simple reason that such an asylum is an acceptance of an alternative which the world stigmatises as humiliating. It will be seen that this opinion of Mr. Stansfeld presupposes that the Poor Law is satisfactorily and strictly administered by the guardians. It is the lax administration of the law, the negligence of the guardians themselves and their officers, which aggravates all the costs of out-door relief. It is noticeable that some of the most uncompromising opponents of out-door relief, if not converted by the success of the Elberfield experiment to a belief in its efficacy, have confessed that the workhouse test can, where there is a rigid system of personal supervision and the merits of every case are thoroughly sifted, be dispensed with, very greatly to the public gain.

The two chief antidotes to pauperism are the organisation of voluntary help and the organisation of thrift. The former movement has resulted in the establishment of *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* abroad, in France, Germany, and in other countries where no Poor Law exists. The latter is embodied in England in the various friendly and provident societies. The one represents the principle of help and dependence; the other, that of self-help and independence. So far as the Continental *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* are concerned, their action seems to be identical with that of the Poor Law itself. If the Poor Law discourages thrift, and is not favourable to provident societies, so also are the *Bureaux*. "Though provident societies," writes Sir Henry Barron, the English Secretary of Legation at Brussels, "are making progress in Belgium, it is found very difficult to induce Belgian workmen to lay by a sum for the future, so long as the *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* offers a certain provision for old age." "It is found," we read in the consular reports from Copenhagen, "that pauperism increases in proportion to funds provided for its relief, and the richest provinces have most paupers."

It is calculated that the friendly societies save the ratepayers of the

United Kingdom at least two million pounds sterling a year. These friendly societies are the clubs of the villages, having their periodical audits and their annual festivals. They are to the English working classes in town and country what life and accidental assurance societies are to the middle class. But they are more than this. In addition to the occasional assurance of annuities for life, or payment of a lump sum at death, they guarantee also the payment of a fixed periodical sum in illness. A new element thus enters into the calculation of the actuaries who regulate the proportion of premium to policy. Not only the chances of death, but of disease or mishap incapacitating for work, have to be estimated, and unless the rates of contributions are based upon sound calculation the society is doomed to insolvency. It is a further necessity that the funds of these associations should be judiciously and remuneratively invested. The great life assurance societies of London would not be so prosperous as some of them are if their money was put out in the Post Office Savings Bank at 2½ per cent., or even in Consols at 3. Every halfpenny must in fact be productive. As a check upon such expenditure or investment, there must be periodical valuation and examination by an actuary into the position of the society. The Friendly Societies Act of 1875 has made this valuation obligatory every five years. The same measure has also empowered the Government to appoint public accountants and actuaries to audit accounts, as well as to value the assets of these societies. Unfortunately they are allowed to select their own auditors and valuers, and this privilege may be, and sometimes is, so exercised as to rob the quinquennial valuation of its virtue.

The late Mr. Macdonald, the first special parliamentary representative of the wages-earning class, gave it as his opinion that "friendly societies may be of great use in teaching the people to dispense with the Poor Law." It is not long ago that some Somersetshire coal-miners, when urged to join a club, refused because they "preferred the parish pay." If the alternative of membership of a friendly society had not been parish pay, but the "house," there is little doubt which would have been selected, and that the ratepayers would have been spared the burden which the west-country colliers determined deliberately to impose on them. Just as it is the business of the State to offer every inducement it can, without undue interference with individual freedom, to the working classes to join these societies, and thus at the same time that it inculcates the virtue of prudence, to do what will almost certainly have the effect of reducing the pressure of the rates, so may the employers of labour be expected to co-operate in this matter with the State. In Germany insurance against sickness is compulsory on all persons employed in factories, mines, and the like, the workpeople paying two-thirds and the employer one-third of the premiums, while the employer is responsible for the whole. In

Austria large employers are required to create an assistance fund for their workmen, and in England many employers have done this of their own accord. The London and South-Western Railway Company has established a friendly society to give relief in cases of sickness or death which counts several thousand members. The same principle may be seen actively recognised and operative in certain departments of professional life. There are pension funds for the Indian military and civil services, to which it is compulsory to contribute. Why, then, it may be asked, should it not be compulsory for the working classes to contribute to friendly societies? Why should not the employer make membership of one of these associations a condition of entering his service? In the first place, no employer would consent to do anything of the kind. If he were to pledge himself to such a principle, or to act on it, he would infallibly find that he was left in the lurch, and caused serious loss and inconvenience at some critical stage in the competition for labour. In the second place, were the State to insist upon such a condition as has been suggested, it would manifestly be necessary also for the State to guarantee the solvency of the society. In the third place, if the State were to carry its prerogatives thus far, it would be an encroachment upon the sensitive spirit of English liberty but little acceptable to the English character, and calculated to promote an attitude of passive dependence on the State, entirely antagonistic to the idea of self-help.

It has before now been suggested that the responsibility of protecting the members of friendly societies should rest with the guardians of the poor. The proposal is open to the same objection as that of the State guarantee, and to additional objections also. It is true that to some extent the purpose, and to a great extent the effect, of these associations is to make their members independent of the rates. But it is quite certain that the patronage of the Poor Law would deter many working men with an independent spirit from joining them, and would degrade them to the resort of a pauperised residuum.

The attitude of the State towards friendly societies, indeed, supplies a curious exception to that active interference which has become the rule in many other cases of scarcely greater moment and urgency. During nearly a century Parliament has been more or less constantly making and unmaking laws about them, and has on the whole passed or repealed upwards of a score of measures directly affecting their constitution and interests. In the same period, too, their condition and prospects have been the frequent subjects of public investigation, and have from time to time engaged the attention of no fewer than five select committees—four of the House of Commons and one of the House of Lords—and of a Royal Commission whose researches were prosecuted continuously from 1870 to 1874, and whose voluminous reports, occupying over a dozen large Blue Books, furnished

the foundation for the consolidating and amending statutes of 1875 and 1876. But in spite of all this inquiry and legislation, the actual status of friendly societies has been practically very little changed.

It is probable that the modern friendly societies are the descendants, as well as the representatives, of the mediæval guilds. The appearance of the one, and the disappearance of the other, may both be referred to the earlier half of the seventeenth century. The records of the last guild can be traced down to 1628, and the records of the first friendly society can be traced up to 1634.* Of existing friendly societies there are still some which were established close on two hundred years ago, while there are many, including the great and widespreading organisations of the Oddfellows and the Foresters, which are a good deal more than a hundred years old. Originating entirely in voluntary effort, and founded on the primary civil right of private association for lawful purposes, it is only accidentally, so to speak, that they have been made the objects of statutory regulation and official supervision. Hence the essentially persuasive nature of the treatment which they have for the most part experienced at the hands of the Legislature, and the deliberately permissive character of the administrative *régime* which has been devised for their welfare, and is now in operation on their behalf. As long ago as 1793 their antecedent legality and prospective advantages were formally recognised in what is commonly called "Rose's Act," and their protection and encouragement were declared to be matters of national concern and solicitude.† Under that statute

* See Brabrooke's "Law relating to Friendly Societies."

† The prejudices against which the friendly societies had to contend in the earlier period of their history are expressed with his usual vigour by William Cobbett, in one of his papers in *Twopenny Trash*. It is entitled, "To the Labourers—On the Folly of their putting their money into Clubs." "It is the general practice of those who invent something to delude and cheat other people," Cobbett says, "to give a good name to the thing which they invent, and accordingly those who have invented this scheme for inducing you to give up your earnings to prevent them from paying poor-rates have christened these clubs 'Benefit Clubs,' instead of calling them, as they ought to have done, clubs to wheedle money out of the hard-earned pence of the working people, in order to spare the purses of the landowners, big farmers, and other rich men." He adds that "every penny that a labouring man pays into these clubs is a penny given to the rich, and besides that it is a penny given to uphold Sturges Bourne's bills, and to pay hired overseers, and, in short, to pay for causing himself and his neighbours to be put into harness and to be made to draw carts and waggons like beasts of burden. If you could have any doubt in your minds about the tendency of these clubs you would only have to look at the persons who are most eager to promote such clubs, and to uphold them and perpetuate them. There was a fellow, some years ago, a Scotch fellow, named Old George Rose, who had been a purser in the navy, who was a famous tool of the famous Mr. Pitt. From a purser he became a right honourable Privy Councillor; he received for many years not less than ten thousand pounds a year of the public money; he got a sinecure place settled upon him for life of three thousand pounds a year, and settled upon his son, George Rose, for his life also. This man became, about forty years ago, the great promoter of benefit clubs. He lived at Cufnells, in the New Forest, in Hampshire. He was himself a member of a club there; he used punctually to pay his pennies; he used to dine with the club, and thus he drew in, thus this cunning Scotchman humbugged all

any number of persons were empowered to join together for the purpose of providing, by means of contribution or subscription, a fund for their mutual relief and maintenance in sickness and old age, or in the event of their decease, for the succour and support of their widows and families. Authority was given to a committee of every such association to frame rules for its governance, which, after they had been accepted by a majority of the members, were submitted to the magistrates in quarter sessions, by whom, if they were found to be conformable to the law of the land and the true intent and meaning of the Act, they were confirmed, and after being enrolled by the clerk of the peace, became binding on the whole body of contributors or subscribers. On this basis the process of establishing and registering friendly societies continued, with little or no material alteration, until 1829, when the first step was taken by Parliament towards the introduction of a system of central control, in the place of the system of local control to which they had been originally subjected. By a statute of the previous year it had been provided that the rules of savings banks, which since 1817 had been legislatively dealt with on terms similar to those applicable to the rules of friendly societies, should, before they were confirmed by quarter sessions and enrolled by the clerks of the peace, be certified by a barrister appointed for the purpose by the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt. It was now provided that the rules of friendly societies should be authenticated in the same way and by the same official. But they had still in the last resort to be confirmed by the magistrates and enrolled by the clerks of the peace, and if they were sworn to as copies of others already on record they might be so confirmed and enrolled, despite the disallowance of the barrister. A second approach to centralisation was made in 1834 by an Act which virtually reduced the authority of the quarter sessions to a mere matter of form. Henceforth the magistrates were required to confirm without motion all rules sanctioned by the barrister, these rules becoming valid in virtue of his certificate alone, and their alleged identity with the old rules being a question for his decision. In 1846 the last remains of the system of local control instituted in 1793 were swept away. By an Act passed in that year the certifying barrister at the National Debt Office was transformed into the Registrar of Friendly Societies, and his jurisdiction was definitively substituted for the earlier jurisdiction of the magistrates in quarter sessions and the clerks of the peace. In the meantime—namely, in 1835 and 1836—Parliament had placed loan societies and building societies under his superintendence, and

the poor chopsticks about that country, taking good care never to tell them that his carriages and horses and fine park and deer, all came out of their labour." The Savings' Banks, "invented by that same cunning Scotchman, Old George Rose," are attacked with equal acerbity by Cobbett in the same paper. *Twopenny Trash*, No. 7, January 1st, 1832, Vol. II., pp. 154—161.

afterwards—in 1852 and 1871—extended it to co-operative associations and trade unions. In 1861 the Registrar was invested with important administrative and judicial functions in relation to the Post Office Savings Banks and the system of Government assurance and annuities; and, finally, by various legislative provisions of 1875 and 1876, the department over which he presides was rendered co-extensive with the whole framework of thrift and providence among the humbler classes of the community, in so far as it is legally constituted and officially acknowledged. In all, the Chief Registrar, as he has been designated since 1875, aided by an Assistant Registrar for each of the three kingdoms, and an actuary has, at the Central Registry Office in Westminster, to transact the public business of about eighteen thousand registered societies of one kind or another, with more than six millions of members, and nearly £68,000,000 of funds. Nor do these figures afford any adequate conception of the extent to which the principle and practice of friendly and industrial association have spread and are spreading throughout the country. It is estimated that the number of unregistered societies largely exceeds the number of registered societies, although the registered societies comprise all the wealthier and more important organisations. Ten years ago the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies came to the conclusion that of friendly societies properly so called only, irrespective of such other societies as are loosely and popularly classified with them, there were in England alone, including both the registered and unregistered, not fewer than thirty-two thousand, with over four millions of members, and four millions of persons more who were beneficially interested in the funds at their command, which funds amounted to not less than £11,000,000. It should, however, be remembered that a considerable proportion of the members of friendly societies, whether registered or unregistered, are members of two, or even of several, of them at the same time. It is certain, for example, that a great number of co-operators are trade unionists, and that a great number of both co-operators and trade unionists are Oddfellows or Foresters as well, and when they are enumerated in returns or allowed for in estimates, it follows that they are counted twice, or it may be oftener. We may assume that substantial deductions should be made on this score from the nominal strength of all the principal varieties of association, especially if savings banks and building societies are taken into consideration. But after every reasonable allowance the actual residue remains sufficiently formidable, and can hardly fall short, at any rate, of the ascertained membership of the registered societies.

Under these circumstances the general soundness or unsoundness of friendly societies becomes a question of deep and pressing importance. When they originally received the sanction of Parliament no

steps whatever were taken for securing their solvency by the establishment of any rational proportion between the payments they demanded and the benefits they promised to confer. The consequence was that friendly societies were started in all directions, which, predestined from their beginning to bankruptcy, were prolific sources of loss and suffering to those who were induced to invest their money in them. But although the statute of 1793 was on several occasions amended and enlarged in other ways, it was not until 1819 that the Legislature insisted on the introduction of some sort of guarantee of the probable financial sufficiency of the associations to which it applied. An Act was then passed which required the magistrates in quarter sessions to withhold their confirmation from all rules relating to the payments and benefits of friendly societies unless they were such as had been approved as fit and proper by at least "two persons known to be professional actuaries or skilled in calculation." As a matter of fact, however, no real effect was produced by this well-meant provision. Actuarial science was still in its infancy, and the statistics requisite for the efficient treatment of the risks to be computed were not in existence. Even the profession of an actuary remained undefined with any approach to precision, and the "other persons skilled in calculation," on whose judgment the magistrates were in the habit of relying, were usually "petty schoolmasters and accountants." By the Act of 1829 the law of friendly societies was entirely recast, and the magistrates themselves were directed to ascertain that any scale of payments and benefits which they confirmed "might be adopted with safety to all persons concerned." In addition to this every registered association was required to render an annual account to its members of its funds, receipts, and expenditure, and to make quinquennial returns of its sickness and mortality to the clerks of the peace, by whom they were transmitted to the Secretary of State to be laid before Parliament.* By the Act of 1846 a further change was made, and the Registrar of Friendly Societies was forbidden to sanction any rules as to payments and benefits until they had been certified by the actuary of the National Debt Office, or by a person who had been for five years at least an actuary to some insurance company in London, Edinburgh, or Dublin. In 1850 a consolidating and amending Act was passed by which an attempt was made to distribute recognised friendly societies into two classes, first

* The provision as to quinquennial returns of sickness and mortality has been introduced into all the consolidating and amending Acts on friendly societies since passed. In 1881 the actuary at the Central Registry Office reported that the statistics already supplied were sufficient, and the societies were relieved from the duty of making the returns by Parliament in 1882. I understand that an enormous number of these quinquennial returns, containing some millions of facts, are now being utilised by Mr. Sutton, the official actuary, in the preparation of model tables of payments and benefits.

"certified societies," of which the rules and tables had been approved by an actuary or supplied by the Registrar; and, secondly, "registered societies," of which the rules and tables had not been so approved or supplied. But after a trial of five years, the distinction between certified and registered societies was abolished by another consolidating and amending Act, passed in 1855, under which the leading elements of the law of friendly societies assumed the shape which they retained until they were once more consolidated and amended by the Acts of 1875 and 1876. On each of these occasions the certificate of an actuary was reserved as a condition precedent to the registration of societies undertaking to grant fixed annuities. But with this exception, every expedient formerly resorted to for ascertaining the probable solvency of these institutions by official means has been abandoned. It is no doubt the duty of the Central Registry Office to prepare and circulate model rules and tables for the instruction and guidance of those concerned in their foundation and management. But there is no way in which the adoption of these, either in whole or in part, can be enforced. It is, moreover, entirely within the discretion of any society whether it will or will not be registered. All that the State does is to offer certain advantages, chiefly with regard to the holding, investment, and transmission of their property, to registered societies and their members which it denies to unregistered societies and their members. And that these are not unappreciated is evidenced by the fact that between 1876 and 1882, the first and last years to which the published reports of the Chief Registrar refer, nearly three thousand additional societies, representing a membership of almost two millions, and funds to the amount of more than £39,000,000, appear to have made returns. Very ample opportunities also are now afforded to the members of registered societies for their own protection against mismanagement or fraud on the part of their officers. The officers of every registered society are bound to keep the members fully informed of its affairs and of their rights and obligations in relation to it and them. Annual returns of receipts and expenditure, and quinquennial valuations of assets and liabilities must be made and forwarded to the Central Registry Office, where they are examined and preserved. On the application of a comparatively small proportion of the members of a registered society, the Chief Registrar may appoint an inspector to inquire into and report on its condition, or may convene a general meeting to consider and determine all matters touching its interests. On the same terms it may be dissolved and its funds distributed if it is proved that it is unable to meet existing claims against it, or that the rates of payment are insufficient to cover the benefits assured. But in all these cases the initiative must be taken from among the members themselves, of whom the requisite number may be, and often are, too ignorant or too careless to exercise the

powers reserved to them, and in that event there is no independent authority whatever for the correction of even the gravest and most obvious abuses.

Within the last few months the results of the first series of quinquennial valuations under the new system of valuation have been published.* The assets and liabilities of between six and seven thousand societies have been subjected to actuarial comparison, and the facts arrived at in the process are certainly striking if not altogether unexpected. About fifteen hundred of the valuations show a surplus amounting in the aggregate to some £885,000, while the other five thousand and odd valuations exhibit a total deficiency of upwards of £5,000,000. Hence it appears that of the whole number of societies valued, five-sixths are in a state of insolvency owing to a want of balance in their payments and benefits. Taking the solvent and insolvent societies together, their existing capital falls short by over one-half of what it ought to be, which is equivalent to an increase in their payments of nearly nineteen per cent., or to a reduction in their benefits of nearly thirteen per cent. But if the insolvent societies alone are considered, their funds are insufficient by no less than a hundred and eighteen per cent., and it would require an increase of about thirty-two per cent. in their payments, or a reduction of about twenty-one per cent. in their benefits, to make them solvent. It is only natural that such a condition of affairs should give occasion to uneasiness, and even to alarm, in many quarters. Canon Blackley, a conspicuous advocate of the interests of the working classes, affirms that "behind the societies which have for the most part availed themselves of the services of skilled actuaries to make their valuations, there are numbers of registered societies which have employed utterly incompetent men who have given them favourable reports or false bases, and that behind all these again there are literally numberless other societies so deliberately and consciously in the minds of their promoters fraudulent and rotten, that they have never dared to register them at all, and so are under no consequent compulsion to make valuations." "Hence some idea may be formed," he adds, "of the widespread misery which must result to five-sixths of our provident poor as one after another all these unsound societies collapse, and leave their deluded dupes in the end to the miserable workhouse dole they struggled all their lives to be independent of, and to a treatment in their disappointed old age in no respect better than is assured by the compulsory national insurance of the Poor Law to the most drunken, vicious, depraved, inveterate ruffian who ever refused to lay by a shilling for himself, or ever helped to populate, corrupt, and

* The valuations of branches of the "affiliated societies," such as the Oddfellows, Foresters, Druids, and the rest, registered prior to 1881, are not included in the present report, and have yet to make their appearance.

putrefy a slum."* As bearing on this forecast, however, it is well that we should recall some evidence which appears very much to the point, preserved in the Chief Registrar's Annual Report on Friendly Societies for two or three years ago. It is admitted on all sides, we believe, that the financial position of these associations is at any rate no worse now than it was formerly, and consequently that there is no greater probability of a larger proportion of them coming to grief in the future than in the past. It is, therefore, encouraging to find from a couple of special returns, the one for 1867 and the other for 1881, published in the Report to which reference is made, that the number of paupers in the Unions of England and Wales who had been members of friendly societies was absolutely less at the later than at the earlier date. Of such paupers there were, in 1867, 4,015, and in 1881 3,913—not a great difference in itself, but significant enough when the growth of the population and the multiplication of friendly societies in the interval are allowed for. At the same time it is to be observed that the diminution in the number of paupers of all kinds, if those receiving out-door as well as those receiving in-door relief are taken into account, was very much more considerable.

It ought also to be borne in mind that in relation to friendly societies, actuarial insolvency and commercial insolvency are, in truth, altogether different things. Commercial insolvency in their case would imply that their actual resources were inadequate to meet the actual demands made on them. In other words, it would mean that they were unable to pay their debts, and were to all intents and purposes bankrupt. But their actuarial insolvency implies nothing of the kind. What it means is, that certain principles of computation being conceded, the estimated present value of their existing funds and future contributions amounts to less than the estimated present value of the existing and future claims they have undertaken to satisfy. If, for example, in any particular society all the members were to pay down at once the whole of the contributions they were likely ever to pay to it, and all the members were to claim at once the whole of the benefits they were likely ever to claim from it, and the first plus its existing capital were insufficient to discharge the second plus its other liabilities, the society would be actuarially insolvent. But it would not be, and might never become, commercially insolvent. Its experience might well be an example of those exceptionally favourable experiences which are balanced against exceptionally unfavourable experiences when an average of experience is arrived at. In the recent quinquennial valuations there is reason to believe that the tables almost invariably used were what are known as "Ratcliffe's Experiences," which embody the results of the sickness and mortality experiences of the Manchester

* "The Robbery of Poor Men's Providence."—*Times*, Jan. 7th, 1884.

Unity of Oddfellows from 1865 to 1870. The official valuers are prohibited from employing any others, and it is stated that the great majority of the unofficial valuers also employed them, while it is observed by the Actuary to the Central Registry Office, in a memorandum attached to the Report on the Valuations, that in "no less than 70 per cent." of them "there is nothing to show that the valuer has made the slightest endeavour to ascertain how far the tables used require, judging from the past experience of the society, to be modified to give a probably more correct anticipation of the society's future experience." And he subjoins the by no means superfluous caution, that "it should never be forgotten that the statistics upon which sick-pay tables are based are nearly always derived from the aggregate experience of societies differing widely in their constitution and general surroundings, and that although the tables might perhaps be used without modification, were all the societies massed into one for valuation purposes, yet this would be of little service to any particular society." We have here, probably, the explanation of the singular circumstance that a number of the so-called insolvent societies have been practically in the full enjoyment of all the attributes of solvency, not merely for thirty or forty years, but for as many as fifty, seventy, or even a hundred years and more. With actuarial deficits, which if they had been commercial deficits would have necessitated their immediate dissolution, they have continued regularly and without apparent inconvenience to discharge their liabilities and meet the claims of their members for several generations; and this is as much, we should imagine, as could reasonably have been expected from them had their accounts exhibited a surplus instead of a deficiency.* It is, too, always within the power of a friendly society to establish its solvency by a timely readjustment of its scale of payments and benefits. In the case of the confederated or affiliated orders, such as the Oddfellows or the Foresters, again, the expedient of a general levy is constantly in reserve for the ready and effectual adjustment of their accounts. When the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows instituted an inquiry into their affairs thirteen or fourteen years ago, it was discovered that they were actuarially deficient to the amount of about a million and a third. They faced their difficulties with resolution and promptitude, and most of the associations of their connection are now

* The Loyal Regis Lodge of Oddfellows, at Tetrenhall, in Staffordshire, established in 1826, has 41 members and a deficiency of £1,050. The Friendly Society of Hastings, in Sussex, established in 1815, has 287 members and a deficiency of £4,508. The Friendly Society of Kingsley, in Staffordshire, established in 1765, has 173 members and a deficiency of £1,088. If these, and many other societies like them, had really been bankrupt they must have come to an end long ago. But they still go on, and go on unreformed, after fifty-four, sixty-five, and a hundred and twelve years of experience. And almost any number of illustrations of the distinction between actuarial and commercial insolvency might be extracted from the Chief Registrar's summary of the Valuations, 1875—1880.

actuarially as well as commercially solvent.* How far a similar course would be possible for smaller, poorer, and less informed bodies it is not, of course, easy to determine. But if an intelligent interest in the question is once aroused among the multitude who are pecuniarily concerned in the soundness of our friendly societies, it may be fairly conjectured that they will not long delay the initiation and consummation of such reforms as they may be convinced are necessary for their safety. Canon Blackley, and many who think with him, seem to believe that it is hopeless to expect the general mass of the members of friendly societies to do anything for themselves. His proposal, therefore, is that it should be made unlawful to establish any friendly society for the future without actuarial certification of its scale of payments and benefits, leaving all existing societies as they are at present.† The result of an enactment to this effect would, he maintains, be that the bad societies would in due course die out, and only the good ones, either now at work or to be started under the new system, would ultimately occupy the field. Other reformers—among them Mr. Edwards, a very competent authority—are desirous of still more extensive intervention on the part of the State, and would be satisfied with nothing short of, first, the compulsory registration of all societies; secondly, the compulsory adoption by them of a fixed scale of payments and benefits; thirdly, their periodical audit and valuation by a Government official; and fourthly, the immediate winding up of all societies shown to be in a really insolvent condition.‡ And it must be admitted that there is much to be said in favour of some better provision than has hitherto been forthcoming for the protection of the ignorant and unwary. These societies, it should be remembered, afford, with the exception of the Post Office Savings Bank, almost the only opportunities for the investment of capital which the working man has. They give him an income in sickness, and they give his widow enough to start her on a new way of life at his death. If the State offered the working man an alternative investment, it would be a different matter. The only alternative that it does offer is Poor-Law relief. Thus the State steps in with an inducement to pauperism, but not, as it would do if it indirectly put down rotten friendly societies, with an inducement to thrift. In France there have long existed facilities for the investment of the smallest sums in public securities or land. In England the initiatory steps to popular investment in the

* The quinquennial valuation made in the year 1884, shows an actuarial deficiency in the accounts of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows to the amount of £627,820. A letter read at the annual meeting of the society at Reading in June, from Mr. Lyulph Stanley, and recorded on the minutes, recommends a resort to a "general levy of one shilling per head per annum as a subsidy in aid of local increased contributions in the older lodges and to keep alive the older districts, whose dearly bought experience has educated the younger lodges and members."

† "The Juggernaut of Poor Men's Providence," *Fortnightly Review*, March, 1884.

‡ The "History, Functions, and Prospects of Friendly Societies," *Contemporary Review*, January, 1877.

funds are a novelty. Since 1881 a Post Office depositor has been enabled to invest a sum (not being less than £10) in the Consolidated, Reduced, or New Three per Cent. Bank annuities. On his application, the authorities purchase or subsequently sell the stock for him at the average price certified for the day, an investment certificate being furnished to the purchaser. In country districts the inducements to thrift are diminished by the fact that the working man or woman who has a shilling or two to put by often has to go three or four miles before a Post Office Savings Bank can be found, although in this direction also the enactment permitting savings by means of penny stamps affixed to a form should afford some sensible relief. If the State declined to interfere generally in matters relating to the personal welfare of the working man, the objection of successive Governments to compel the registration of friendly societies would be intelligible. Such compulsion, be it said, would not involve any more responsibility than the State has already taken, if responsibility it can be called, in the case of life insurance societies, which, when they are starting for the first time, it requires shall deposit £20,000 before business can be legally carried on. Again, as a matter of fact the State does, in these matters, habitually interfere. It interferes to prevent a man from employing his wife and children to support him by factory labour; it compels him to send his children to school; it places certain restrictions on the sale of intoxicating liquors, of drugs and poisons, on the adulteration of food. On what ground, then, can it be denied that the State would be justified in restricting the opportunities which dishonest speculators now have of cheating the working man, or how can it be said that the same guarantee which, by insisting on the deposit above-named, the State exacts from life insurance societies in the interests of the middle classes, it should not exact also in the interests of the lowest class of all?

The popularity of the Penny Bank seems to show how real is the anxiety of the working classes to save, and how genuine is the want which it supplies. In the case of one of these institutions the number of deposits during a single year increased by 71,802, the amount deposited by £187,911. Forty-four additions were made to the number of branches, and in some instances applications for branches had to be refused, in consequence of the applicants living beyond the limits fixed by the articles of the association. How minute in its sums, and how large in its extent was the business done, may be seen from the fact that in twelve months 791,873 deposits were made, their aggregate reaching a total of £650,714. Each depositor thus must have saved on the average something less than a sovereign, and it can scarcely be doubted that but for this bank these small amounts would have found their way to the public-house till.

It cannot be seriously disputed that the working classes are now a great deal better off than they ever were before. As Mr. Giffen has

recently demonstrated by detailed statistical argument, their condition is at present almost immeasurably superior in every way to what it was half a century ago.* It has been urged, indeed, that the point of departure which Mr. Giffen has selected for the purpose of his comparison is unduly favourable to the conclusions which he has undertaken to enforce. It is affirmed that fifty years back the country was passing through an exceptional period of industrial depression and economical trial. An unwise and oppressive system of taxation cramped the energies of the people, and hampered trade in all directions. Pauperism had attained to such proportions that the pressure of the poor-rates was driving land out of cultivation in every part of the kingdom. In the manufacturing districts misery and discontent prevailed to an unprecedented degree, and were just giving birth to the Anti-Corn-Law League as they had already given birth to the Chartist movement and its formidable train of outrages and insurrections. It is contended, in short, that half a century ago the condition of the working classes was as bad as it could be, and since it could not become worse, it could only remain as it was or become better. But Mr. Giffen foresaw the objections likely to be raised against him on such grounds as these, and has replied to them by anticipation. "If," he says, "we had commenced about twenty to twenty-five years ago we should also have been able to show a very great improvement since that time, while at that date also, as compared with an earlier period, a great improvement would have been apparent." But, as he observes, "it would have complicated the figures too much to introduce intermediate dates," and he has therefore omitted them. What he has endeavoured to prove, and has succeeded in proving, is that there has been a steady and continuous advance in prosperity among the mass of the population, and he has failed to mark each successive stage of it, because it would have overloaded and not because it would have weakened his case.

It is at all events certain from the records of the Board of Trade that there has been during the last half century, to use Mr. Giffen's words, "an enormous apparent rise in money wages." It has been a rise, in the great majority of instances, of from 50 to 100 per cent., in a few of only 20 per cent., and in some of more than 100 per cent. But all round the rise has exceeded 70 per cent.; and this, in Mr. Giffen's opinion, "understates the real extent of the change which has taken place." Moreover, while money wages have been increasing the hours of labour have been decreasing. It is difficult to ascertain the exact reduction which has been made in them. But Mr. Giffen's estimate is that it has been, as a rule, about 20 per cent., and it has been at least 20 per cent. in the textile, engineer-

* *The Progress of the Working Classes in the Last Half Century.* By Robert Giffen, Esq., LL.D., President of the Statistical Society, London, 1884.

ing, and house-building trades, in which the bulk of the industrial as distinguished from the agricultural community are employed,* Hence the working classes are now receiving from 50 to 100 per cent. more wages for 20 per cent. less work than they were half a century ago; or, put differently, have gained in fifty years from 70 to 100 per cent. in money return for their labour. In the interval, again, there has been little or no material alteration in the prices of commodities generally. Making every allowance for fluctuations in the value of gold, Mr. Giffen affirms that, taking things in the mass, the purchasing power of the sovereign is fully as great at present as it was before the importations from Australia and California commenced. When, however, we turn to the commodities of which the working classes are chiefly and more particularly the consumers, we find that the prices of almost all of them, instead of being in any degree higher, are considerably lower than they used to be. Bread is an element of expenditure in working-class households of which the importance is out of all proportion to the position it occupies in that of the households of the middle and upper classes. It is therefore a fact of which it is not easy to over-rate the significance, that during the decennium ending 1884 wheat has been on the average cheaper by some 10s. the quarter than it was during the decennium ending 1846.† And the cost of nearly every other article of food has also

* "The records," Mr. Giffen says, "do not include anything relating to the agricultural labourer, but from independent sources—I would refer especially to the reports of the recent Royal Agricultural Commission—we may perceive how universal the rise in the wages of agricultural labourers has been, and how universal at any rate is the complaint that more money is paid for less work. Sir James Caird, in his "Landed Interest" (p. 65), puts the rise at 60 per cent. as compared with the period just before the repeal of the Corn Laws, and there is much other evidence to the same effect."—(*Progress of the Working Classes*, p. 7.)

† "Comparing the ten years before 1846 with the last ten years, what we find is that while the average price of wheat in 1837-46 was 58s. 7d., it was 48s. 9d. only in the last ten years—a reduction not of 5s. merely, but 10s. The truth is, the repeal of the Corn Laws was not followed by an *immediate* decline of wheat on the average. The failure of the potato crop, the Crimean War, and the depreciation of gold, all contributed to maintain the price, notwithstanding free trade, down to 1862. Since then steadily lower prices have ruled; and when we compare the present time with half a century ago, or any earlier part of the century, these facts should be remembered." Mr. Giffen further remarks on the disastrous fluctuations in the price of wheat from year to year which were common in the days of Protection: "In 1836 we find wheat touching 36s.; in 1838, 1839, 1840, and 1841, we find it touching 78s. 4d., 81s. 6d., 72s. 10d., and 76s. 1d., in all cases double the price of the lowest year, and nearly double the 'average' of the decade; and in 1847 the price of 102s. 5d., or three times the price of the lowest period, is touched. If we go back earlier we find still more startling extremes. We have such figures as 106s. 5d. in 1810; 126s. 6d. in 1812; 109s. 9d. in 1813, and 96s. 11d. in 1817; these figures being not merely the extremes touched, but the actual averages for the whole year. No doubt in the early part of the century the over-issue of inconvertible paper accounts for part of the nominal prices, but it accounts for a very small part. What we have to consider then is, that fifty years ago the working man with wages, on the average, about half, or not much more than half, what they are now, had at times to contend with a fluctuation in the price of bread which implied sheer starvation."—(*Progress of the Working Classes*, pp. 9, 10.)

very largely diminished. The only exception is what is vulgarly called "butcher's meat," and "butcher's meat" is, no doubt, sensibly dearer than it was formerly. But fifty years ago it was not an ordinary article of food among the working classes, and it affords further evidence of their improved circumstances that it should now be with them, despite its enhanced price, the usual staple of at least one of their daily meals. Bacon was the only kind of meat which was then commonly accessible to them, and it has not become dearer since to any appreciable extent.* Again, clothing is both cheaper and better than it was, and domestic furniture and appliances of a sort and quality which either did not exist or were altogether beyond their reach, are now well within their means. It is true that house-rent is far higher than it was formerly, and assuming that the rental of houses of under £10 has risen in proportion to the rental of houses of over £10 a year, Mr. Giffen computes that the rise has been equal to one and a half times the rental of half a century back. Thus, a working man who then paid £3 would now pay £7 10s. annually for his house-rent. But Mr. Giffen contends that even if rent were a fourth part of his earnings, then he would still be much more advantageously placed now. His rent has increased one and a half times while his wages have doubled, and no part of his necessary expenditure as understood fifty years ago has been augmented. If fifty years ago he was earning £1 a week in wages, and paying 5s. a week in rent, he would now be earning £2 a week in wages and paying 12s. 6d. a week in rent. In the one case he would have had a balance of 15s. and in the other case he has a balance of 27s. 6d. a week in hand, while "butcher's meat" is the only thing for which he has to incur any greater expense. The inference consequently is inevitable that the increase which has occurred in the money wages of the working classes represents a real and substantial gain to them.†

* "I do not know," says Cobbett, "that I ever experienced more pleasure in all my life than I did upon finding that the working people in the bunch of little flinty parishes in Hampshire now get a sufficiency of bacon and bread. The whole of my journey into Hampshire, all the circumstances considered, was the pleasantest I ever took in my life. The havoc made in those parishes amongst the labourers has been dreadful; the victims have been numerous; but those who remain have bacon and bread and beer, and never will they again go into the fields with cold potatoes in their satchels. Mr. Dedam, shoemaker, of Sutton Scotney, told me that the labourers were well-off and contented; that the farmers adhered faithfully to their promises, and that harmony reigned in the villages such as he had never known before. 'Do they get bacon and bread?' I said; and when they told me that they did, I said, 'That is enough.'"—*Twopenny Trash*, No. 10, April 1st, 1831. Vol. i., p. 228.

† "The increased price in the case of one or two articles—particularly meat and house-rent—is insufficient to neutralise the general advantages which the workman has gained. Meat formerly was a very small part of his consumption, and allowing to house-rent a much larger share of his expenditure than it actually bore, the increase in amount would still leave the workman out of his increased wage a larger margin than he had

In the meantime, while under a reformed fiscal system the cost of government to the working classes has been greatly reduced, there has been a large increase in the public expenditure for various useful purposes, of all of which they reap the advantage. Nearly fifteen millions are now annually disbursed by the State in making provision for national education, the postal service, the inspection of factories and mines, and the rest, by which they are both more directly and more widely benefited than any other portion of the people. And if this is so with regard to general expenditure, it is so even more markedly with regard to local expenditure. In Great Britain the local expenditure now amounts to about sixty millions a year as against some twenty millions a year mainly for poor relief and other ancient charges half a century ago. At present these old burdens remain pretty much what they then were, and the additional forty millions are spent in meeting a number of new demands, sanitary, educational, and the like, which formerly had no existence. Half a century ago foul and overcrowded dwellings were the rule, not the exception, in all the large centres of population, and such things as public baths and washhouses, free libraries, and people's parks were practically unknown. Thus, while paying much less in taxation of every description, the working classes now receive much more from both national and local expenditure than they did at any earlier period. One leading and very striking result of their generally improved condition—their higher wages, more abundant food and clothing, cleaner habits, and more salubrious habitations—is demonstrated by the unerring testimony of the bills of mortality themselves. An addition has been made to the average duration of life of no less than two years in the case of males and of nearly three years and a half in the case of females, and what is more, by far the greater part of the addition is to be credited to the period of maturity and vigour, and not to that of childhood or old age.* "No such change," Mr. Giffen justly insists, "could take place

before for miscellaneous expenditure. There is reason to believe also that the houses are better, and that the increased house-rent is merely the higher price for a superior article which the workman can afford."—*Progress of the Working Classes*, p. 13.

* "Do the people live longer than they did? Here I need not detain you. A very effective answer was supplied last session by Mr. Humphreys, in his able paper on 'The Recent Decline in the English Death-Rate' (*Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. xlvi., p. 195—9). Mr. Humphreys there showed conclusively that the decline in the death-rate in the last five years, 1876-80, as compared with the rates on which Dr. Farr's English Life Table was based—rates obtained in the years 1832-54—amounted to from 28 to 32 per cent. in males at each quinquenniad of the twenty years 5—25, and in females at each quinquenniad from 5—35 to between 24 and 35 per cent.; and that the effect of this decline in the death-rate is to raise the mean duration of life among males from 39·9 to 41·9 years, a gain of two years in the average duration of life, and among females from 41·9 to 45·3 years, a gain of nearly three and a half years in the average duration of life." Mr. Giffen adds: "I should like also to point out that the improvement in health actually recorded obviously relates to a transition stage. Many of the improvements in the condition of the working classes have only taken place quite

without a great increase in the vitality of the people. Not only have fewer died, but the masses who have lived must have been healthier and have suffered less from sickness than they did." Of course this effect is in some measure due to the contemporaneous advance of medical science and surgical art. But in the main it must be attributed to the general amelioration of the physical surroundings among which the bulk of the people perform their work and otherwise pass their lives. The figures are of such magnitude that they would have been virtually unaffected if only a small section of the community had been in question, and it is therefore impossible to avoid the conclusion that the decline in the death-rate has been common to the whole population. What an alteration has been made in the diet of the working classes during the last half century is vividly illustrated by the official returns relating to the consumption of imported and exciseable articles. With the single exception of coffee, the increase in these quantities is fairly surprising. In 1880, for example, four times as much tea and sugar were consumed per head of the population as in 1840. Among several of the imported articles—such as bacon and hams, butter and cheese—the increase has practically been from nothing, the consignments of bacon and hams alone now received from abroad equalling the total supply of them from all sources half a century ago. And none of the articles to which special reference is made by Mr. Giffen are such as increased consumption by the rich would have brought into the market in greatly augmented quantities.

Nor have the moral consequences of improved material circumstances of the working classes been slight or insignificant. Both crime and pauperism have largely decreased, and children who are counted by millions are now obtaining a good education, whereas, half a century ago, they received no education at all. Again, between 1831 and 1881 the savings' banks returns show an increase of tenfold in the number of depositors and of more than fivefold in the aggregate amount of the deposits, while the fact that the amounts of the individual deposits have decreased, proves that habits of thrift and providence have penetrated to a humbler and less well-to-do stratum of society than formerly.* In part, however, the change is unques-

recently. They have not, therefore, affected all through their existence any but the youngest lives. When the improvements have been in existence for a longer period, so that the lives of all who are living must have been affected from birth by the changed conditions, we may infer that even a greater gain in the mean duration of life will be shown."—*Progress of the Working Classes*, pp. 16—17.

* Mr. Giffen gives the subjoined table for the whole kingdom—

	1831.	1881.
Number of depositors	429,000	4,140,000
Amount of deposits	£13,719,000	£80,334,000
„ per depositor	£32	£19

In 1882 the amount of deposits was £83,650,000: in Post Office Savings Banks £39,037,000, and £44,612,000 in Trustee Savings Banks.

tionably due to the wise facilities which have been accorded by Government to the thrifty and provident poor in recent years. Of these a very important extension has been made within the last few months. Under the new arrangements effected by the Post Office it may be hoped with some confidence that a fresh impulse will be given to the system of insurance and annuities which up to the present time has not been so largely successful as was expected. It is the opinion of Mr. Fawcett, and there is abundant ground for believing he is right, that "the chief reason which has hitherto prevented annuities and policies of life assurance from being obtained in any considerable number through the Post Office, is that so many cumbrous and troublesome formalities had to be gone through. For instance, each time that a payment for an annuity or for a policy of insurance had to be made it was necessary to go to a particular post office, and no annuity of less than £5 or policy of insurance of less than £20 could be purchased."* In future, however, this will not be the case. All insurers and annuitants will become *ipso facto* depositors in a Post Office Savings Bank, and all that they will have to do is to give a written order that a certain sum standing in their name shall be devoted, whatever its amount may be, to the payment of the annual premiums. In the same way those who are now merely depositors may dedicate the interest of their deposits to the purchase of an annuity or policy of insurance. Annuities, either immediate or deferred, may be purchased by or for any person of five years and upwards, for any sum from £1 to £100. But no insurance can be effected for less than £5 or more than £100, or on the life of any person who is under eight or over sixty-five, while between the ages of eight and fourteen the maximum amount to be insured is £5. By means of the stamp deposit-slips supplied at all the post offices under the regulations of a few years back, as little as a penny a week may be put by, and when the accumulated stamps reach a shilling may be added to the depositor's account. A penny a week paid on and after the age of twenty-one, or 4s. 4d. a year, the interest of £9 in the savings bank, will secure the payment of £10 on death or an annuity of £1 at the age of fifty-four for men and sixty-two for women. Annuities are granted on joint and several lives, so that husbands may secure them for their wives as well as for themselves, and the proceeds of policies of insurance may be bequeathed by simple nomination in the post office books. Again, insurances may be effected on a scale providing for the cessation of premiums at the age of sixty, or for the payment of the amount insured either on the attainment of the age of sixty or on death, whichever

* Speech at the Post Office, May 28th, 1884.

may occur the sooner. Besides this a sum may be insured at the expiration of from ten to forty years, or on death, by the payment of a single premium, and under a special scale of premiums the return of the purchase money of an annuity may be secured either on the death of the purchaser or at the desire of the purchaser at any time before the annuity becomes payable. And further, policies for under £25 may be issued without any medical examination of the persons insured, on condition that should they die before the second premium is due, the amount of the first premium, or before the third premium is due one half of the amount insured only, will be paid to their representatives, while after the payment of two annual premiums arrangements for the surrender of a policy of insurance may be made on terms to be settled by the National Debt Commissioners. These are some of the more prominent points in the new scheme of Government insurance and annuities, and it may be anticipated that it will in time have a very material influence on the fortunes of the large class of friendly societies commonly known as "burial clubs," as well as of the various agencies which issue policies of insurance on lives for small amounts, and the sheet anchor of whose trade consists in lapsed premiums and forfeited policies. If the Post Office could see its way to insurance against sickness, it would cover the whole of the ground now occupied by friendly societies as distinguished from trade, building, and loan societies. It would only be another step, although a long and important step, in the direction in which the State has been advancing steadily and deliberately for nearly a quarter of a century. But to all appearances the difficulties which are opposed to such a course in the shape of wholesale fraud on the one hand, or on the other of what would be tantamount to wholesale pauperisation, are at present insurmountable.

It is, however, much that Penny Banks and Post Office Savings Banks should be as numerous as they are in England. Thrift is a virtue which, strengthened by practice, is pre-eminently inculcated by example. The English working classes are singularly quick to catch up the ways of their social superiors. They not only imitate, but they caricature. It is in matters economical as in others—the man reproduces the extravagance of the master, the maid of the mistress, the employed of the employer. Can it be said that relatively the English working classes are not as thrifty as any other portion of the population? Grant that they are a little less saving; have they not greater temptations to and excuses for improvidence? It is in the prospect of a definite reward as a compensation for self-denial that the inducement to small economies is to be found. This prospect the English working classes either have not, or do not sufficiently realise.

But may we not hope that the necessary reforms are on the high road towards accomplishment? Co-operation, which will be considered in the next chapter, is as yet comparatively speaking a new thing, but already co-operation has worked, as we shall see, marvels. The saving which co-operation has secured to the working classes has been calculated from 10 to 20 per cent. And this economy only represents a small part of the advantages of the system, which, as will be seen from the survey of it, are quite as much moral as material.

CHAPTER XIII.

CO-OPERATION.

Two Illustrations of the Co-operative Principle: Victoria Street, London, and Toad Lane, Rochdale—General Comparison between the Conduct of different Co-operative Stores—Feelings to which the Co-operative Principle amongst the Working Classes in England originally appealed—Nature of the Enthusiasm which it created—Views advanced at the first Co-operative Congress in 1852—Co-operative Wholesale Society—Co-operation among the Middle and Upper Classes—The Civil Service Supply Association: Its Origin, Organisation, and Progress—Other Co-operative Societies and their Development—The Civil Service Co-operative Society—The Army and Navy Co-operative Society—Effect of Co-operation upon the Labour Market—General, Social, and Moral Advantages of Co-operation—Educational Influences of the Movement—How far Co-operation is applicable to Production as well as Distribution—The Exceptional Success of the Assington Experiment—General View of Progress and Position of Co-operation.

The two scenes which we are now about to witness are bound together by a definite connecting-link. The social and local conditions in each case may be widely different, but the principle illustrated is the same. Few greater contrasts could exist, so far as appearances are concerned, than between Victoria Street, Westminster, and Toad Lane, Rochdale. Nor are the particular buildings in the two thoroughfares, which we shall successively enter, frequented by persons between whose exterior or whose conditions of life much resemblance can be traced. At the same time the patrons of each are animated by a common motive, and have discovered that the end in view can be best secured by nearly identical methods. The method is that of co-operation, and though the manner in which it is carried out in the capital and in the manufacturing town varies, while it represents in the latter more of social advantage, and more, also, of moral enthusiasm than in the former, the different aspects of the enterprise may still not inappropriately be placed side by side. It is about three o'clock in the afternoon, and in the course of a walk from Victoria Station towards the Houses of Parliament, down a long, gaunt street, with huge mansions containing flats, or lawyers' offices, or the chambers of colonial and parliamentary agents, one notices midway, on the right-hand side, rows of carriages and cabs, two or three deep, drawn up in front of a handsome block of buildings. Every kind of vehicle that can be bought or hired in London is here

—from the open barouche or closed brougham, with their thorough bred horses, to the carriage jobbed by the month, or let out by the hour, as well as the hansom or four-wheeler. Footmen, grooms, and pages are stationed at the doors, through which there pass ladies and gentlemen—some on the point of transacting their business, others having completed their purchases, which are carried by servants to the purchasers' carriages.

The establishment is not only an emporium, but a lounge, a place of gossip and pleasure as well as of business. One enters and finds grizzled warriors seated at a table, drawing up, with much deliberation, a list of their intended purchases. Close beside there is a young matron, new to housekeeping, whose husband has just received his promotion, and who is intent upon making a limited sum go as far as possible. Around and about these, passing to or coming from the different counters, are groups of well-dressed buyers, who have been giving orders for every sort of article that their households or drawing-rooms can need. There are many, too, who seem to have no thought of buying anything, or who, if they have fulfilled the object with which they ostensibly came hither, linger on, with no other visible aim than to meet their friends and discuss the news or scandal of the day. Precisely the same thing is going on upon the storey above, and above that again, until the third or fourth floor is reached. The goods sold vary according to the elevation of the department above the level of the street. In each there is the same mixed crowd of buyers, the same social chatter, the same interchange of compliments, the same applications to the cashier to make out bills. There is also a refreshment room on the premises for the benefit of customers who may require a light lunch; or, if it be afternoon, as we are now supposing it to be, may like to sip the comforting cup of "five o'clock tea." The place, in fact, discharges not a few of the purposes of a club for ladies and gentlemen; it gratifies the prevailing passion for combining pleasure and business, and gives the customers of the store the satisfaction of knowing that at the same time they meet their friends they are getting their wares—whether it be an ormolu clock or a jar of pickles—at a cheaper rate and of a better quality than they could elsewhere.

Let us now turn to Toad Lane, Rochdale. The hour is seven o'clock on Saturday evening. There are swarms of factory hands, with their wives and children, passing and re-passing from one shop to another, for in Toad Lane there is not, as there is in Victoria Street, a concentration of many shops into one. All, however, belong to the same society, and the Rochdale Pioneers do a business as comprehensive in its way as that of the naval and military co-operators or the Civil Service in London. There are no luxurious carriages waiting outside the premises in Toad Lane, no footmen, powdered or un-

powdered, standing sentry at the door, no commissionaires calling for cabs, or smart page-boys laden with parcels bringing up the rear. Though here, as in Victoria Street, there is much general conversation between the buyers, there is little loitering about, and it is easy to see that the dominant spirit of the place is one of business. At the counter of one shop there are attendants drawing treacle, packing parcels of sugar, and refitting the empty shelves; on the pavement outside are at least a dozen persons waiting to take their turn, and a similar spectacle may be noticed at intervals throughout the whole street. Immediately opposite the grocery store is one for drapery, where a dozen women of varying ages are selecting articles; next door but one is a still larger shop, in which huge joints of meat are being cut and sold; while in another department of the same house, flour, potatoes, and butter are being weighed out. Close by tailors and shoemakers are attending to their customers. Next door to the butcher's shop is a watch club, and immediately adjoining this is the library, whose officers are hard at work exchanging, renewing, and delivering books. A marked feature in the scene, and a significant commentary upon the real value of the institution, is the number of children. The working classes seldom or never send children to shops on errands of an important character, for the simple reason that they are afraid lest the sellers should impose upon their ignorance and innocence. In the stores all have confidence, and they know that no distinction of persons is made.

There are many points of difference, other than those which relate to the personnel of their patrons, between the London and the Rochdale co-operative establishments. Even the co-operative stores in London themselves are not uniformly conducted upon one principle. Though the business done by the Army and Navy Stores is professedly of the same character as that of the Civil Service Supply Association, there is in the former instance more of the ordinary trading system than in the latter. It is practically open to any person to become a member of the Victoria Street establishment. At the present day, no new-comer to the Civil Service Supply Association, if he is not a civil servant, can obtain the enjoyment of all its privileges; nor, indeed, will it be easy for him to belong to them on any terms unless he is nominated by a shareholder. There are other so-called co-operative stores in London, which have nothing whatever in their management to entitle them to the name. They are simply the enterprises of private individuals or companies, who believe that the name co-operation is one to conjure with, and who employ it as a synonym for cheapness. That co-operation has often been the cause of cheapness in other establishments which have nothing really co-operative about them cannot be doubted. The effect which the institution of these stores has had upon tradesmen has redounded greatly to the advantage of all classes

of buyers. They have introduced a new element of competition, and have compelled tradesmen largely to reduce their prices for ready-money customers.

While every dealer at the Rochdale stores is a shareholder, there are many members of the London stores who have no vested interest in the concern whatever. They have purchased their admission ticket to it on the recommendation of a friend, who, perhaps, is a shareholder, and the only practical disadvantage at which they find themselves is, that they have no claim to participation in the profits, or to the gratuitous conveyance of their purchases to their homes. A further and very important distinction between such co-operative societies in London as those at which we have glanced and a co-operative society like the Equitable Pioneers is that, in the case of the latter, there is none of the necessary antagonism which, in the case of the former, exists between the store and the ordinary tradesman. In London the object of the store is to undersell the tradesman; in the provinces, at Rochdale and elsewhere, it is not to do this, but to sell at the price current in the neighbourhood, the advantage offered by the store being, in the first place, the best goods which the money paid can command; in the second, a strong inducement to thrift. For example, the Rochdale stores are not only an aggregate of well-supplied, well-conducted shops, but are actually or potentially savings banks as well. Every member being a shareholder, shares in an equal degree in the profits, and the only surplusage which at the end of the year there is to be divided among the shareholders is that to which every member is proportionately entitled. It follows that there are greater inducements to economical management in Rochdale or Halifax than in London. At either of them every sixpence spent upon salaries and wages represents an increase of expenditure upon the article purchased. So, no doubt, it does in London, but where all do not share, as in London they do not, in the margin of profit left outside working expenses, this fact can scarcely be practically realised with the same degree of force.

Perhaps the best way of stating the difference between co-operation, as it exists among the higher and the lower orders of English society, will be to say that in the former it represents the principles of expediency and economy, and nothing more; and that in the latter it is at once associated with, and symbolical of, a very material advance in the general condition of the working classes. The naval or military officer, the civil servant, the nobleman, the distinguished official, a whole host of gentlemen who, in the London season, divide their days pretty equally between their offices, clubs, and other resorts of business, fashion, or pleasure, go to the stores, because they believe, or profess to believe, that in going thither they are making their purchases, in a not disagreeable way, in the cheapest market. The

doctrine which they thus recognise is one simply of personal convenience; there is no more moral fervour about the whole proceeding than there is about the calculations of a party whip in the House of Commons, while a party debate is in progress. At the establishment of the Civil Service Supply Association, the economical idea may be pronounced wholly in the ascendant; at the Army and Navy Stores, in Victoria Street, there is a strong focus of social attraction as well. In both instances it cannot be doubted that the stores are patronised by many people, especially ladies, who really like the excitement of the atmosphere, and the occupation given by shopping under exceptionally agitating conditions. Others there are who fail to find any allurements in a more pronounced degree of bustle and disturbance than they would encounter at those shops where their personal identity is not in imminent danger of being lost amid a chaotic multitude of customers. Yet these in many instances go to the stores, for the simple reason that they know that by purchasing for ready money their goods in person, they are not charged, as in some shops they practically are, interest on the outstanding accounts of credit customers, or the cost of the commission which, in the shape of Christmas gratuity or quarterly fee, the tradesman often pays the head servants of large private establishments. But even among the hard-worked civil servants of the Crown there cannot be anything like the consuming enthusiasm which is the soul of the co-operative movement among the labouring classes. The truth is, that the planes on which co-operation moves in either instance differ as greatly as does the social position of its votaries. To live cleanly, soberly, and honestly is confessedly regarded as a mark of distinction among the working classes. When one goes higher in the social scale, the conventional assumption is that it is no distinction at all. Thus it is with co-operation, thrift, and the power of responsible management. With the well-to-do they are either not exceptional virtues at all, or if they are it is polite to ignore the fact. With the working man it is admitted by his condescending patrons—who might sometimes be his pupils—that they constitute a distinct claim to admiring recognition.

Nothing more need here be indicated than the chief principles, or the central episodes and stages, of that co-operative movement which has a history and a literature of its own.* In estimating the influences of English co-operation, it is necessary to remember that it had its origin in something very like fanaticism, and that its first apostles held out to their followers an ideal too visionary for actual attainment. It is these historical associations which have given to the movement that degree of moral impetus without which it could scarcely have been driven onward as rapidly as it has been. If co-operation in

* "The History of Co-operation," in two volumes, by Mr. George Jacob Holyoake: a very valuable work, to which I am much indebted in this chapter.

England had known no other motive than the economical, if the only appeal which it had made to its votaries had been based upon unsentimental considerations of supply and demand, it could never have acquired so strong a hold upon the working classes. A fanatical or an exaggerated enthusiasm lies with Englishmen at the bottom of every great popular cause; the fanaticism passes away, but a genuine residuum of energy remains. Long before the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers opened their store in Toad Lane in 1844 with £20 worth of goods, Owen had made his experiment, and that experiment had been generally stigmatised as a failure. But if its influences are retrospectively estimated, it cannot be considered as a failure in any way, for it really generated the enthusiasm without which co-operation would never have been taken up. Then it was that the doctrines which Owen held, and which he endeavoured to translate into practice, were destined to yield a posthumous harvest.

Just as in the human constitution, selfishness and sympathy are the two mutually compensating principles, so has co-operation acted in civil society at large as the counter-influence to the principles of trade unionism. Competition, it was said in the *Leader* newspaper thirty years ago, as developing in England, must destroy in the end both family life and industrial prosperity. It was this apprehension which, quite as much as the obvious economical doctrine that it would be to the advantage of the working classes to buy their wares in the cheapest market, caused several gentlemen and clergymen of the Church of England energetically to promote the movement. These claimed support for it on the ground that it represented nothing less than the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and industry. In the official reports of the earlier meetings of the Central Co-operative Society—the Association for Promoting Industrial and Provident Societies—one finds resolutions couched in language of which the sincerity is above suspicion, and which sufficiently testifies to a high elevation of moral aim. Thus at the conference held on the state of the society in Great Castle Street, London, in July, 1852, it was unanimously resolved by its delegates "that this conference entreats all co-operative establishments . . . to sell all articles for exactly what they know them to be, and to abstain . . . from the sale of articles known to be adulterated, even if demanded by their customers." The following year it was formally laid down that the principles of the association were—"That human society is a body consisting of many members, not a collection of warring atoms. That true workmen must be fellow-workers, and not rivals. That a principle of justice, and not of selfishness, must govern exchanges."

Nor did more prosaic and practical points fail to receive their due measure of consideration and discussion. Chief among these was the payment of managers and of labourers employed by the associations.

The resolution was arrived at—that "the principle of giving a share of the profits to all who had shared in the work was essentially just," and that if this were not done the chief characteristic of co-operative societies would be lost. It was upon this occasion that at the festival which followed the conference, the president, the late Frederick Denison Maurice, observed that "human nature, Christianity, and co-operation, alike taught that men must be controlled by moral law, and until that was acknowledged the continual fighting of man against man, employer against employed, would never cease. As soon as the law was proclaimed and observed that men should help one another, and live for one another, and that so only could they live for themselves, society would be kept in union by a power mightier than selfishness, industrial associations would be the instruments of the moral education, translating those principles into the business of practical life." Twelve years later, the machinery of co-operation was supplemented by the promotion of a Co-operative Wholesale Society, to which it was intended that local stores should be affiliated, procuring thence the articles which they retailed to their customers. Starting with a capital of £999, it made a small loss of £39 in its first half-year, followed in the next by a profit of £306. At the end of last year its capital amounted to £186,692, and its profit to £47,885. Its membership comprised 659 societies representing about 500,000 individual members, and its annual sales had reached £4,546,891. The Wholesale Society has in fact become the commercial backbone of the movement, and is a crucial instance of the capacity of the working classes for managing large affairs. In 1883 there were in Great Britain no fewer than 1,241 co-operative societies of one kind or another, with 667,463 members. Their share capital was £7,585,996, their loan capital £1,416,829, and their reserve fund £308,506. The value, when the year closed, of their stock-in-trade was £3,194,881, of their land and buildings, £3,692,474; and of their other investments, £2,334,629. They had received on the sale of goods in the twelvemonth, £27,865,054, on which the profit was £2,305,887, and they had paid a dividend of £2,167,585.

It was at the time when the Wholesale Society was established, that a co-operative movement in another direction took place, and that the attempt which we have already noticed to organise consumption for the upper and professional classes on the same lines was made. The Civil Service Supply Association, which was the first set on foot for this purpose, commenced operations in 1866. Its origin was simple, and in a great degree the result of a happy accident. The excessive retail price charged for tea induced a gentleman in the Post Office to obtain a chest of it on wholesale terms. This he kept in a cellar below the office, and distributed its contents as wanted to a few of his personal friends in the department. Comparison of quality

and price not only was followed by a much larger demand for the article than it was convenient to supply in this primitive fashion, but brought into prominent relief the advantages that would be secured if the system were extended. In consequence, a few of the officials combined to start the Post Office Supply Association, its members being strictly limited to employés of the department. The project was found to work so advantageously that very soon it was determined to diffuse its advantages throughout the entire service; and in February, 1866, the Civil Service Supply Association, Limited, was established under "The Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1862." The capital was restricted to £2,250, in 4,500 shares of 10s. each, and although modifications have been frequently entertained, the amount of capital stock still remains the same. From its commencement the association has progressed steadily. The sales, which in the first year (1866) amounted to £21,322, increased in the next to £83,405, in 1877 had passed £1,000,000, in 1883 had reached a total of £1,600,000. Nor did the fact that in the second year of the enterprise two of the directors seceded and successfully set on foot another store, appreciably arrest this rapid development. On this large turnover the gross profit (*i.e.* the difference in the price paid to the producer and that charged to the member) averages 8½ per cent. Of this percentage 6½ to 7 per cent. goes in working expenses, leaving 1½ to 2 per cent. for profit to the shareholders. The expenses of working, estimated in the dealings of 1883, come to no less than £150,000; but when it is explained that the amount paid in that year for salaries of the employés was very little short of £85,000, some notion will be formed of the vastness of the organisation and the economy of its management. In this connection it may be said that not only is everything, as a matter of course, bought for cash, but the producer is invariably treated with directly. This system, when combined with that of keeping the percentage of profits at the level named, gives rise to certain anomalies. The producers of certain articles, known throughout the world, whatever advantage in price they may be willing to concede to the Society, in consideration of the extent of the transactions, stipulate that their goods shall not be resold at less than certain market quotations. Hence, on such goods a very large profit is made, and, as a consequence, the prices of other articles are reduced so as to equalise the percentage of profit throughout the department. On the other hand, there are well-known goods which cannot be sold at prices below those quoted by retail traders, who, selling such articles without profit, seek to impress their customers with the belief that their prices generally are on a level with those of the co-operative stores. As an example, the familiar custom of selling sugar at or under cost price is not adopted by the association, whose quotations for this article are consequently comparatively

high. But in all articles of food the purchaser at the stores has the great advantage of a guarantee of purity. It is a special feature of these institutions that everything is examined by a qualified analyst, permanently employed for the purpose.

In the sum named as the annual turnover, no estimate has been included of the sales made by the tradesmen affiliated to the society who deal directly with the members, allowing on purchases a discount varying from 10 to 25 per cent. It is calculated that these come to between £3,000,000 and £4,000,000 annually, there being about 400 firms so affiliated, some of which have individually sold more than £60,000 worth of goods in a given twelve months. The disposition on the part of the shopkeepers to avail themselves of the privilege does not diminish; but of the many desirous of admittance to the society's list only those who are able to satisfy a most rigid scrutiny of their standing are successful, and more than half the applicants are as a rule rejected. It should be added that some of the very first West End firms have shown no wish to identify themselves with the movement.

The direction is composed of fifteen members, who each receive as remuneration 200 guineas a year. They are all employed in the Civil Service, and take an active part in the management of the stores, generally attending every afternoon, when they divide themselves into committees for different purposes. To the secretary, who acts also as general manager, falls the chief superintendence, and he has directly under and responsible to him the departmental managers—invariably highly competent men, in receipt of annual salaries varying from £300 to £600. It will be obvious that the original capital of the association would be totally inadequate to work a business of this extent, primarily turning on cash payments. The necessary means are provided by accumulations of profits. The reserve fund at the end of 1874 showed such an accumulation of nearly £100,000; and a later one, to the end of 1878, called the guarantee account, an additional sum of £100,000. These two sums, added to the capital stock, gave a total of £202,250, about the half of which was invested in buildings, the other being available as working capital. The question of a division in whole or part of these accumulated profits among the shareholders was for a long time a difficulty. The accumulations were set apart, as has been shown, because the opinion of eminent counsel concurred that it could not be distributed. As the matter now stands, additional fully-paid shares to represent the amount of the accumulations have been created and allotted among the shareholders, the whole share capital amounting on the 30th of June, 1881, to over £345,000. The original 10s. shares are transferable to qualified persons in the same way as any ordinary shares, and consequently have a high value, which has been considerably higher since a solution of this question of disposing of the accumulation of profits has been found.

Naturally, the association has had many followers in the path which it has struck out. The operations of even the most successful of these have not in any way impeded the progress of the original society, which numbered on June 30th, 1884, 37,000 members, of whom 32,000 pay annually 2s. or 5s., the remainder consisting of shareholders and their special nominees. The Civil Service Co-operative Society was originally formed, as has been said, by the secession of some directors of the Supply Association. Its offices are in the Haymarket, and its organisation and general features are identical with those of the society of which it is an offshoot. In the first year of its career the turnover was £15,000, in 1883 £532,000. The number of members is at present about 12,000—721 shareholders and 11,000 and odd life and annual subscribers, and it should perhaps be observed that these, whether share or ticket-holders, are strictly limited to qualified persons. The original capital, as in the other society, was extremely small, being nominally £5,000, of which only £2,000 was paid up, and in the same way it finds its working funds from accumulated profits. On 31st December, 1883, those placed to the assets amounted to £199,500, of which nearly half is invested in buildings. The scheme which the original association has in view has already been partly carried out by its younger sister. The reserve fund has been apportioned in bonus shares among the shareholders, but as yet, it is understood, the payment of a dividend on these new shares is only under consideration. The average net profit is the same as that realised by the Supply Association; the working expenses are perhaps fractionally higher, but not more so than might be expected from the cost of the staff of a more limited business.

The progress made by the Army and Navy Co-operative Society is not less proportionately rapid. The sales during the first year of its existence amounted to £130,280; during the twelfth year, that which ended January, 1884, they reached a total of £2,386,193, when the association consisted of over 15,000 shareholders, nearly 5,000 life members, and 17,500 annual subscribers. The dividend paid to shareholders in this society is only 5 per cent., and the surplus funds are devoted to a constant reduction of prices, as well as to the extension of their premises and business. If we are to consider the effect of this and kindred institutions, not only upon their members, but on the community at large, two things are clear: in the first place, the money saved is not lost to circulation, but diverted into other channels, though sometimes, perhaps, of less productive expenditure; in the second place, there is the same demand for labour under the co-operative régime as there would be if the monopoly of the tradesmen had never been challenged. Many luxuries, which were inaccessible to the possessors of fixed incomes so long as they paid credit prices for necessaries, are now placed within their reach, and there is pocket-

money to spare for amusements and indulgences—the concert, the theatre, the hire of cabmen and gardeners. As to the relations between co-operative stores and national industry, there is in the former plenty of employment for the latter. There are heads and foremen of departments, who but for the stores would, no doubt, have set up as tradesmen on their own account—as a matter of fact, many have been tradesmen. Further, to some extent these associations co-operate not merely in the work of distribution, but of production as well. The Civil Service Supply Association has long made its own drugs, chemicals, and a few other articles. The Army and Navy has gone much further, and has large workshops for the manufacture of portmanteaus, dressing-bags, purses, and other leather goods, tin-work, japanned ware, cabinets, as well as printing and die-sinking works. In all, employment is thus provided for close upon two thousand hands. "The society," says the secretary, "has been compelled to adopt this expedient by the difficulty, and almost in some instances impossibility, of procuring really sound and good articles that could be confidently warranted to its members, owing to the system of scamping and concealing defects. The results have quite kept pace with the most sanguine expectations. The prices have been reduced, the members are satisfied, and the working men, many of them the best in their respective trades, are well content. As an illustration of this it may be related that a director conversing with one of them, inquired how he liked his employment, and received the reply, 'Very much.' 'Why so?' he then asked. 'Because, sir, I have regular work. Before I came here I made bags which I sold to a factor. He would put on a large profit and sell them to a shopkeeper, and before they reached the regular customers my price was more than doubled. And then I often had two or three idle days at a time, as I could not sell my work. But now, owing to the small profit put on by the stores, I suppose there are a hundred bags sold where there used not to be ten; and I have regular employment and no idle time.' 'But how do you like the rule which prevents beer being taken into the workshops?' 'Well, sir, I didn't like it at first; but now I am used to it, and it has saved me a lot of money.'" *

There is, however, another side to this particular question. While co-operative manufacture secures the immense advantage of a uniform excellence in quality, the means at the command of the larger manufacturers, their experience and personal interest, enable them to produce goods which offer little margin for competition.

Independently of the great economical boon which co-operation in distribution has been to the working classes, it has brought with it moral, intellectual, and political advantages of the highest value. It

* See an article by Mr. J. H. Lawson, entitled "Co-operative Stores," a reply to shopkeepers, in the *Nineteenth Century*, February, 1879.

has taught working men how to act together, to differ on details without disagreeing as to principle, to dissent without mutual separation, and, in spite of sundry divergencies of opinion, steadily to combine together with a common purpose in view. The periodical meetings of the shareholders in these stores are sometimes agitated by stormy debates, but the discussion ends in a schism far less frequently than in the practical recognition of the truth that toleration is a necessity of life. Again, all efforts at self-improvement and self-reform having an elevating tendency, co-operation, as belonging to this class of enterprise, has raised the views of, and implanted healthy ambition among, the labouring population. "The improved condition," writes one of the chief leaders of the co-operative movement, "of our members is apparent in their dress, bearing, and freedom of speech. You would scarcely believe the alteration made in them by their being connected with a co-operative society." "The whole atmosphere," says Mr. Holyoake, "is honest. Those who serve neither hurry, finesse, nor flatter; they have no interest in chicanery; they have but one duty to perform—that of giving fair measure, full weight, and a pure article." Teetotallers recognise in the store an agency of incalculable worth for teaching the virtues of sobriety. Husbands who never knew what it was to be out of debt, and wives who previously never had a spare sixpence in their pockets, now go to market—the market being their own property—with well-filled purses, and with a belief in their own capacities to ameliorate their condition. "Many married women," continues Mr. Holyoake, "become members because their husbands will not take the trouble, and others join the store in self-defence, to prevent the husband from spending their money in drink. Many single women have accumulated property in the store, which becomes a certificate of their conjugal worth, and young men in want of prudent helpmeets consider that to consult the books of the store is the best means of directing their selection." Briefly, a share in a co-operative store is calculated to give its holder a consciousness of some definite aim and purpose in life. Every member of the society is something of a capitalist; the share has an ascertained mercantile value; and, over and above that, there are the dividends, paid quarterly, on the purchases.

The co-operative movement has also taught the working classes of England what mutual confidence can do. With few exceptions, the business of these stores is conducted upon the strictest ready-money principles. When societies have given credit they have often been wrecked, and the mischief which one such failure has done to the entire movement can scarcely be exaggerated. The confidence which the working classes now repose in their stores has received striking and sometimes rather pathetic illustration. Mr. Holyoake tells the story of a shopkeeper who came to a woman, a member of the Equit-

able Pioneers, admonishing her to draw out the £40 which she had in the society at once, as it was sure to break. The answer was, "Well, if it does break it will break with its own; it has all been saved out of my profits; all I have it has given me."

The educational value which these stores possess is not only moral and social, but intellectual and literary. While they have united the working classes in beneficent efforts for their own improvement, they have generated a new sense of citizenship, they have even been utilised as a machinery for providing instruction of the higher kind for their members. To the reading-rooms and lending libraries—such as we have seen in the course of our visit to the Equitable Pioneers in Toad Lane—there have been added classes in French, science, and art. Only in a few cases, however, are these co-operative societies doing a distinctly educational work, and it may be doubted how far, in view of the numerous independent educational agencies, such as university extension, lecture societies, institutes, and the ladies' improvement associations such as exist in Leeds, Birmingham, and other towns—associations, as the name implies, for teaching the women of the working classes the rudiments of household economy and domestic hygiene—it is practicable that these further responsibilities should be at all generally assumed.

As to the future of co-operation in England, there are two distinct sets of opinions. On the one hand, it is maintained that it is not likely to render any fresh specific service; that in having supplied the working population, as well as their social superiors, with an exceedingly effective machinery for the economical distribution of the necessaries and luxuries of life, it has done all that could reasonably be expected; that if to this we add its success in inculcating the virtues of frugality and thrift, we have entirely exhausted the list of its possible good works. On the other hand, experienced enthusiasts, like Mr. Thomas Hughes and others, who have made co-operation their special study, are persuaded that the movement, if not in its infancy, is still in its youth, and that there are before it great opportunities of usefulness as yet undeveloped. The prime question is, whether it is in the nature of things possible that the principle of co-operation should be applied to production with anything like the same results which are obtained in the case of distribution. The experiment, indeed, has often been made, but scarcely with sufficient success in any considerable number of cases to warrant the assertion that the co-operative principle is destined to solve the problem of labour *versus* capital. The mutual distrust which is too often the characteristic of the working classes, and which offered serious obstacles to the successful management of the co-operative stores in their earlier days, has not yet been overcome in the matter of co-operative production. A fair day's wages for a fair day's work is their motto, and the working man prefers to

labour for an employer whom he holds responsible for his pay, and from whom he knows that when the day's work is done he will receive it, to engaging in a venture with his fellows, on the chance that success in their efforts, in the more or less remote future, will enable them handsomely to remunerate themselves. Thus it is that when co-operative mills have been started, each worker being entitled to share equally in the profits, they have generally ended by becoming joint-stock companies, in which only a very limited number have been proprietors.

The co-operative principle has been applied with the happiest results to agriculture, and a wide extension of it in this direction may now be confidently anticipated. Fourteen years before the commencement of the enterprise of the Rochdale Pioneers, a Suffolk squire, Mr. Gurden, of Assington, selected sixty acres of land of medium quality, furnishing them with a homestead, and letting them out to a company of shareholders—all taken from the class of farm-labourers—who put £3 a-piece into the concern, while Mr. Gurden himself advanced £400, without interest, on loan. In 1867 the number of shareholders had risen from fifteen to twenty-one, the land held had increased from 60 to 130 acres, and each of the shares was worth £50. In addition to this, the company had repaid Mr. Gurden all his money, and the stock and implements on the farm—the former consisting of six horses, four cows, 110 sheep, thirty or forty pigs—were the exclusive property of the co-operators. The rent of the land was £200 a year, and the farm was held on a fourteen years' lease. The business was and is managed by a committee of four, some of whose members could not even read or write, but the practical direction of the farm rests with the bailiff—himself a co-operator—who is paid a shilling a week above the ordinary rate of wages.

In 1854 Mr. Gurden, encouraged by the success of his first experiment, started a second co-operative farm on his property. The new association commenced with seventy acres of land and thirty-six members, each subscribing £3 10s. by way of capital, to which £400 was added as a loan without interest by the landlord, as on the earlier occasion. When the Bishop of Manchester visited them a few years ago, the company was out of debt, occupied 212 acres at a rent of £325, and was possessed of stock valued at £1,200, while the original £3 10s. shares would sell freely for £30.* Within the last year another venture of the same kind, but on a larger scale, has been launched with every prospect of success at Radbourne, in Warwickshire, on the estate and under the patronage of Mr. King, a disciple of

* A full account of the ill-fated co-operative farm at Ralahine, in the county of Clare, and some notice of a co-operative farm at Blennerhasset, in Cumberland, one started 1830 and the other 1862, will be found in Mr. Parr's "Co-operative Agriculture." London: 1870.

Mr. Hughes and Mr. Dyke-Acland.* In the autumn of 1883 an association was formed, of which the committee of management consisted of Mr. David Johnson and two members elected, and to be annually elected, from among the labourers belonging to it. At Michaelmas they entered into possession of the Manor Farm of 350 acres at Radbourne, on a yearly tenancy, paying a rent of £356, or about a pound an acre, in half-yearly payments. They hired of their landlord stock and implements to the value of £3,304, and borrowed cash of him to the amount of £200, paying on both sums interest at the rate of 6 per cent. The associates, under Mr. Johnson's direction, are twelve men, two youths, and two boys, who receive in wages, the first two and sixpence, the second one and eightpence, and the third tenpence a day. Their annual expenses, including the interest on their hired stock and borrowed capital, is some £3,300, or roundly speaking, £10 an acre. All this they have paid, and at the end of last year divided an extra £70 in clear profit among them, while it is contemplated that the dividend which will be at their disposal at the end of the current year will not be less than £200. Their farm includes 146 acres of arable land cropped with wheat, oats, winter beans, spring beans, clover, mangolds, swedes, and turnips, and 200 acres of meadow and pasture land, and in the early summer comprised fifty-six ewes, eighty-six lambs, and forty-three other sheep, twenty-seven milking-cows, thirteen heifers, nine steers, four feeding cows, two young bulls, and thirty reared calves, thirty-three swine, and a large quantity of poultry. They had also nine working horses, one mare and foal, and nine cart colts, a nag and a jobbing horse. Almost everything consumed by the associates and their families is raised by themselves, from the hams and bacon which they cure and store, to the oatmeal which mixed with water they prefer to beer as both a summer and winter beverage while they are engaged in their labours. "I do not think," Mr. Johnson said, speaking at the Co-operative Congress at Derby last June, "that anyone could imagine the intellectual and social advancement that has taken place in my fellow associates and workers. I believe that co-operation in farming under a good and sound agreement, and such rules as we have, will do more good for the proper cultivation of the soil than any Act of Parliament that could be framed. Under a good system of co-operative farming the land would produce a great deal more than it does now, and a great benefit would be conferred on the country at large and especially upon the rural population, which would profit morally, socially, intellectually, and financially. I believe the system would be equally good for the landowner and capitalist." It is at least certain that the Manor Farm at Radbourne, on which a prosperous

* "Co-operative Farming," by David Johnson. London: 1884. It is a reprint of a paper read by Mr. Johnson at the sixteenth Co-operative Congress, held at Derby, June 16th, 1884.

and happy community seems now in a fair way to flourish, was very far from favourably circumstanced. It is six and a half miles from the nearest railway station and twelve miles from the nearest market town. Moreover it was in an extremely neglected condition before the Association entered on their tenancy of it.* "The ploughed and arable land," Mr. Johnson states, "was foul with switch and weeds—as bad as could be. The hedges ran wild, and the ditches and brooks were full of mud, so that the drains were choked. New draining had to be done, and where practicable the old drains taken up, cleaned, and put in again. All the turf land was foul with rushes, thistles, and rough grass. A large quantity of ant-banks were on the pastures. The arable, pasture, and meadow land was completely worn out and waterlogged. The buildings, fences, and yards were in a very dilapidated state—so bad that I do not think a farm could be worse. People said it would never be worth cultivating again. It was also in a very isolated position, being a long way from any village, and most of my associates have to walk about two and a half miles night and morning. We had to contend with a very strong clay-land, blue lias clay—a very tenacious and obdurate soil—just the kind in fact that all agricultural writers have been denouncing for years past, being quite unanimous as to its not being worth cultivating." To make this farm fit for occupation and to clean and crop the land not merely effectually but profitably as well, was, it is manifest, no light or easy task. It would have been difficult, we suspect, to find any tenant farmer who would have undertaken it at a rent of five shillings, much less of something over a pound an acre. Yet at such a rent it has been accomplished by a body of men who only the other day were neither better nor worse than the ordinary run of Warwickshire labourers, working under judicious guidance and with the assurance that they would share equitably in the fruits of their additional zeal and exertion. Already, we are informed, another and slightly bigger farm has been rented to Mr. Johnson from Balliol College, and here, a few miles distant, in the same county, it may be reasonably hoped that the experiences of Radbourne will be repeated under more promising conditions and with like success. At the last Co-operative Congress it was determined to start co-operative farms in Lancashire and Scotland on the Warwickshire model, and it can scarcely be doubted that they will in due course make their appearance in other parts of the country. It is Mr. Johnson's opinion that they should not be less than about four hundred acres in extent, and their introduction would therefore entail no departure from the system of large rather than small farming which has now become established among us. The methods of culti-

* Mr. Johnson and the majority of the labourers were, he stated, working on the farm for a year and nearly ten months before they entered into possession of it as an association.

vation adopted would be not less scientific, and the rents paid would be as high as they are at present; the great difference would be in the amount and quality of the work which would be put into the soil. Altogether it is not too much to say that a new future seems to be opening to co-operation as applied to farming, and that the enlightened example set so many years ago by Mr. Gurden may at no distant period have many imitators, and may ultimately lead to great and unexpected changes in our agricultural organisation.

But even if it be held that the success of the Assington and Padbourne experiments is, in the nature of things, exceptional, and that co-operative production upon any large scale is impracticable, all such undertakings may claim the credit of an undoubtedly beneficial tendency, and are necessarily calculated to promote an improvement in the relations between capital and labour. Workmen who take part in such enterprises acquire the habit of looking at industrial problems from the employers' point of view, gradually perceive that there are many difficulties in trade and manufacture to which they have hitherto been strangers, and that to such questions as piece-work, overtime, hours of labour, there are two sides. Thus co-operation in its productive not less than, as we have seen, in its distributive aspect, may be regarded as the compensating principle to unionism.

On the whole, it is well that we should estimate co-operation rather by the work it has actually done than by that which sanguine visionaries consider it may still accomplish. It is enough to know that it has organised and elevated the life of the masses, has immensely improved their social position, has implanted in them the germs of a new morality, and a disposition which is fruitful of promise in the future relations of capital and labour. Further, co-operation has made the struggle for existence easier, existence itself happier and better for half a million of Englishmen, in the course of twenty-five years. A sum of upwards of £10,000,000 of capital forms the stock of the working-class co-operative societies. These societies not merely sell goods of the best quality on reasonable terms, but, in many cases, as we have seen, have been accompanied by the institution of libraries, wholesale bank and trading societies, conferences and congresses, and in some cases productive concerns. It is further to be remembered that since 1852—when the first Industrial and Provident Societies Act was passed—all this development has been perfectly natural and spontaneous, has taken place in the open market, subject to the full and keen competition of other industrial organisations. If the believers in an agency which has done thus much think that more than is likely to be witnessed yet remains for it to do, the delusion is at least pardonable; and if these are called fanatics, it must be remembered that with such fanatics co-operation had its first beginnings.

CHAPTER XIV.

CRIMINAL ENGLAND.

Definition of Crime—Difficulty of arriving at Exact Estimate of Amount of Crime—Figures apt to mislead; yet much has been done during the Century—Direction of Reform—Prisons, Police, Reformatories—Constitution of the Army of Crime—Categories of Criminals—Congenital Crime—High Flights of Modern Burglars—Habitual Criminals—Prevention of Crimes Act—Accidental Criminals—Colossal Criminals—Police Organisation: its Defects—Recent Reforms—Machinery of Detection—New System in London detailed—Treatment of Criminals after Apprehension—Imprisonment—Local Prisons and New Organisation described—Penal Servitude—Convict Prisons described—Discharged Prisoners—Difficulties they have to face—Assistance given by Prisoners' Aid Societies, and the Results these probably achieve.

Crime in the body politic has often been compared to some mysterious malady in the human frame, of which the cause and symptoms fairly baffle medical skill, and serve only to provoke the proverbial disagreement among doctors. It is at any rate certain that sociologists, statisticians, and philanthropists are extremely prone to difference in opinion as to the nature, origin, and treatment of crime. Some there are who hold that it is hereditary, like gout or consumption; that the tendency to wrong-doing is transmitted from generation to generation, and that if we would effectually arrest its progress we must isolate the criminal classes, and reduce their opportunities of reproduction to their lowest term. Others hope to counteract the effects of the ancestral taint by the removal of incipient criminals from the contamination of evil surroundings, and the substitution of healthy and beneficent conditions in their place, before it has had time and occasion to manifest itself in active operation. Others, again, and they constitute a numerous and influential body, do not despair of reformation even when the criminal is full grown, and hardened in a career of iniquity. They pin their faith on the moral efficacy of penal discipline, and they see in a judicious scheme of punishment and prison management a sure and certain means for the reduction, if not the extinction, of crime and the propensity to crime. Even about the meaning and significance of our criminal statistics themselves conflicting views are taken and expressed in many quarters. To some, and especially to those who are of an official turn of mind, the imposing figures of the parliamentary returns are convincing enough. Innumerable columns of carefully compiled and calculated statistics establish to their entire satisfaction that the

growth of population is steadily and rapidly outstripping the development of criminal tendencies among us, and that every successive year continues to be marked by what in a well-known phrase is described as "a gratifying diminution of crime." On the other hand, however, there are a great number of people who stoutly deny that this is the case. They admit that figures cannot lie, but they affirm that they very frequently mislead. It is not sufficient, they contend, to show that indictments and convictions are decreasing, it must be further shown that every crime is discovered and that every criminal is brought to justice. Is it not the fact that many offenders escape scot free? that even the crimes they commit remain undetected long after their perpetration? Is it not also undoubtedly true that honest folk often submit tamely to injury and depredation sooner than be mulcted in heavy sums to carry out prosecutions whereof the expense, it may be urged, should fall upon the State?

Where views and opinions are so various and conflicting, it might seem at first difficult to come to any conclusion upon the general question. But if we can once clear ourselves of the intricacies of mere detail, and, unbiassed by partisan spirit, take a calm and comprehensive survey of the subject, we shall arrive at certain broad facts which will immensely facilitate the task. The actual condition of crime and the measures which deal with it may not be as yet absolutely satisfactory, but it cannot be denied that criminal legislation generally has improved vastly since the commencement of the current century. It may be that the prevention of crime, the removal of temptations to commit it, and its treatment in its first beginnings, have not yet reached the scientific stage; that the machinery of detection is still imperfect and uncertain; that the theory and practice of repression, the pains and penalties, retributive or deterrent, imposed to maintain the majesty of the law, continue, in spite of earnest endeavours to understand them, illogical and incomplete. Be it so; it is still certain that in all these matters we have taken enormous strides in recent years. Our penal code has lost its ancient savage and ruthless character. It is not so long ago that the theft of a spoon was enough to hang a man, and that after every assize the gallows were loaded with victims guilty of the most venial offences. Little less barbarous was the system of secondary punishment meted out to those who escaped the capital sentence of the law. It was underlaid by the same principle of extirpation. Transportation beyond the seas was established as a means of ridding the community of its criminals for as long a time as possible, perhaps for ever. Never was a more anomalous and inconsistent scheme of penal repression devised. It was extremely unequal in its incidence. Some suffered severely, others were rapidly transformed into millionaires. The punishment, again, such as it was,

was inflicted at so great a distance from home that it failed to act as a warning to those who remained behind. Presently, with increased means of intercommunication, the penalty of expatriation ceased to be effective, till at last, as the colonies themselves advanced towards material wealth and prosperity, the strange spectacle was seen of honest artisans emigrating of their own accord to spots where felons also were relegated for their offences. Anomalies such as these have now altogether disappeared. Transportation has been replaced by penal servitude, and that the whole scheme of imprisonment and gaol management is certain in its operation and fairly effective is shown by the results it obtains. Equally marked have been the changes and reforms in police organisation. The existing elaborate machinery, embracing every corner of the kingdom, in England and Wales alone employing some thirty thousand men, and costing a couple of millions a year, is barely half a century old. People who, not too gratefully, accept the ubiquitous policeman of to-day as an established institution, should compare him, and the system of which he is the representative, with the ancient Charlie or the Bow Street Runner of the past. It is no longer necessary to raise the hue and cry in order to bring great criminals to justice; soldiers do not now act as thief-catchers, nor is it often that they are called out in aid of the civil power. The prevention of crime, again, may be a problem which will remain unsolved for many centuries, but exceedingly praiseworthy efforts at its solution have been made in recent years. It is coming to be more generally understood that crime must be dealt with in the rudimentary stage. To reform hardened offenders has proved almost impossible, but their offspring with care may be preserved from contaminating influences and turned into the right path. Much has been already accomplished in this direction by reformatories and industrial schools, the number of which are increasing from day to day. Through them it may yet be possible to cut off the supply which feeds and keeps alive the great army of crime still existing among us; a vast force of wrongdoers warring constantly with society, achieving few successes, suffering many reverses, but exhibiting a vitality equally deplorable and tenacious.

This army is strangely constituted, and very variously recruited. There are many categories of criminals. Some are born criminals; some achieve crime; others have crime thrust upon them. The wretched urchin, whether nameless or owning a known parentage, who first sees the light in the purlieus of Whitechapel, in Seven Dials, or Drury Lane, takes in thievish and other evil propensities with his mother's milk. He learns to look upon the well-to-do classes as his natural prey. He is taught to reverence the successful depredator as a glorious being; to despise the policeman—the "copper," in his own slang—as his natural foe. His education, except in the nefarious

processes of the occupation which with him is hereditary, is utterly neglected. He grows up with ideas of right and wrong not so much perverted as non-existent. As soon as he is able to move his fingers or act for himself, he joins the seminary of some modern Fagin, and in the companionship of an Artful Dodger rapidly passes through the curriculum, choosing at its close the career in which he continues for the rest of his life. He soon becomes familiar with all the ups and downs of his precarious calling. For a time he may enjoy immunity, may remain unknown to the police, and with this continuous opportunity of plying his trade, he may pass a year, perhaps several years, in comparative comfort, doing no work, and yet receiving an abundance of ill-gotten wages. At this period he consorts with his "fancy" of the opposite sex, and enters into a *quasi*-matrimonial partnership, which results in the perpetuation of his species by children who will, unless a special Providence intervene, follow in his footsteps. Sooner or later he falls, as he euphemistically calls it, into trouble. It may be his evil luck to become familiarised with the inside of a gaol even in his tenderest years; on the other hand, he may long escape capture, but sooner or later he is certain to come within the grip of the law, and once a gaol-bird, a gaol-bird he generally continues to the end of his days.

To reclaim such unfortunates as these in the earlier stages of their downward course is the praiseworthy object of numerous missions, refuges, and other reformatory institutions, which silently, and with but little show, are now working strenuously among us. What measure of success attends their estimable efforts cannot be very accurately determined. It is at least certain that the training-ships and industrial schools return annually to the general population many thousands of lads and girls who have been transformed from vagabonds of the most unpromising kind into decent creatures, weaned from their predatory instincts, and willing to work honestly for their daily bread. These numbers, however, represent but a fraction of the whole mass of criminality from which they have been rescued. The large balance which remains continues unreclaimed, and passes from bad to worse with rapid strides. The pickpocket and the area sneak, who are the rank and file of the criminal profession, if they display proper aptitudes soon promote themselves to its higher walks. Their strangely developed astuteness, the fertile brains and nimble fingers which are such marked characteristics of the dangerous classes, serve them in good stead when they come to be engaged in larger operations, playing for bigger stakes, and risking longer periods of forfeited liberty upon each throw. The patient and minute care which the habitual burglar bestows upon his plans is worthy of the great general preparing or prosecuting an important campaign. He approaches his quarry by circuitous routes; gathers information from every available source, undermines insidiously the honesty, or boldly secures the co-operation, of the servants of the

establishment which he has marked down as his prey. He does not attempt to pluck the apple till it is ripe, and by that time all his arrangements have been carefully matured. He has decided upon the best plan of committing the deed. If the job be one which, for manifest reasons, he does not wish to execute personally, the services of a comrade, an equally adroit cracksman, not so well known in the neighbourhood, are secured. The light vehicle—a tax-cart, with a fast-trotting pony—is ready to transfer the booty rapidly from the scene of action to a more distant spot, where the scent is weak or suspicion not yet aroused. Chief of all, a convenient "fence," or receiver of stolen goods, is advised of the approaching *coup;* his melting-pot is ready to turn the plate into "white soup," his emissaries wait only his orders to make themselves scarce with the jewels, which cannot be disposed of nearer than Vienna or Amsterdam. Thus from the first conception of the robbery, through all the preparations which have preceded its committal, to the skill displayed in execution and the subsequent astute cunning of the agents employed to remove all traces and destroy every clue, the whole affair has been managed in a masterly and thoroughly artistic fashion. It is the perfection thus visible in the plans of modern burglars that has led to those repeated successes on a large scale which will explain how, at certain seasons, a whole country side is devastated by these human pests; how mansion after mansion, country house after country house, can be ransacked with impunity, and in the teeth of the local police; how in London, in the broad daylight, and in busy thoroughfares, enterprising thieves can enter and despoil private dwelling-houses under the very noses of their owners. It may also account for other mysterious and still undetected crimes; may explain how the jewel-box of a countess can be abstracted under the eyes of servants and officials at a great London terminus; how a world-renowned picture may be spirited away from a well-watched and strongly-guarded picture-gallery in the very heart of the West End.

But it is not only as a burglar on a large scale, whether top-sawyer and chief, or merely an individual unit in a widespread confederacy and the trusted agent of others, that the greatest criminals nowadays achieve success. There are other methods of rising to eminence in their nefarious trade. Although continually beaten up and hunted from pillar to post by the police, numbers of clever rascals, who sit still themselves, contrive to do a roaring trade upon the active misdeeds of less experienced rogues. These are they who employ pick-pocket and burglar as catspaws to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. The receiver of stolen goods, whatever their description—handkerchiefs, milk-cans, forged bills, or banknotes embezzled—does more to foster crime than those who actually practise it. But although infinitely more criminal, he often escapes scot free. Justice may in

the long run overtake him, but not before he has had opportunities of amassing considerable wealth. How far-reaching and cunningly-laid are the nets spread by the experts of this branch of crime is seen as often as their evil practices are discovered and laid bare. It is then shown that some master-mind has woven a web and planned schemes upon a gigantic scale. In a very notorious case which once occupied much of the attention of the public—that of the Long Firm—it was found that the fraternity embraced all manner of men and women in all parts of the country; that operations of unusual magnitude were manipulated by rogues with great financial skill and uncommon aptitude for business; and that the traffic had prospered, undetected and unchecked, for several consecutive years. The same breadth of treatment, accompanied by minute knowledge and mastery over details, was exhibited by the transatlantic forgers who a few years ago committed frauds upon the Bank of England which, if undetected, would have involved the loss of a hundred thousand pounds.

But it is not given to all to succeed, although many conspicuous examples may be cited of successful crime. These are the leaders and generals; there remain the common men, the rank and file of the army of crime, who have not originally possessed the talent to rise, or who through bad luck or bad management have gravitated still farther downwards, and whose misdeeds are of a more prosaic and commonplace character. Their thieving, and their malpractices generally when they act for themselves, are always on a second-rate scale; if they fly at higher game it is as the tools or instruments of others, and in such cases luck seldom brings them more than a tithe of the proceeds, while they have often to bear the whole brunt of failure. Still, whatever their degree and precedence in the order of iniquity, they all belong to the class of habitual criminals. This is an alarmingly numerous force. There are some 40,000 thieves and depredators continually at large; of the 23,000 persons apprehended annually on suspicion of indictable crimes, of whom about 14,000 or 15,000 are committed for trial, nearly half come under this category—as do many thousands of the half million of people summarily convicted every year. It is with this race of outcasts that our gaols and convict establishments are principally filled; it is they who are the objects of unremitting solicitude on the part of the police, whether living prosperously in the suburbs, or congregating in thieves' kitchens at the East End. They are all more or less familiar to the police, and if "wanted" can generally be produced without loss of time. It is on their account, and to facilitate their ready identification, that huge ledgers, known as the Habitual Criminals Register, are kept with admirable care and minuteness at the Home Office, and posted up from day to day. Against them severe enactments have of late years been made. The law known as the Prevention of Crimes Act is directed mainly against

habitual crime ; not only does it lay down that a repetition of offences brings those who commit them within the definition and renders them liable to the penalties of habitual criminals, but it provides for such subsequent supervision as may watch over possible depredators and keep them in check. If none of these measures have as yet appreciably diminished the number of habitual offenders, it must be admitted that only a comparatively short time has elapsed since their introduction, and that it is still almost too soon to look for very decisive results.

Although the foregoing categories of criminals account for a large proportion of the whole number, there remains a considerable fraction of evil-doers in whom the taint is neither hereditary nor habitual, but who represent distinct types of crime peculiar to the present day. These include the accidental, the almost involuntary criminal, and those who, cursed from the beginning with a weak moral fibre, have gradually succumbed to temptation, and degenerated from bad to worse. The foolish spirit of social competition which permeates even the the lower middle classes, and which shows itself in unnecessary ostentation and culpaple extravagance, has been at the bottom of much misery and mischief. The low-salaried clerk or the struggling tradesman is egged on by his wife and daughters, who are eager to hold their heads above their neighbours, and live beyond their means. When evil days come upon him, surrounded by difficulties and harassed by importunate claims, the lapse into dishonesty is unhappily only too easy. He may make a desperate effort to retrieve his fortunes by speculation. If he can find a stockbroker to trust him, he may try his hand in Capel Court on a small scale. More probably he puts his trust in bettingmen, and hopes for a big windfall from backing the right horse. As these dangerous expedients probably plunge him ere long deeper and deeper in the mire, the transition to misappropriation, to embezzlement, to fraudulent trading and betrayal of trust whether to employers or to relatives and friends, becomes almost inevitable, and he is henceforth a ruined man. The waters close over him, he is engulfed in the stream, and the chances are a thousand to one that he never regains dry land.

Criminals of this description are to be pitied almost as much as they must be blamed. No such consideration can be extended to others encountered only too frequently at the present day in a lower stratum of society. Crimes the most brutal and atrocious are unhappily very prevalent among a certain class : the collier, toiling artisan, and workman, to whom a recent rise in wages may have brought a sudden and unexpected accession of means—for which they can find no employment but in satisfying a lust for drink. The widespread drunkenness among such people, embracing as it does ranks and classes above them, has grown into a national evil. A constantly increasing percentage of

crimes of violence are committed by soddened and brutalised ruffians in their cups. The besotted toper returns to his home, barren and cheerless, because all supplies have been diverted to gratify his artificial thirst. Angry altercations follow, quarrels, mutual recriminations between the long-suffering wife, who in her misery has sought solace in the same debasing vice. At last the stronger sex, goaded and maddened to fury, asserts its mastery by cowardly blows, delivered with the first weapon to hand—with knife, hobnailed boots, or bare fist—and the newspapers are furnished with a paragraph, headed "Brutal Wife Murder." Sometimes children are included in the deed. Sometimes the affray follows a pothouse quarrel, and the victim is a drunken associate, possibly an unoffending spectator who has essayed to act as a peacemaker, and brought upon himself the murderous wrath of both parties to the fight. Wretches who have been thus transformed by drink into wild beasts are not habitual criminals. They belong rather to the class of chance criminals, of those who by weak surrendering to vicious habits have had crime thrust upon them.

But no picture of crime in modern England would be complete which lacked a portrait of those who may be said to have achieved crime. The well-educated criminal, as expert as he is daring, as trusted as he is deceitful, well born possibly, and highly esteemed, who pursues, nevertheless, for years a course of systematic fraud on the most colossal scale, is essentially a product of these later times. He is another remararkable instance of that tendency to exaggeration which is one of the notes of our age. The names of these giants in guilt are familiar to all. The Redpaths and Robsons of a few years back were but the prototypes of men who outdo them in shameless depravity. The recent immense extension of commercial enterprise, the magnitude of modern financial operations, have opened up to these evil geniuses opportunities which their predecessors seldom obtained. They work out their nefarious schemes with so much skill that they commonly secure for themselves a long enjoyment of prosperity. When the crash comes, everybody is taken by surprise. Yet the facts as they become known are found to be nearly always identical. There have been the same circumstances of great wealth displayed, the sources of which are unexplained; the same carelessness in supervision, the same blind trustfulness on the part of directors and employers, which has accepted fraudulent figures and audits incompletely performed.

There is a strong family likeness in the careers of these great commercial criminals, and one may be taken as the type of all. The scene opens in counting-house or bank, in which as junior clerk or subordinate employé the future prince of rogues displays such undoubted capacity for business that he soon gains commendation. Advance-

ment follows; but it is probably too slow for his ardent and avaricious spirit, and his fertile wits begin to plan more expeditious methods of obtaining at once by fraud what only long years of patient industry would bring him with honour. It may be that his schemes are assisted by the confidence his employers place in him, or by their neglect of simple precautions; it may be that he is surrounded by innumerable checks, and that his successful progress is hampered and hindered; but if he is of the true type he will triumph over all such difficulties. He has genius enough to carve out a line for himself. Perhaps he depends upon systematic falsification of figures, perhaps he forges freely, perhaps he manufactures and circulates spurious securities; but in one way or another he rises rapidly in wealth and esteem. So soon as his hollow bark is launched upon the great waters of credit his operations increase, he becomes widely known, and he draws more fish into his net. Now, too, he begins to enjoy life. He revels upon the fat of the land. He has town house and country house, a yacht, a shooting-box, a moor. His stables are filled with carriages and costly hunters. He aspires to be styled a modern Mæcenas, is a liberal patron of the fine arts, is much esteemed by dealers and Academicians. Not infrequently he adopts the cloak of piety as the best antidote to suspicion. He subscribes liberally to all charities, is himself churchwarden or elder, is often seen on the platform at Exeter Hall, and is quoted as a shining light among Revivalists and other Latter-Day Saints. Surprise that so excellent a man should have gone astray is one of the first of the shocks which accompany the sudden discovery of his guilt. Regret and compassion for him are probably expressed at first, until fuller revelations prove how wide-reaching have been his guilty practices, and how his collapse brings numbers of innocent persons to beggary and ruin. Then we have an outburst of indignation against all who permitted him to escape detection, and for so long.

What measure of success has attended our police organisation since its establishment cannot be very accurately determined. Many people deny that it has accomplished much; some protest against the modern tendency to rely altogether upon the police, as entailing the loss of personal independence and self-reliance. This spirit is often exaggerated into unfriendliness to the force. Every unfavourable circumstance is quoted to its discredit. Its members are sometimes charged with exceeding their powers, sometimes with condoning offences when it has been made worth their while to be conveniently blind. More commonly the police are twitted with their failures in following out clues and bringing to justice the perpetrators of heinous and other sensational crimes. The discovery made a few years ago, that certain hitherto trusted detectives had made common cause with the enemies of society, threw grave suspicion on the rectitude of the whole con-

stabulary. Nevertheless, it would be grossly unfair to ignore what the police have done and still do. Their existence is a bulwark against crime, a standing menace to evil-doers. The fact that serious offences now and again pass undetected may prove that police machinery is imperfect, but against the crimes which defy their attempts at detection may be set those which through their intervention, active or passive, are never committed. The constable on his beat is like the sentinel watching over the welfare and safety of the sleeping town. He is always on the alert, and gives instant alarm on the approach of danger.

At the same time it cannot be denied that our detective police achieves smaller successes than that of our Continental neighbours. This is in part to be traced to the repugnance of a free people to anything approaching to espionage—a sentiment which insists that something more than mere guesswork shall exist to warrant any infringement of the liberty of the subject. These limitations naturally circumscribe the action of the police, hampering their efforts, and rendering them often barren of results. Yet the system as now constituted cannot well be found fault with. In all the large towns an elaborate machinery exists which works with the precision of clockwork.

In London, for example, Scotland Yard is the centre of the detective system; and here are gathered together the threads of a vast network which embraces the whole metropolis and its ramifications. Early every morning reports are received at this head-quarters, from all out-stations, of the crimes committed during the night. It is the business of a responsible official to examine these without loss of time. Should there be among the lists any crime of unusual magnitude and importance, full information thereof is telegraphed forthwith to the chief detective. If he is still in bed, the electric bell is at his side, and he can himself read off from the instrument the news as it comes, and reply with necessary instructions. All the reports are at once set up in type upon the premises. Within an hour they are struck off and circulated by the police messengers in light tax-carts throughout the police stations of the metropolis. These "informations," as they are called, contain full particulars of the crimes, with a full *signalement* of their perpetrators, and the whole document is read aloud to the reliefs of bluecoated constables as they go on duty. The same process is repeated four times a day; fresh reports are made the groundwork of fresh informations, and thus every policeman over a wide area of many square miles is made aware of what mischief is afoot. When the case is more serious, immediately on the receipt of the morning reports, telegraphic communications are sent simultaneously to all the chief detective officers at out-stations, who in turn warn their immediate subordinates to be on the alert. In such a case, too, the chief will have promptly intervened, either personally

or by wire. Acting under his orders the experts—detective officers have each their speciality—have been summoned to Scotland Yard to confer. The chief of the department meets them, listens to their advice, discusses the case in all its bearings, and decides upon the course of action. Perhaps the job is entrusted specially to some particular man, perhaps to several. It may be that the whole machinery is set in movement, and a general hue and cry is raised throughout and beyond the metropolitan boundaries, by prompt intercommunication with the police of the seaports and principal provincial towns. As the day passes scraps of news probably come in, and are at once distributed to the sleuth-hounds who are drawing the vast covert. The scent grows stronger in consequence on this side or on that; one hound has struck it, and his whimper—transmitted by wire—is taken up by the pack; ere long, if all goes well, the leading pursuers break from scent to view, and before night the quarry has been run into and secured.

When a great crime has been committed in the country the same course is followed. We will suppose a bishop's palace has been broken into, a quantity of plate and valuables carried off. The county constabulary communicate at once by telegraph with the metropolitan police: the stolen property is described, and also the person of the thief, who was observed leaving the house. Perhaps he tumbled down stairs, or fell out of the window, and is supposed to have injured himself. "Look out for a small man, or a tall man," as the case may be, "with a broken arm or a broken leg." This is the *consigne* sent from Scotland Yard: "Look out at the pawnshops and the known receivers for the stolen valuables." "Short account herewith," flashes next. An hour or two afterwards the printed informations are circulated in the manner already described. All the hospitals and infirmaries have been visited, and inquiries made of newly-received cases with fractured or injured limbs. The London chief investigator has had a long colloquy, by wire, with the local chief constable. "Can you give me more details? How was the deed done? What instruments used? How was entrance obtained, and so forth?" The replies to these queries are so many clues to the experienced metropolitan detective. One or other of the old officers called in to confer says directly, "That is Blustering Bob's style of work," or, "I could swear to Jemmy the Tinman's *modus operandi*," or, "The Black-faced Poacher had a hand in that, I'll go bail." Within an hour the detective who has this valuable special knowledge is on the track of his old friend. Blustering Bob or Jemmy the Tinman is "wanted." It is on the informations, it is wired right and left, favourite haunts are drawn, and before the day is out the culprit is discovered, with the bishop's signet ring in his waistcoat pocket and his arm in a sling.

Of course these pursuits are not always successful. But it is at least certain that the system has been greatly improved since the notorious trials when Kurr and Benson turned Queen's evidence, and the public attention was aroused to the inefficiency of the detective police.* Until the new organisation was introduced, the detective department at Scotland Yard was closed from midnight to ten in the morning. The argus eyes of the law were shut, the whole machinery was stopped, and until within an hour or two of noon did not recommence work. The criminal, therefore, who did his business in the night watches was certain always of a few hours' start, knowing full well that no pursuit would be set on foot except during the regular hours. It is far otherwise now. A superior officer remains on duty at the central office all night. He has full discretionary powers; he is a linguist, and can communicate, if necessary, with all the capitals of Europe; he is authorised to rouse the chief at any moment of the night; he is expected to send out myrmidons promptly in pursuit, to direct the out-stations to set a special watch upon the great railway terminuses; to wire also to Liverpool, Dover, Folkestone, Southampton, and other principal points of departure for other countries. The various units of the detective force are also kept more rigidly in hand. Every man is obliged to enter in a journal a detailed account of his proceedings from hour to hour. If at the moment engaged on a particular "job," and it is rarely that he is not so, he has to describe his operations, his movements from place to place, the steps by which he conducts his investigations. These journals and diaries are closely scrutinised week after week by the divisional inspectors and superintendent, and every month they are submitted for the examination of the chief himself. Very careful measures are taken to prevent subordinates from falling into temptation. Private persons for whom criminal inquiries are set on foot are not now at liberty to give rewards to individual officers. All moneys must be paid to the Chief of the Department, and it rests with him to distribute the sums in such portions and to such officers as he considers most deserving. For instance, the reward offered may be high in one case, where the victims are wealthy; in another, where the ends of justice are equally concerned, no reward may be forthcoming. The system now in force provides one general fund, which is administered with due care by the responsible head of the department, and the door is thus closed to much of the dishonesty and chicanery which was possible when the subordinate dealt directly with private persons.

Having thus briefly indicated the manner in which crime is

* Although it seems to have been considered desirable to abolish the office of Director of Criminal Investigation on the retirement of Mr. Howard Vincent, the system over which he presided remains practically the same as it was during his tenure of the post.

pursued and hunted down, let us follow the culprit from the time of his arrest through the various stages of discomfort to which he is now subjected by the law, not only as a punishment for his misconduct, but as a warning to others. The apprehension has been made by virtue of a warrant on sworn information, and the offender when captured is lodged, if necessary, for safe custody in a police cell, but removed thence with all possible despatch to one or other of Her Majesty's prisons. He is next taken before the magistrate, one or more, in a police court or in petty sessions, who hear evidence and decide the case. If within their powers, they deal summarily with it; if more serious and seeming to require more exemplary punishment, the culprit is sent for trial to sessions or assizes. But in almost every instance, unless acquitted, he finds himself for a longer or shorter period sentenced to incarceration in one or other of our gaols. If the term ranges from two years downwards to a week or a few days, the sentence is endured in what, until 1878, were known as the borough or county prisons scattered up and down the country; if the crime must be dealt with more severely, the penalty is penal servitude in a convict prison, the shortest period of which is for five years, and the longest for life. The last-named prisons have been invariably in the hands of the Government, but those first named were, until a few years ago, controlled by the local magistracy, and the cost of their maintenance fell principally upon the local rates. But since the passing of the Prison Act of 1877, the whole of these prisons have been brought under the direct supervision of the State; they are altogether supported by the imperial exchequer, and their administration, except where the protection or punishment of the criminal inmates is concerned, is vested exclusively in a body of Prison Commissioners, who, with their inspectors and assistants, occupy a portion of the Home Office, and act under the immediate orders of the Home Secretary.

Although the measure was not passed without some opposition, it was based upon such sound principles that even its foes could only find fault with it on sentimental grounds. The arrangements which it was proposed to replace were open to much criticism. The various prisons were very variously managed. In one county the rules were needlessly stringent, in the next foolishly lax. Here the prisoner spent half his time on the treadmill, there he never climbed a step. He might be dieted quite differently; he might in this prison perform double the amount of work which he did in that. Again, the local position of the prisons was often the result of chance; they did not follow population, but remained where they had been planted years and years before. There were in some districts too many prisons, in others too few. Here the prison authority had to hire cell accommodation at a distance, and incur the expense of removing their

prisoners thither; there the prison was habitually half empty. Full or empty, the same staff had to be kept up, because of the uncertain influx of prisoners. Consequently, in some of the small prisons, the proportion of officers to prisoners was as five to one. Above all, the expense of maintenance was unfairly laid entirely upon land and house property, while incomes derived from other sources did not contribute a sixpence, although benefiting equally from the protection prisons are supposed to afford. Moreover, in these days of rapid locomotion, one district, probably, had to pay for the imprisonment of criminals belonging to another. There was, therefore, very good reason indeed for making the cost of prisons a charge on the imperial rather than on the local exchequer.

To remedy these anomalies and establish one uniform system has been the primary object in view, both with the framers of the Bill and those who, since it passed, have been entrusted with the enforcement of the Act. A prisoner's life, from first to last, in one of Her Majesty's local prisons is now much the same everywhere. He is bathed and cleansed on reception; the doctor sees him and certifies to the class of labour he is fit to perform; the chaplain makes a note of his antecedents, of his education, and of his religious knowledge. He is then passed into the main prison, and inducted into his cell; the rules are explained, the task he must perform pointed out to him. This cell, except for chapel or exercise, whether in the yards or upon the treadwheels, he does not leave for a month, if his sentence extends to that period. During that month he is allowed bed-clothes, but no mattress; his diet is restricted, and his labour—of the kind known as first-class—continues for ten hours. At the termination of a month he is permitted to pass on to second-class labour, he may commence to acquire a trade, he may occasionally leave his cell to work with others like himself, but in strict silence, and only during good behaviour. After the first three months he may see his friends once, and write to them once; his diet becomes fuller and more varied; he may earn a few shillings to help him on his release. All this time, however, he is liable to forfeit any privileges he has earned, and to suffer other inflictions for misconduct. He may have a few hours in a dark cell, may be restricted to bread and water fare for two or three days, and for longer periods to short commons, of which Indian meal and potatoes form the staple food. His health the while is carefully tended. He is continually weighed; if he falls away in flesh, or suffers from bodily ailments, he is prescribed for or admitted into hospital. His moral welfare is equally regarded: he has to attend daily service in the chapel, must attend school, and accept the ministrations of the chaplain in the privacy of his cell. If at the time of his release he is destitute, he is clothed decently, provided with food, and a railway warrant to pass him on to his home, if it is far from

the prison. This treatment under the new régime may not differ in general outlines from that pursued under the old; but it is at least uniform in every respect. The prisoner sentenced in Northumberland finds in Morpeth and Newcastle gaols precisely the same punishment as the prisoner in Coldbath Fields. The hours and class of labour are now everywhere the same, as well as the diet, the forfeitures for misconduct, the marks to be earned by industry, and the gratuities in cash so earned. Other advantages may be expected to follow from this unified administration. There is the reduction in expenditure gained by closing nearly half the whole number of prisons and concentrating all prisoners in those that remain, there having been for many years cells available in excess of numbers to fill them, which, however, were wasted, and could not be utilised from want of powers to transfer prisoners from prison to prison. There is also the increased earnings of prisoners from the more scientific adaptation of their labour, from the facility of gathering together convict artisans in special trade prisons, and generally from the development of the industrial instruction of prisoners, which a strong central authority is almost certain to bring about.

There has been no strongly-marked alteration in the manner of carrying out a sentence of penal servitude in recent years; but the system is, notwithstanding, little known, and there are people who still talk of the hulks and transportation as though these old-fashioned outlets for criminality were now in existence. As a matter of fact, no convict—the name is reserved for those sentenced to death or penal servitude—leaves the kingdom. Penal servitude is inflicted at the great convict establishments. The convict, as soon as convenient, is removed from the local prison where, since the assizes, he has remained in durance, to Millbank or Pentonville. Here he is subjected to precisely the same process as in the local prisons; but at the end of nine months, according to the doctor's decision, he passes on to a public works prison—to Chatham, Dartmoor, Portsmouth, Portland, or the like. Arrived there, he is turned out with hundreds of associates to labour on fortifications, breakwaters, dockyard extensions, and so forth. How substantial is the work thus performed may be judged by all who have seen these monuments of convict labour at the various stations above named. Life in a convict prison is certainly not cheerful. Labour begins at daylight, and is continued, with an interval for dinner, until sundown; the fare is in quality excellent, but in quantity not too full. An absolute submission to authority, the surrender of all personal volition, unhesitating obedience, constant cleanliness and orderliness, are not the least irksome of the restraints the criminal has to endure. But with all this there is no unnecessary harshness; the discipline is firm, but never arbitrary; the well-being of the prisoner, and his protection from ill-usage, are carefully provided for by the constant supervision and inspection of superior

authorities. Nor is the element of hope entirely absent. The "mark system," as it is called, which has been in force for upwards of fourteen years, puts it into the power of every man to gain a certain remission of his sentence by his own industry. How powerfully this incentive acts in encouraging a man to use his whole skill and energy is seen in the high-class work turned out in the convict prisons—in the beautiful stone-dressing, the intricate carpenter's and smith's work, in the employment of convicts as bakers, painters, engineers, sawyers, fitters, and the like. A more substantial test, perhaps, is the money value of the work done, which for a series of years has averaged over £260,000 annually.

The superintendence of our whole prison system is now confided to the Convict Prison Board and the Local Prison Commission, both bodies being under the presidency of the Surveyor-General, and assisted by a staff of inspectors, who frequently visit and report on the establishments they have in charge. The average number of convicts in prison during the last ten years has been about 10,000 in each year, in the proportion of 9,000 males to 1,000 females. Between 6,000 and 7,000 are under sentences for five or seven years, rather more for seven than for five, and between 2,000 and 3,000 are under sentences for ten, fifteen, or twenty years, the great majority of them for ten. Sentences for intermediate periods, or for specific periods in excess of the longest of these terms, are very rare. But some 300 convicts are undergoing penal servitude for life. In our convict prisons the "mark system" is chiefly relied on for the maintenance of order and discipline, and it is found as a rule to be amply sufficient for the purpose. Of late years it has been the custom to separate hardened and repeated offenders from the rest, and also to form into a class by themselves, called the "star class," such carefully selected prisoners as are ascertained by minute inquiry into their antecedents to be free from all suspicion of habitual criminality. Owing to these measures, the chances of insubordination have been materially diminished, and many—that is, between 500 and 600 in every year—who are comparative novices in crime, have been freed from the risk of being lured into a lower depth of depravity by the evil counsels of companions more experienced in wickedness than themselves. In round numbers, only 200 or 300 of our 10,000 convicts fail to earn, or forfeit after earning, the marks by which in return for good conduct they secure some remission of their punishment. About 1,600 are annually discharged or liberated on licence, and their places are taken by about 1,600 others, either newly sentenced or recommitted on the revocation of their "tickets-of-leave," as they are still commonly designated. In all from 120 to 130 die. But on an average it seems beyond question, in spite of popular prejudice to the contrary, that only one escapes. When it is remembered what manner of men our

convicts usually are, and the cunning and audacity by which a great many of them are characterised, this fact speaks volumes for the vigilance with which they are guarded and kept in subjection. Although during the last decade the number of our convicts has remained practically stationary, the general population has increased by between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000, and the proportion of those who are under thirty years of age is something like a third less now than it was at its commencement. Sentences to penal servitude are at present, too, fewer by almost a half than they were a quarter of a century ago, and for a couple of years have been fewer than they ever were before.* As to the population of our local prisons a series of diagrams, published in the annual reports relating to them, has given prominence to the curious circumstance that it has risen and fallen with marked regularity since the middle of the century in cycles of six or eight years. The indicating lines reach their highest points in the columns allotted to the years 1851, 1857, 1863, 1869, and 1877, and touch comparatively low levels in the spaces representing the years which precede and follow them. But from 1877 onwards the tendency has been to fall, with the exception that there was an insignificant rise in 1883 as compared with 1882. When the Prisons Act came into force the population of our local prisons numbered 21,000, and it now numbers a little more than 17,000. The reduction among prisoners as among convicts is greater among those who are under than among those who are over thirty years old, the percentage being some 55 in the former to 45 in the latter. Among those whose age is less than sixteen the decrease is more remarkable, the number being now not much in excess of half what it was four or five years ago. Of between 13,000 and 14,000 prisoners under sentence, the large majority are committed for one, two, three, six, twelve, and eighteen months, and only about 250 for two years, the extreme limit of imprisonment with or without hard labour, as distinguished from penal servitude. Whatever its severity may be, it is manifest that the régime of our local prisons is at all events not unhealthy, for the death rate in them is only eight in the thousand, and that the management has sensibly improved is shown by the circumstance that there has been a sensible diminution in prison punishments, particularly corporal punishment, for several years.†

There is another and a last stage through which the criminal passes —one which is too often only the short breathing-space between the termination of one sentence and the commencement of another—the period when he is once more at large. This has been the subject of his dreams, sleeping and waking. What port is to the homeward-bound sailor, such is the day of release to the prisoner, only intensified a thousandfold in the eagerness of its anticipation. The slow sad

* Seventh Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons. London, 1884.

† Seventh Report of the Commissioners of Prisons. London, 1884.

hours bring it round at last. His hair and beard are no longer clipped by the prison barber, who cuts both with the same scissors. He has at length bridged over the great gulf which has so long separated him from the rest of the community, and he will soon resume his place in the world to fight upon his own account; to be tempted, no doubt, perchance to succumb only too easily again. The attitude of the world towards him when he is once more free is perhaps a little too absolutely repellant and unrelenting. It is not only that he has been photographed and his *signalement* widely distributed among the police, that he has had to submit to inspection at the hands of the detective, and that he may expect further continuous surveillance, but he will in most cases find it extremely difficult to earn an honest living, however desirous he may be to do so. His old honest associates—if he has any—will shun him, employers will not care to engage him lest their other workmen should take offence. Most doors are closed to him; he is a suspicious character, not to be trusted even when in sight. What wonder that he soon again falls away! That he does so less often now than heretofore is very largely due to the philanthropic efforts of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies, notably that of London, which is now under royal patronage, and which does a vast amount of good. This society deals entirely with ex-convicts from the convict establishments; but there are others in the provinces which work with much the same goodwill for the prisoners from the local prisons. In London, shortly before a convict is due for release, his case is submitted to the society and duly considered. If accepted—as it generally is, save in the case of some few notorious criminals, upon whom all good offices would be entirely wasted—when the day of release arrives the emancipated prisoner is conducted privately, in plain clothes, to the society's office, whence he is passed on to some situation, as labourer or handicraftsman, according to his qualification. The employer and the society are usually the only two in the secret; the society answers to the police, and there is no need for the usual supervision; the man carries therefore no stigma, he has had a fair start, and it is mainly his own fault if he again falls away. This beneficent treatment is certainly not the least efficacious among the various measures which have contributed to reduce crime. By-and-by, the reformatories and industrial schools may convert the raw material, before it has had time to degenerate into the lowest forms; improved police arrangements may render property more and more safe, and the commission of crime more dangerous; but these are rather remote ameliorations. Meanwhile the Aid Societies, which seek to rehabilitate criminals who have served their time or are released on licence, which endeavour to give them a fresh start and a new opportunity of leading honest and respectable lives, are actually achieving beneficent and satisfactory results day after day among us.

CHAPTER XV.

TRAVELLING AND HOTELS.

General View of the English Railway System—The Block System—Extent and Expenditure of Railway Lines—Speed and Comfort—Pullman Cars—A Journey due North from London—The Railway Commissioners—Refreshment Rooms—Travelling by Coach—Different Kinds of Coaching—Posting—Bicycling—English Hotels—Absorption of Small Hotels—Typical Frequenters of Hotels—Hotels which are Survivals of the Past—Their Questionable Comfort.

Almost the entire length of Great Britain may now be traversed for a few pence under three pounds sterling. The price of a single third-class ticket from London to John o' Groat's—from King's Cross to Wick or Thurso station—is two pounds nineteen shillings and fourpence. The distance is as nearly as possible six hundred and fifty miles. The time spent upon the journey will be something less than twenty-five hours, and the journey itself will be accomplished, whatever class the traveller may choose, with comparatively slight fatigue. On the whole the management of the English railways is excellent. The speed is great; there is little overcrowding; the companies' servants are, though frequently overworked, for the most part civil; and if, in spite of the announcement forbidding gratuities, "tips" are expected, railway porters are abundantly satisfied with vails of the most modest amount. Much of the discomfort which the English railway traveller experiences is inflicted on him by disagreeable travelling companions. Yet for one who comes under this category, how many are there, whatever class the traveller may choose, who are not merely unobjectionable but welcome associates? Let it be assumed that, in common with many excellent and respectable personages of a frugal turn—officers of both services, substantial agriculturists, and minor dignitaries of the Church—the passenger selects third class, he will be singularly unfortunate if he finds himself in society to which he can reasonably take exception. No doubt there is plenty of rowdyism in the train, but then rowdyism is, of its essence, gregarious. It has an ineradicable tendency to gravitate to a special part or parts of that street in motion which a train may be regarded as being. There is a kind of Alsatia in every steam locomotive bound on a long journey, and there is much to be thankful for in the fact that its area is rigidly localised. The father of a family need be under no apprehension that

he must choose between first and second class on the one hand, and on the other hand the risk, or rather the strong probability, of a personal encounter with much that is offensive and disreputable. Railway guards are quick judges of character—many of them, too, with quite as much a character of their own, as keen a sense of humour and wit, as the guards of the old stage coach—and they may be trusted to save decent folk who travel third class on long journeys from exposure to any serious annoyance. It may be added that British exclusiveness, which shows itself pretty plainly in the first-class carriage, has a tendency to disappear in the second and third.

The railway system of England and Wales consists of 13,000 miles of line, of which two-thirds are in the hands of the six large companies—the Great Western, London and North-Western, North Eastern, Midland, Great Eastern, and Great Northern.* Amalgamation very early became the order of the day, and is steadily on the increase, although it is not possible without an Act of Parliament. The centre of the system is London, and every company which can possibly make its way to the capital does not fail to do so. At first railways were worked without fixed signals, nor was it until 1838 that any regular code of signals was adopted. Now the semaphore fitted with these, one for the up and one for the down line, is in use at all stations and junctions. When the arm is raised to the full extent the line is stopped; when it is at an angle of forty-five degrees the need of caution is indicated to the driver; when it is at rest the driver knows that he can proceed at full speed. At night "line clear" is expressed by a white light, "caution" by green, "danger" by red. The block system provides that no two trains shall be between any two block signal-boxes—these boxes being distant from each other from two to eight miles—at the same time on the same line. It is to be seen in its highest perfection on the Midland, and it may best be described in Mr. Parsloe's own words: A, B, and C are supposed to represent three block posts, and the process of signalling is thus carried on. On the approach of a train to A, the signalman will call the attention of B, and then give the "Be Ready" signal on the bell and the proper "Train Approaching" dial signal. The signalman at B, after having ascertained that the line is clear for the train to run upon, must repeat the signals, and when he has received the necessary intimation from it that he has repeated them correctly, he must ply the needle to "Line Clear." As soon as the train has passed A, the signalman there must give the bell signal "Train on Line" to B, and the signalman at B must acknowledge

* For most of the facts contained in this brief account of the English railways I am indebted to Mr. Joseph Parsloe's instructive little work on "Our Railway System."

the signal and employ the needle. The signalman at A must then give to B the proper "Train on Line" dial signal; and when the signalman at B has acknowledged that signal and received the necessary intimation from A that his acknowledgment is correct, he must ply the needle on to "Line Blocked," and then call the attention of and give the "Be Ready" and "Train Approaching" signals to C. When the train has passed B, the signalman there must call the attention of A, and give the proper signal indicating that the line is clear of the train, which must be duly acknowledged by the signalman at A, and so on throughout the block.

Of the railways of the United Kingdom in 1882, the total working expenditure was £36,170,436, and the total receipts from all sources £69,377,124. Hence the expenditure amounted to about half the receipts. But the goods traffic, including as it does the carriage of minerals, is frequently asserted to be far more costly than the passenger traffic. Besides season-ticket holders—of whom the number was 540,811—there were 30,777,736 first class, 58,787,900 second class, and 497,124,194 third class passengers, or 587,230,641 passengers of all kinds. The weight of goods and minerals conveyed was no less than 256,215,833 tons. The receipts were from passenger traffic £28,796,813, and from goods and mineral traffic £37,740,315. The authorised capital was £877,711,005, and the capital paid up and raised by loans and debentures £767,899,570. The mileage was 18,457, the capital paid up and raised per mile £41,605, and the receipts per mile £3,633. The rolling-stock consisted of 14,128 locomotives, 31,250 carriages for passengers, 11,760 luggage vans, carriage-trucks, and horse-boxes, and 419,051 waggons for coals, merchandise, and live stock; or, in all, 462,061 vehicles. In the service of the companies there were between three and four hundred thousand officials and employés. Between eleven and twelve hundred trains travelled every day over between two and three hundred thousand miles in the course of the year. In the process of signalling during the twenty-four hours it was calculated eight years ago that 160,000 operations were performed by about 13,000 hands, and as some two thousand miles of line have since been opened, the number of both must now be considerably augmented. Coming to accidents, it seems that 7,722 persons were returned to the Board of Trade in the middle of 1883 as having been killed or injured on the railways of the United Kingdom in the preceding twelve months, of whom 1,121 were killed, and 4,601 injured. Of the whole number, of killed 127, and of injured 1739, were passengers. But of these only 18 were killed and 803 injured in consequence of accidents to or collisions between trains. The deaths of the remaining 109 and injuries to the remaining 936 passengers were due to a variety of causes, and among them, according to the official report, "more especially to a

want of caution on the part of the individuals themselves."* Of the further 994 killed and 2,862 injured, 553 of the first and 2,576 of the second were railway officials or employés, and 441 of the first and 286 of the second were principally suicides, trespassers, and persons who were knocked down at level crossings. In addition to this, 42 persons were killed and 4,367 were injured on the premises of the companies owing to causes unconnected with the movement of railway vehicles, and, therefore, these cases are not regarded as railway accidents in the proper sense of the term. The proportion of passengers returned in 1882 as having been killed or injured from causes beyond their own control was one in 36,379,905 killed, and one in 815,489 injured.† The proportion of railway servants killed and injured was of course enormously larger, probably not less than one in 600 of the former and one in 120 of the latter. But the exact figures are not accessible. The most dangerous occupations seem to be those of permanent-way men, porters, breaksmen, goods guards, and shunters; engine-drivers and firemen are comparatively safe, and passenger guards appear to be ten times as secure as goods guards.‡

As regards speed, if not comfort, in locomotion, we have reached a point beyond which we are not likely to go. From Bristol to Aberdeen, a distance of 800 miles, which in the old coach times would have occupied ten days, is performed in eighteen hours; from London to Holyhead, 260 miles, in six hours and forty minutes; from London to Plymouth, 247 miles, in six hours and a quarter. The average rate of speed at which the quickest express on each of the great lines travels is 47¾ miles an hour. On two lines this pace is exceeded. On the Great Northern, the train leaving London at 10, and arriving at Peterborough at 11.30, a distance of 76¼ miles, goes at the rate of 51 miles an hour. On the Great Western, the "Flying Dutchman" leaves Paddington at 11.45, reaches Swindon, a distance of 77¼ miles, without a single stoppage, at twelve minutes after one o'clock, the uniform pace being thus 53¼ miles. The journey on this line is, indeed, as far as Bath, the quickest in the world. The distance is 106¾ miles, and is performed in two hours and thirteen minutes, including ten minutes stoppage at Swindon; the actual time, therefore, spent in travelling is two hours and three minutes, and the pace is therefore something over fifty-two miles an hour. As regards comfort and ease, the quality of many of the first and second class carriages on the Great Western leaves nothing

* Report to the Board of Trade on Railways of the United Kingdom. London. 1883.

† If season-ticket holders are included, who are estimated to take 120,000,000 journeys in the year, the proportion of killed would be one in about 43,000,000.

‡ In 1882 the investigated railway accidents were 118, against 111 in 1881. Of these 13 occurred on the Great Eastern, 11 on the Great Western, 10 on the London and North-Western, 7 on the Midland, and 7 on the Great Northern.

to be wished. The Pullman's cars were introduced into England just ten years ago, but the experiment has not proved quite as successful as might have been expected, and as it deserves. These cars were first used on the Midland line, and contain both drawing-rooms and sleeping-rooms. In the former there are eighteen chairs, which can be turned on their axles in such a way as to face either the window or the centre of the apartment; in the latter there are sixteen beds in the main compartments, and six in two private compartments. These rooms on rails are decorated in a very finished and artistic manner, and at the touch of a spring by the side a table flies out, on which the passengers can have a meal spread. Whether the traveller prefers the sociability of the Pullman cars or the comparative privacy of ordinary English carriages, he cannot fail to recognise the superior smoothness of motion obtained on Mr. Pullman's springs.

An expedition from the south to the north of Great Britain such as that referred to at the beginning of this chapter, will give the traveller a comprehensive idea of our railway management in its practical working, and will acquaint him with the many varying rates of railway speed. When he has passed the fringe of the metropolitan suburbs—that vast reticulation of houses, and streets, and townships which is overspreading the home counties—he will fly forth with the swiftness of an arrow shot from the bow. Onward he will be borne at the same tremendous pace. Only one stoppage between London and York—at Grantham—where engines are replenished, and passengers, if they wish it, refreshed ; after York straight through to Newcastle without another check. When the train is on Scotch soil it proceeds circumspectly. By the time that it has advanced into the heart of the wilds and fastnesses of Caledonia its advance is not so much circumspect as dilatory. In a little time it commences a series of stoppages, quite irrespective of the existence of stations, till at last the guard puts on the break and the train is at a standstill for no other reason apparently than that he wants the engine-driver to accommodate him with a pipe-light. These are the inevitable incidents of railway travelling in the far north of Great Britain, and if one does not happen to be in a feverish hurry they give picturesque ness and variety to the trip. Take them altogether, and we have marvellously little with which to find fault in the conduct of our railway companies. There is no other country in the world in which the three great conditions of railway travelling have been so perfectly secured—multiplication of lines, concentration of communications, and rapidity of movement. In point of punctuality much remains to be desired, especially on the southern lines. Let there be the slightest increase of traffic, and an English train is pretty sure to be late. This is probably owing to the practice of setting the time-bills

with too little allowance for inevitable accidents, and to the necessity of keeping a sharp look-out for goods trains, an inconvenience which is being gradually removed on the more crowded parts of many railways by the costly process of laying down an extra double line of rails.

These advantages have not been secured to the public entirely by the free action of the railway companies. Entrusted with vast responsibilities and possessing monopolies which are practically undisputed, the railway companies of England have naturally been made the subjects of special legislation. An entire code of railway laws, full of anomalies and absurdities, has been created in the course of the last forty years, and in 1878 there were upwards of 4,000 special Acts of Parliament relating to railways, in which Acts, and in extracts from them posted up at every station, can be found the amounts of fare which each company is authorised to charge.* Of these the first is more than a century old, bearing date 1758, and authorising a railroad—not worked by steam, of course—for the carriage of coals to Leeds; while the first passenger railway—the Stockton and Darlington—was authorised by an Act passed only so recently as 1825. Not one of the entire number has reference to any single railway company in its integrity, and after a few miles of line have been traversed we suddenly find ourselves under a changed jurisdiction. In 1844 a parliamentary committee was appointed, under the presidency of Mr. Gladstone, to consider the legal status of the railway companies. As one of the consequences of their report, an Act was passed, sanctioning the purchase of railways by the State at any time after the expiration of 21 years, and providing that every railway company should convey passengers by at least one train each way daily at a charge not exceeding a penny a mile.† Ten years later the Act of Mr. (now Lord) Cardwell was passed, of which the distinguishing features were to subject rival railway companies to the legal obligation of joint action within certain limits for the public convenience, and to define the liability of the companies for damage or loss of goods during transit. Fourteen years later it was enacted that the price of fares should be prominently displayed at railway stations; that in every passenger train consisting of more than one carriage of each class there should be a smoking compartment; and that the companies should furnish, when applied to, particulars of their charges for goods, enabling the public to distinguish the relative cost of conveyance and loading.

But the most important piece of railway legislation has been the Act

* The state of the laws on this and kindred subjects is fully given in Hodge's "Law of Railways," sixth edition, by J. M. Lely. (H. Sweet. 1876.)

† A Royal Commission appointed in 1865 reported against the policy of Government purchase. The scheme embodied in the Act of 1844 is impracticable.

of 1873, which created a special court with exceptional powers for the exclusive purpose of taking cognisance of a certain class of railway cases—not those in which pecuniary compensation is asked from a company, but those in which it is demanded that a company shall do some specific act for the benefit of the petitioner or abstain from giving an unfair advantage to some one else. The ordinary law courts of the country had proved unsuitable for compelling railways to prefer on proper occasion the public advantage to their own, and it was the conviction of this unsuitability which found expression in the report of 1872, recommending the appointment of the Railway Commissioners. This court, one of whose members must be a person of experience in railway management—represented at the first appointment by Mr. Price, formerly chairman of the Midland Railway—and another of whose members must be experienced in law—represented in the first instance by the late Mr. Macnamara, an eminent lawyer—is primarily entrusted with the powers given by Lord Cardwell's Act to a court of law. But it has many secondary powers tending in the same direction, its principal purpose being to control, and, so far as they involve public inconvenience, to counteract, the effects of the monopoly acquired by railway companies. The commission is, in fact, a technical tribunal for the redress of popular grievances, the jurisdiction of which extends to Ireland and Scotland; and in view of the great expense attendant upon railway litigation, it has been expressly provided that municipal and other corporations may institute proceedings before it. The commissioners themselves, however, have no power of initiative, and in one important point—the enforcement of through rates—it is only a railway or canal company which can set the commissioners in motion.

The powers of the commissioners are as extensive as they are unique. They have rights of interference wider than those vested in other bodies, when the lives and well-being of the public are threatened. They have the power of arbitrating both between the different companies and between the companies and the public; the right of this or that town to necessary accommodation, better waiting-rooms, platforms, and covered spaces; the complaints of one trader as to preferential rates or superior facilities accorded to another; the demand of one company for running powers over the lines of another—these are the kinds of cases in which the intervention of the commission is invoked. Thus we learn from one of the reports of the commission, that in a particular year fourteen distinct judgments of the commissioners were pronounced. Three of these cases were local complaints of the insufficient convenience afforded by the railways. In six cases the commission had to consider the application of manufacturing firms who had a grievance against railway companies. In five the issue was a dispute between railways themselves. Here we have

three distinct classes of questions which it is infinitely better should be decided without coming into the law courts. When once a question of law arises, the commissioners are bound to state a case for a court of law, although they are themselves entrusted with the delicate duty of determining whether a particular question is or is not one of law. Nor could there be a better proof of the soundness of the opinions given by the commissioners than the fact that in almost every case in which an appeal has been made the courts have confirmed their award.

But the real question is, not so much whether the jurisdiction of the railway commissioners shall be extended, as whether the entire control of the railways shall or shall not be handed over to the State. "Our railways," writes Mr. Parsloe, "are in the hands of a number of separate bodies with conflicting interests, each striving to pay the best dividend to the shareholders as purely commercial concerns. Many of the companies professedly compete with each other, and the result is most of the disadvantages with very few of the advantages of competition."* For instance, one of the Midland Company's express trains from the north is due to arrive at Gloucester at 6.48 p.m.; the Great Western train for the Swindon district leaves at 6.45 p.m., and there is no other train till 12.20 a.m. If, therefore, as is almost inevitable, the train is missed, there is an interval of nearly six hours waiting. As matters are, there can be no doubt that the public, subject to the beneficent action of the commissioners, and the enlightened common sense of the directors, are at the mercy of the railway companies. It is also indisputable that the extent to which railway competition is carried, giving us, instead of one uniform organisation, a complex and chaotic mass of disorganisation, involves the profitless expenditure of much energy and money. If we are to have a perfectly harmonious and a truly economical railway system, it must be one dominated by the principle of central control. Granted, that the companies agree to a method of amalgamation and unity among themselves, all that would have been done would be to substitute a single colossal monopoly for several monopolies, of which the great object would still be, not to promote the public convenience, but to put money into the pockets of the shareholders. If it is admitted that the transitionary state in which our railway system now is must ultimately result in the establishment of a complete scheme of amalgamation, it is certain that this can only be by the introduction of State control. The success of the governmental administration of the Post Office and the Telegraphs is of course cited as a precedent for the great change now proposed. If the State management of the railways were to answer equally well, there is no doubt that we should have an immense increase of efficiency and economy. In 1865, Mr. Stewart, for twenty

* "Our Railway System," p. 261.

years Secretary to the London and North-Western Company, stated in his evidence before the Royal Commission, that were the whole traffic of the country worked in unison, a saving of twenty per cent. in expenses would at nce be effected. Again, under State control the greater part of the legal and parliamentary costs now incurred, amounting annually to considerably over a quarter of a million, would be saved. Thirdly, the number of stations might be reduced, towns in which there are at present two stations close to each other having one. In country villages, the offices of railway, post, and telegraph might be concentrated, the functions belonging to each being discharged by the same person; and finally, it would be possible materially to reduce the fees now paid to railway directors.

Pending the accomplishment of changes so radical as these in our railway system, there are minor reforms which it may be practicable to institute with comparatively little trouble. It is much to be wished that the Railway Commissioners could turn their attention more particularly than they have hitherto done to our refreshment-room system. Nothing can be better than the luncheon baskets with which one is occasionally provided for a small payment on the Midland and some of the south of England lines. There are excellent dining or luncheon rooms at Derby, Crewe, Leicester, York, and other great railway centres, and a capital meal may be obtained at either, it being always understood that one reaches these spots at the proper hours when passengers are expected and the viands are ready to be served. The unfortunate traveller who is behind time or who comes by a slow train often finds himself left out in the cold. If he has left London without having dined at 5.15 p.m., and reaches York between ten and eleven —where he is told that twenty minutes are allowed for gratifying the inner man—his case is hard indeed. He enters the palatial saloon ravenous. But there are no waiters within call. Those who presently make their appearance walk about with the dazed air of men roused out of a heavy sleep, mechanically inquire what the famished pilgrim will take, and automatically fall to work to hew the well-worn joints and the bony chickens that are upon the table. The passenger, if he is wise, will eschew these ready-made suppers, and will content himself with a sandwich and a couple of hard-boiled eggs at the refreshment bar in a corner of the room, if only he is able to gain his way thither through the group of young men, inhabitants of the town, who make it their favourite lounge. And there is a lamentable want of variety in the refreshment bill of fare; very scant is the ingenuity of the refreshment-room cook. Here and there soup may be had —scalding hot water which removes the skin from the palate, and destroys all power of taste for hours—but with this exception there is little relief from the weary round of ham and beef sandwiches, pork pies, sausage rolls, stale buns, and fossil cakes. None

of those appetising dainties which greet one at Amiens, Dijon, or Macon, the fresh roll neatly bisected and filled with a cold cutlet or a slice of galantine. No fruit but sour oranges, no drink but deleterious spirits or British beer. The stony-eyed damsels make it a favour to wait upon you, the charges are exorbitant, the food must generally be bolted standing, amid the cry, "Take your seats for the north," and loud ringing of bells. No wary traveller will nowadays risk present discomfort and future indigestion by trusting to railway bars for refreshment. He will rather take with him all that he requires from home.

But there are other modes of travelling in England than by steam. It is remarkable that the hansom cab flourishes in England and some of its colonies only, and thus it was with some degree of special propriety that Lord Beaconsfield once described it as the "gondola of London." In New York, the streets of which are practically flat, hansoms are not used, and tramway cars take the place of all kinds of cabs. Possibly the same thing may some day be witnessed in London, and though the City of London uncompromisingly opposes all legislation of this kind, the number of bills for procuring tramways brought into Parliament increases every session. Meanwhile, though a perfect roadway has still to be found—asphalte being too slippery for safety—our vehicles on wheels travel almost as smoothly, when the springs are in good order, over the surface of the London streets of to-day as if they were upon rails; and in both the capital and the great provincial towns the omnibuses and cabs are as satisfactory as is consistent with the low fares charged. The coach—not, indeed, the mail coach—still exists as an institution. The north of England, Scotland, Wales, and the West of England, are the parts in which coaching mostly survives. Ten years ago the distance between Thurso and Golspie—about a hundred miles—was only to be traversed by coach. There was then a famous Jehu in those regions, by name Tom Brown, whose Northumbrian "burr" must still dwell in the ears of many a Scotch tourist. He managed his team in true artistic fashion, and he was never without an excellent team to manage. The roads, though often steep, and even precipitous in the neighbourhood of Helmsdale, were generally kept in first-rate condition. Relays of differently built, bred, and trained steeds awaited the traveller, according to the natural characteristics and difficulties of the coming stage. The last, which lay for several miles along a perfect and almost level road — equal to any one of the Queen's highways in the south of England—was accomplished by four horses, nearly thoroughbred, which would not have discredited a Hyde Park drag in the season. The appointments of the coach, as of the steeds which drew it, were faultless. The harness was bright, polished, and complete, down to the minutest particular. The guard was no ragged

tatterdemalion perched up behind, who blew a horn with the feeble squeaky effects produced by one who is a stranger to that instrument, but an official who had scientifically studied its music. There was no such "turn out" from the stables of a coaching company or a commercial proprietor within the four seas.

But the period of railway extension came. It was no longer necessary to go by the high road across the Ord of Caithness, with the cutting breezes of the German Ocean blowing full in your face. For the most part the vehicles which are now called coaches are coaches in very reduced circumstances; or it would be more accurate to say that they are not really coaches at all, but have rather the appearance of cast-off chariots, which in better days may have figured in the triumphal procession of travelling circus companies. In many portions of Wales, coaching of a kind still goes on. But when once the coach is considered only as a convertible term for a tourist's van; when it ceases to be essential to the regular traffic of the district; when, above all things, it has lost the official dignity of carrying Her Majesty's mails, you know what to expect. The inside is not too clean and not too sweet. The passengers clamber up to the roof anyhow. There is no longer any prestige attaching to the occupancy of the box-seat. The charioteer is a casual postboy, and not a coachman; the team is made up of odd horses, and neither driver nor traveller takes any pride in the business. It will be generally found that the coaches, which a glance at Bradshaw is sufficient to show are announced to run short or moderately long distances in various regions of England, belong to railway companies that have not yet succeeded in carrying their lines to the extreme point which tourists desire to reach. There are some obstacles which even modern engineering science fails to overcome; hence the survival of the coach as a confession of the limitations imposed by nature on human enterprise. From Bideford in Devon to Bude in Cornwall is a fair run for a well-appointed coach—a coach which is on the whole as favourable a specimen of its kind as any to be found in England—and it is but a very short time since other coaches fully equal to it were common enough in North Devon and West Somerset. They have either disappeared entirely or, obeying that law of deterioration which seems the destiny of the public vehicle, they exist merely as tourists' vans during the excursionist season, to begin where the steam locomotive ends. They would not, indeed, give quite so severe a shock to those who will never lose their devotion to the ideal of the Regulator and the Quicksilver Mail as the conveyances which pass for coaches in the Isle of Wight. These may do their best to struggle against the lot which is relegating them to the category of the omnibus and the carrier's cart, but their appearance bewrayeth them, and they are melancholy confessions that the coach has no longer an independent existence of its

own ; that it, or something which affects its name, and makes a vain show of perpetuating its traditions, is useful to enable the traveller to perform the fag end of a journey, but that it is an adjunct, and not an essential feature in the traveller's programme. Perhaps it is needless to say that if it is desired to see a coach which is a faithful and not an unflattering reproduction of the artistic stage coach of the old régime, it is necessary to go no farther than to the White Horse Cellars in Piccadilly. Nor can a short summer holiday be spent more pleasantly than by securing an outside seat on one of these, under the skilled pilotage of Sir Henry de Bathe, Captain Candy, or some other amateur whip, enjoying the drive to Dorking, St. Albans, Leatherhead, Sevenoaks, or Windsor. Pleasant companions, a team of spanking horses, changed every ten miles, England in full bloom of leaf and flower, will combine to make many a modern spirit regret the methods of locomotion of the past.

The gaps in our railway system cause a very comfortable posting business to be done in different parts of England, and there are certain towns and villages where the excellence of the horses may still fairly surprise the traveller. In the neighbourhood of all great houses one may be sure of a capital one-horse chaise or carriage and pair within call of the railway station. The proprietor of these vehicles makes a very good thing of it during the visiting season. The most liberal of English hosts is apt to entertain a decided objection to sending his horses out of his stable to fetch his guests ; it would indeed be impossible for him to do so, for if he entertains on any considerable scale his visitors are incessantly coming and going. In a country town which has in its neighbourhood the residence of a great county magnate and other men of position, there is always abundance of posting work out of the London season ; and posting masters frequently make a point of keeping an enlarged stable during this period of the year. The same remark is applicable to the hotels in the heart of districts much affected by tourists. Side by side with the coaching revival we have seen the institution of the driving tour popularised to a high degree. But the driving tour is not for every one, and there are crowds of travellers who make a point of enjoying as much as they can of the pleasures of the road in the roomy barouches and other open vehicles which are on hire at the hotels or the livery stables of the pleasure resorts they chiefly affect. It is not, indeed, a cheap mode of enjoyment, but then the holiday outing is only an annual event. Altogether it is possible to get more comfort and pleasure on wheels in England than in any country in the world, and the manner in which we still combine the locomotion which is as old as civilisation with that which dates back from the utilisation of steam, ensures us a certain variety and picturesqueness which the holiday traveller will be loth to surrender.

The bicycle fills a place too important to be omitted from any survey of the various modes of travelling in England. In some country districts it is the locomotive on which the postman performs his long and weary round, and on which the Inland Revenue official makes his circle of inspection. Holiday tours in all parts of the United Kingdom are taken on it by the young men of our complex and prosperous middle class; and so popular have these bicycle trips become, that many a wayside inn which was doing a brisk business in the old coaching days, and which the railways had deprived of its customers, has commenced to revive under the influence of the new movement on wheels. There are bicycling clubs in every part of England, which have their periodical meetings. A favourite rendezvous in the neighbourhood of London is Bushey Park, and there, when the weather is fine, as many as a thousand bicyclists congregate. During the summer, too, in the heart of the city, when the business traffic of the day is done, and the streets are clear, an active scene may often be witnessed by gaslight. Under the shadow of the Bank and the Exchange, the asphalte thoroughfare is covered with a host of bicycle riders, performing a series of intricate evolutions on their iron steeds.

For some years past the simple English inn has been gradually disappearing. Much of the change is due to the influence of railways. The typical English hotel of the period is a huge caravanserai, like that at Charing Cross or the St. Pancras Railway Station, situated nearly always close to, or forming part and parcel of, the terminus itself. The small hotels, which are the survivals of an earlier period, scarcely contrive to eke out a precarious existence. The chief characteristics of the new hotels are the ubiquitous German waiters and the sameness of the food. With two highly commendable qualities they may be credited. In the first place, they are uniformly well ventilated and clean; in the second place, no fault can be found with bedrooms, beds, and bed-linen, and it is always possible to obtain a sponge-bath for the asking. Although in England there is nothing like the organised hotel life of New York, there are certain distinct types of English hotel habitués; thus in London there are certain establishments which are patronised for the most part by regular customers, among whom, it may be remarked, a personal acquaintance and a certain sort of social freemasonry exist. The military element is common to most of these, particularly in the principal garrison towns. The house which is the head-quarters of the London coaching movement has among its regular visitors every sort of man who takes an interest in the road and its resuscitated glories. Another institution belonging to the same class—that of the hotel which is a connecting-link between the extinct tavern and the latter-day club—is a great place of resort for fashionable Americans

and for opulent foreigners. There is, too, the hotel which is the home of diplomatists, just as there are hotels which are specially frequented by members of municipal bodies, who have come up to London on business connected with their towns. Country solicitors, especially from the north, put up at the older hostelries in Covent Garden. In the provinces, artists and sportsmen affect the smaller hotels, while the bigger find a regular succession of customers in young men of means, who, before they settle down to domestic life, wish to see a little of the world, and like to see it in hotels; in middle-aged bachelors, who beguile their celibacy by travel, and shrink from the cares of housekeeping; in husbands and wives who are without children, or having children, have seen them fairly started in life; and, above all, in widows who have money, and who are fond of the excitement of travel. The commercial traveller is of course to be found in all classes of hotels, according to his pretensions, but for the most part in hotels where he reigns supreme.

Hotel life is not yet fully naturalised among us. We have bid adieu to the old régime, but have not become thoroughly accustomed to the new. Only a small percentage of Englishmen and Englishwomen really enjoy the tumultuous existence which is passed amid the hubbub of departures, arrivals, and tables d'hôte. The table d'hôte system is carried to an extent that scarcely suits the English nature. It is well enough to take our dinners at a common table, at which, after an awkward interval of blank silence or jerky utterance, we begin to feel that our next-door neighbour is of a humanity like unto our own, and that we have not committed any unpardonable breach of the proprieties in opening a conversation. There are yet plausible reasons for maintaining the old-fashioned and much-abused British reserve. Most of us feel that opening up conversational acquaintance with strangers is a terrible risk. There is no fear, of course, of insult, or that our pockets will be picked, but there is the possibility of being bored. The stranger may be diametrically our opposite: Conservative, while we are Liberal; garrulous, while we hate to listen; above all, he may be indiscreet, and may tempt us into the expression of opinions which we do not care to wear upon our sleeve. Our privacy is thus intruded upon, we find ourselves talking to the table, and in the midst of a dead silence confessing that we don't like *haricots blancs*, or recording our enthusiasm for small beer. These are the dread reasons which seal the lips of so many in a strange company, especially at a strange table d'hôte. And if this be true at dinner-time, it is a thousandfold more so at nine in the morning. We Englishmen are not gregariously disposed at breakfast-time. The attempt to accommodate the British breakfast to the manner of the French *déjeüner* is an experiment of doubtful wisdom. The Englishman who hears that the first meal of the day is served only between half-past eight and

eleven o'clock, is conscious of an interference with his liberties, which he resents. Nor, at this early hour, is he the most companionable of creatures. He has not got rid of a sort of moral goose-skin. He is often not much more than half awake. He is far from disposed to enter into conversation with casual acquaintances. He is, to speak the plain truth, a trifle sulky, and a great deal pre-occupied. He may have a fine appetite for ham and eggs, broiled soles and rashers of bacon, but he has a wish to avoid the scrutiny of his fellows while he gratifies it. He has the contents of his letters to digest, or he has the campaign of the day which lies before him to meditate.

But if, as regards the table d'hôte arrangement, we experience some of the difficulties and inconveniences incidental to a period of transition, the student of human nature is indebted to it for a thousand diverting and edifying opportunities. He enters the hotel drawing-room, and he discovers a miscellaneous assembly, of which each member is conspicuously failing in the attempt to seem thoroughly at ease. There is a recently married couple affecting to take an interest in the newspapers of the day, betraying the while a consciousness of the insincerity in a little giggle. There is the family group—father, mother, two daughters, and a son—exchanging commonplace remarks in a whisper. There are two maiden ladies who ask each other whether to-morrow will be fine in an awed undertone. There is the senior resident of the establishment, who has taken up a position on the hearthrug, and who speaks in a voice ostentatiously loud but decidedly uneasy, nevertheless, for the purpose of proclaiming that he is quite at home. Finally there are numerous other gentlemen and ladies who are doing nothing particular, but trying how to look indifferent to all that is going on around them. Dinner is announced, and the senior resident—who is a sort of dean of the establishment, and who takes the place of honour on the same principle that the ambassador of longest standing at a European Court presides at a conference—leads the way. Anything like a flow of mutual confidence at table is exceptional, and the prevailing attitude is one of unsociability, intensified by profound distrust. Gentlemen and ladies who are seated next to each other are in painful doubt as to whether it is or is not the right thing to speak. Even when the decision has been taken, and the "May I trouble you for the salt" has been followed with some remarks on the actual state of the weather to-day, and its possible condition to-morrow, the interlocutors have not entirely shaken off the native influences of suspicion and constraint.

CHAPTER XVI.

EDUCATIONAL ENGLAND.

Past and Present—Education Acts of 1870 and 1876—What these have done and how received by the English People—Educational Machinery previously in Use in England—The Gradual Awakening to Educational Wants—Working of School Board System described—A Visit to a National Elementary School—General Character of Teaching—Visit of Inspector—The Passage from Primary Schools to Secondary Schools — Endowed Schools — How Affected by Recent Legislation—Social and Moral Results of New System—Public Schools, Old and New —Effect of Competitive Examinations upon the Schools — The Public Schools and the Public Service — Schools and Universities—Academic Reforms Accomplished and Pending—National Work done by the Universities—The Profession of Teacher—Bad Secondary Schools and Proposed Remedies—Are more Inspectors wanted ?—Duties of Parents—Our Public School System—The English Schoolboy—General Improvement in the Type—Feminine Education—General Review and Questions for the Future.

The national machinery which now exists in England for placing a career of some kind within the reach of all may be said to date from 1870.* Before then clever and industrious boys born in lowly stations became powerful and distinguished men, and were the more respected because they were self-made, but the discipline and instruction which helped them to the accomplishment of these results were not supplied by the State. Their success was the result either of their own enterprise and effort, or of the private and voluntary assistance which their talents and perseverance secured. The lad of exceptional brightness, who was a cottager's son in the village school, attracted the notice of the parson or the squire, or of some member of the family of either. News spread of the intellectual promise of the boy, and a philanthropic patron interested himself in his case. If it was the clergyman, he perhaps instructed the rising prodigy for a few hours every week in the rectory study, in Latin or Greek, history or mathematics. By-and-by the time came when it was desirable that the spur of competition should be applied, or that the young scholar

* The parliamentary grant for public education in England and Wales was not much more than seven hundred thousand pounds in 1870. It was about two millions and a half a decade later, and at present it is in excess of three millions. Under this head the national expenditure has advanced by no less than three hundred and eighteen per cent. in fifteen years. It is estimated that almost exactly a sixth of the population are now on the registers of schools of various kinds, including workhouse, industrial, and military, as well as elementary and certified efficient schools.

should have the advantage of a deeper and a wider training than the rector could give. The good man enlisted the sympathy of friends on behalf of his protégé, secured him a nomination to the foundation of one of our big schools, or else undertook, in conjunction with others, to be responsible for the costs of his teaching. The lad grew in favour and in knowledge; he rose in quick succession through the different forms of the school, won a scholarship, and went to Oxford or Cambridge, the laureate of the freshmen of his year. Then his fortune was as good as made. He might be independent of his benefactors from that time, might even trust to repay them in the future the money they had expended on him in the past. He would finish up his college course with a First Class, or a Wranglership and a Fellowship, would go into the Church or to the Bar, would make himself a name as a classical editor, would perhaps climb by a long ladder of learned works to the episcopal bench, or embracing the law as a career, would justify the help and the expectations of his friends by ending his days as a Lord Chancellor or a judge.

On the other hand, if our ideal village youth failed to attract the notice of some generous and discriminating patron, or if to mere cleverness he did not add an indefatigable power of taking pains, he probably lived out his life in obscurity, and if he was known as more intelligent than his fellows might be known also as less well-conducted. It was thus simply a matter of accident whether the cottager's clever son ever rose to the place which his abilities entitled him to fill; and what was true of the country cottager was true of the town artisan. In town and country alike there were indeed schools for all who cared to attend, or for all who had means and leisure to attend. But there was no scheme of national and systematised teaching—nothing of that educational apparatus supplied or guaranteed by the legislature which we have now, and which almost justifies the boast that the son of the peasant or mechanic may carry a bishop's mitre or a judge's wig in his school satchel. Children were sent to school or doomed prematurely to depressing and toilsome labour, or left to play about the streets to develop into pickpockets and thieves, fearing no other authority but the constable, according to the whim of their parents, and the degree of regard paid to the parental commands.

Contrast with this the state of things which prevails to-day. At the corner of a street, in some crowded alley or reeking court, half a dozen children are playing, when suddenly a respectably dressed man, with a grave countenance, steps up, asks a question which causes them to flee on every side, not however before one or two of the unkempt and generally uncared-for urchins have been fairly caught in his grasp.* Or, threading his way through a labyrinth of small thoroughfares, and looking in at the doors of the wretched tene-

* Women are also in some places largely employed as visitors.

ments which line them on either side, he stops at one, where he sees two or three children of tender years unwashed and ill dressed. He proceeds to interrogate their mother, or the woman who is in charge of them, and notes down her replies in a pocket-book. This is one of the special visitors selected by the School Board within whose district the truant or absentee children may happen to be.

If the reply given is that the child is attending a Board School, then there can be no doubt as to its efficiency, and the only question asked is as to the reason of absence. If the establishment is not under the jurisdiction of the School Board, it is probably a public "elementary school within the meaning of the Act," and in that case, too, nothing more will be said. If, on the other hand, it is a private venture school, whose character there is reason to doubt, an inquiry is instituted; but, as a matter of fact, it is seldom that any school is pronounced hopelessly inefficient. The machinery by which the compulsory by-laws are enforced is simple. Every School Board employs a certain staff of visitors, each of whom keeps a schedule of all the children of school age in a certain district. It is the visitor's duty to ascertain that all those boys and girls whose names are on his list are being regularly educated. If any cases in which they are not, come before him, he reports them to the committee to which these matters specially belong; the case is inquired into, and the next step is the despatch of a notice (A) to the parent, admonishing him to send the boy or girl to school. If this is not acted upon, a second notice (B) requires the parent to attend and explain the reasons of his neglect before the divisional committee, the members of which have then for the first time cognisance of the matter. If extreme poverty is alleged the matter is investigated, and the School Board may order the payment of a portion of the fees. If, after receiving the second warning, the parent takes no heed, he is summoned to appear before the magistrate, who may impose a fine not exceeding in amount five shillings, inclusive of costs.

Such, at least, is the law, and it is due, on the one hand, to the good sense of the School Board authorities, on the other hand, and more particularly, to the law-abiding qualities of the English people, that it works with so little friction. The principle of compulsion which was implied in the Education Act, and has since been explicitly asserted by the School Boards and school attendance committees, was one which, if not in theory new to the English people, had in practice received the anticipatory condemnation of those who in such a matter might claim to be considered experts. Compulsion, indeed, under a certain shape, existed in the workhouse, in the industrial school, in the training-ship, and in the half-time system; but the general adoption of the compulsory principle was pronounced impracticable by many well-known and experienced members of Parliament, while one of the

school inspectors declared his opinion that if attempted to be carried out it "would produce a national commotion not much less dangerous than that which attended a poll-tax." Again, a stipendiary magistrate of the midland counties said that "if compulsory attendance at school should become the law he would refuse to administer it." What has happened? The Education Act of 1870 came into force twelve months after it was passed; that of 1876 began to be applied in 1877. These two measures have already covered the country with a network of School Boards and of attendance committees, appointed by town councils in urban districts, and boards of guardians in rural districts. Attendance committees are invested with the same power of enacting compulsory by-laws as the School Boards, and although they do not so effectually avail themselves of it as School Boards, they had succeeded, in 1878, in bringing another million and three-quarters of the population under direct legal compulsion to send their children to school. In all, there were in 1878 two-thirds of the population of England and Wales under the operation of compulsory education.

It must always be remembered that the Education Act of 1870 was not, like the Reform Act of 1867, a second instalment of legislation of which the firstfruits had already been tasted; but that, in its strangeness and novelty to the English people, it was absolutely revolutionary, that it has signally interfered with the innate and traditional English love of personal independence, and that it has involved a heavy increase to the rates which Englishmen pay. The legislation of 1870 applied the theory, and to some extent the practice, of the State system of education in force in Prussia to free and independent England. No such organised intervention between parent and child, no such systematic inquisition into those private affairs which Englishmen are in the habit of keeping religiously to themselves, had ever been attempted in this country. Until the passing of this Act, not merely had the State made no attempts to regulate the amount and kind of teaching provided for English children, but it had declined to recognise the existence of the schools except when they appeared as applicants for its pecuniary aid. Then, and only then, the State sent agents of its own to see that the conditions upon which this aid was granted were not violated. Not merely the foundation of the educational edifice, but the entire fabric, consisted of the organisations of voluntary enterprise. The Christian Knowledge Society had established schools for more than a century; the National Society had promoted the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church since 1811; the British and Foreign School Society, an anti-sectarian body, had been at work since 1814; Nonconformists, Roman Catholic and Protestant, notably the Wesleyans, had their own schools, governed by their own special committees. Add to this the municipal schools, the parochial schools,

the private venture schools, and the public schools for the higher and middle classes, the schools of the Ragged School Union for the lowest of all, and the account of the educational machinery of the country before 1870 is complete.

It is true that an essay by John Foster, in 1819, "On the Evils of Popular Ignorance," appealed by its arguments and revelations to the fears of statesmen and to the philanthropy of the benevolent. Lord Brougham lent the weight of his eloquence and influence in the same direction, and the commission known as Brougham's Commission was issued. The report of this inquiry, with its disclosures of ignorance and depravity, shocked and alarmed the nation. Brougham, by picturing the social degradation of the country, exposing the "misdirection, waste, and plunder of educational endowments," and by arguing that education was the best security for order and tranquillity, succeeded in arousing the authorities, who had been hitherto hostile, indifferent, or sceptical. Still twelve years passed before the tide in favour of education set in. Statesmen were opposed to the movement. Lord Melbourne characteristically "questioned the advantage of general education as a means of promoting knowledge in the world, since people got on without it." The Bishop of Durham "believed that education was not likely to make its way among the poor;" and the Bishop of Exeter said that if, when rector, he had started a school in his parish, the squire would have laughed in his face.

For the first time, in 1833, the private societies received subsidies from the State. One year later a commission to inquire into scholastic matters was appointed. In 1839 the Committee of the Privy Council on Education was formed. Grants were thenceforth given only on conditions which the Government laid down, but though some of our public men ventured to anticipate a centralised educational administration for the whole of England, religious differences and popular jealousy of State interference hopelessly barred the way. Subsequent advances, indeed, were made in the direction of that goal which was ultimately arrived at in 1870: first, by the strong but unsuccessful manifestations of parliamentary and public opinion in 1847; secondly, by the old code of the Committee of Council; thirdly, by the new code of 1861; but no step had been taken to establish the doctrine of the right of the State to step in between parent and child.

The work done by the Education Act of 1870 may be very briefly sketched, and represents the actual educational machinery under which we are now living, and are likely to live for many years to come. The whole of Great Britain south of the Tweed is covered with a network of school districts. Of these districts there are some under School Boards and others under school attendance committees.* Even in

* According to the Report of the Committee of Council on Education for 1883, there were last year, of the population of England and Wales 16,081,618 under School Boards,

School Board districts there are plenty of schools under voluntary management, and in all districts where there is no School Board the alternative is a species of voluntary management. School Boards have, within certain limits, and subject to the approval of the Committee of Council and the royal sanction, plenary powers—they may make school attendance compulsory or permissive, deciding what excuse shall be accepted as valid. The School Boards have also authority to regulate, subject to the Education Department, what extra subjects shall be taught, and whether religious instruction of any kind shall be given. At Birmingham there is a strong feeling against any religious teaching at all, the simple reading of the Bible not excepted. In the capital there exists what is called the London compromise, identical in principle with the rule of the British and Foreign School Society, allowing the Bible to be read, instruction to be given from it, and the use of prayers and hymns. More than 83 per cent. of the School Boards throughout England have sanctioned the reading and the simple undenominational teaching of the Bible. In theory, education is not gratuitous, although the fees of the poorest children may be remitted by School Boards, or paid by the guardians in voluntary or Board Schools.

The points of contact between the local School Board and the

and 9,892,821 under school attendance committees. In England there were 1,865 School Boards to a population of 15,101,634, and in Wales 292 School Boards to a population of 979,984, or in all 2,157 School Boards. In England 101 boroughs, 72 urban sanitary districts, and 534 unions, with a population of 9,512,299, and in Wales 7 boroughs and 45 unions, with a population of 380,529, were under school attendance committees. In 1883, 18,540 day schools in England and Wales were inspected, which furnished accommodation for 4,670,304 pupils. On the registers of these schools there were 4,273,304 children, of whom 1,336,920 were under seven years of age; 2,743,383 between seven and thirteen; 150,245 between thirteen and fourteen; and 42,747 above fourteen years of age. On the day of inspection 3,705,388 pupils were present, and 3,127,214 were on an average in daily attendance throughout the year. Of these pupils 2,276,014 were actually presented for individual examination; and while 1,483,269 passed the prescribed test in all the three subjects—reading, writing, and arithmetic—a fraction over 89 per cent. passed in the first, over 82 per cent. in the second, and over 77 per cent. in the third. In the schools inspected 37,280 certificated teachers, 12,390 assistant teachers, and 26,428 pupil-teachers were employed. During the year the school accommodation had increased by 132,123 places, the average attendance by 112,063, the pupils on the register by 83,692, and the pupils individually examined by 156,640. The local effort which has resulted in this improvement, the Report says, may be estimated by the continued support derived from voluntary contributions, amounting to £717,089 from 267,821 subscribers, and by an advance in the contributions from rates to £840,947 from £808,121. The sum received in school pence also rose from £1,585,928 to £1,659,743, or by more than £73,000; while the annual grant rose from £2,393,394 to £2,522,541, or from 15s. 10½d. to 16s. 1½d. per pupil in average attendance. The cost of maintenance per pupil in average attendance was in Board Schools £2 1s. 3½d., and in Voluntary Schools £1 14s. 10¼d., a decrease of 3d. in the first and an increase of 3½d. in the second case, as compared with the previous year. The Education Estimates for England and Wales for 1884-1885, it may be observed, amount to £3,016,167, as against £2,938,319 for 1883-1884. The total estimates for the United Kingdom for the current year on account of education, science, and art fall little short of £5,000,000, while in 1870 they amounted to not more than between £160,000 and £170,000.

central authority of the Education Department at Whitehall are frequent, and the control exercised by the latter over the former is close and constant. No School Board has the power of erecting any new building unless in the first place the department gives a general approval of the scheme. The second step is the approval of the site, and the third of the plan of the proposed new building. After these preliminaries have been settled, the department may proceed to give its approval to the application of the School Board for permission to borrow money from the Public Works Loan Commissioners. Finally, no School Board can enforce its compulsory by-laws unless these have received the sanction of the Education Department.

It also rests with the Education Department to decide, from time to time, upon what conditions grants are to be made to schools from the Treasury. These grants, at present, are given indifferently to all schools, whether Board or denominational, which satisfy certain conditions, and are, in legislative phraseology, public elementary schools within the meaning of the Act. In the first place, religious instruction is not to be obligatory on any child attending school; secondly, religious instruction, if given at all, must be given either at the end or the beginning of school-time; and thirdly, the school is always to be open to Her Majesty's inspector. The principle upon which these grants are estimated is as follows: Four shillings a year may be claimed by the school managers for every boy or girl who has attended the requisite number of times, another shilling is allowed if singing forms part of the ordinary course, and a shilling more if the discipline and the organisation are pronounced satisfactory. The grant may be raised above these figures, provided that the standards in which the children pass their examination are sufficiently high. These standards, which were formerly six, are now seven in number, and roughly correspond to the years of age between 7 and 14. The average fees charged in Board Schools are from 1d. to 6d. a week, and in no case is a School Board allowed to charge more than 9d.

Let us enter one of these Board Schools, and see the educational machine at work. The building is handsome and roomy, and it is only one of thousands scattered throughout the country. Closely adjoining it is the house of the schoolmaster and the schoolmistress, both of them duly certificated teachers, who are in receipt of £200 and £150 a year respectively.* The bell is ringing, and the children

* In 1883 there were more than eleven hundred certificated masters in Board Schools in receipt of £200 and upwards, and nearly two hundred in receipt of £300 and upwards, per annum. Of certificated mistresses in Board Schools, more than six hundred were in receipt of £150 and upwards, and more than two hundred were in receipt of £200 and upwards, per annum. The average salary of certificated masters and mistresses, both principal and assistant, was in the year £119 for the one and £72 for the other. In addition to their pay, 6,138 out of 14,827 masters, and 5,317 out of 21,270 mistresses, were provided with residences rent free. In the metropolitan district the average salary of about three hundred Board School masters was over £250, and of between five and six

are swarming into the class-rooms. Perhaps, as you enter the great central chamber of the structure, you will meet one or two ministers of different denominations, who have been giving, in the half-hour immediately before the school-work of the day begins, religious instruction to the sons and daughters of parents whose creeds they respectively represent.* There is a clattering of desks thrown open, of slates thrown down, and all the noise attendant upon two or three hundred boys and girls—the girls being in another but contiguous part of the building—settling down into their places. The children of both sexes are clean and well-clad, to a degree which is really surprising, when it is remembered that with scarcely an exception their fathers are mechanics or artisans. If much in this respect is due to the care and attention of their parents, something also is to be attributed to the supervision exercised by the teacher. The schoolmaster who has the art of management will very soon create among his pupils a feeling favourable to decency and cleanliness, and you may know a well from a badly administered school, not only by the results of examinations, but by the general appearance and manners of the children.

Lessons proceed according to the plan indicated on the time-table—a complete programme of the educational arrangements for the classes, which are both numbered and regulated according to the standard in which they are taught—displayed in a conspicuous position, and approved of by the Education Department in London, and by the district inspector. Possibly before the morning is over this official will pay one of his visits without notice. His purpose is to see that the prescribed regulations are being duly obeyed, that the principle upon which both boys and girls are being taught is sound, and that discipline is efficiently maintained. He will perhaps test the general intelligence of the children by asking them questions, not immediately out of their books, but rather suggested by the subjects of study, and, pointing to the coloured maps, diagrams, and illustrations of animals and natural phenomena which hang on the walls, will endeavour to ascertain how far an acquaintance with words implies any corresponding appreciation of facts. It is by this kind of test that he will judge the quality of what are known in our elementary schools as "object lessons." Here it is but too likely that he will discover that it is not so much ideas which have been acquired as names which have been mechanically learnt. The boys and girls, from frequent hearing of

hundred Board School mistresses over £175; the average salary of nearly four hundred Voluntary School masters being some £150, and of more than eight hundred Voluntary School mistresses being some £87. It is remarkable that 59 per cent. of certificated teachers, 68 per cent. of assistant teachers, and 71 per cent. of pupil-teachers, are females, and that the proportion has long been and is still increasing.

* In London, and in some other places, this religious teaching may be, and usually is, given by the "responsible teacher" of the school.

the stereotyped explanatory phrases and formulæ of the pupil-teacher, can give a conventional description of certain animals or objects, but only in such a way as shows that these animals or objects are regarded less as existences in nature than as scholastic abstractions. It may be that the inspector, himself constructing a verbal picture of some beast of the field, bird of the air, or product of the soil, elicits from the child the information that it applies to some entirely different species of animal or phenomenon. Of a want of glib familiarity with words the school inspector has no reason to complain; it is the rational assimilation of the knowledge conveyed by text-books that he too often discovers to be entirely wanting. Nor are the text-books themselves uniformly satisfactory. In the case of reading manuals, the letterpress often consists of silly or extravagant stories, instead of enshrining, as it might do, the narrative of events of real interest and importance. The key-note of the complaint made by the school inspectors in their periodical reports is a general want of intelligence pervading the whole system—want of intelligence on the part of the pupils, want of intelligence in the application of the instruments of teaching.

It may be anticipated that the effect of the new code, which came into operation in the second half of last year, will be to discourage the taking up of optional subjects to a much more considerable extent than was the case under the old code which it superseded. In all of them there has been a marked falling off in both the examinations and the passes. Nor does it appear that this has been, or is likely to be, attended by any appreciable improvement in the proficiency of the pupils in the obligatory subjects. Almost all the inspectors in their reports for 1883 complain of the way in which reading, writing, and arithmetic, or one or other of them, are being taught in the schools under their charge. We are warned, for example, that "reading is still the weakest point in almost every school;" that teachers seem seldom to realise that "children cannot write properly without being taught," and "that there are, as usual, more failings in arithmetic than in any other subject, carelessness being the most fruitful cause;" that "improvement in reading has been rather in quantity than in quality;" that "spelling has improved much more than handwriting," and that "there is still great room for improvement in the answers given to the arithmetical questions which require thought;" that the writer is "often surprised to find how very possible it is for a class to have read a book under a teacher's direction and yet to have learned nothing from it;" that there is no "substantial improvement in reading, but it remains as before, the one subject that is as a rule badly taught in elementary schools," and that although there is in arithmetic improvement in neatness of arrangement and accuracy of working, "simple problems requiring a slight exercise of intelligence are for the most part either unattempted or misunderstood;" that it is "eminently unsatisfactory that about ten

per cent. of the children examined fail in reading, and the more so because of the successful ninety per cent. a very large proportion barely satisfy the requirements of the code;" that "with penmanship generally the writer is not satisfied," and that he is "disappointed rather than surprised at the small progress noticeable in arithmetic;" that "writing is not so well taught as it was many years ago," and that "the use of fingers in counting is still noticed more frequently" than he could wish, while in reading "the answers to questions showing a knowledge of the general drift of the passages read might improve with advantage;" that "words are mastered, and there is little fault to find as regards fluency—the defects are in expression, intelligence, and comprehension of the words and phrases," and that "ability to work a sum demanding some trifling mental arrangement is not common, and is much considered in awarding the merit grant;" that in reading the writer has "known children stop at the simplest words because they have not met with them before;" that "in writing the commonest words are misspelt, especially in composition," and that "the mechanical sums are as a rule correctly and neatly worked out, but those requiring a little thought are not well done;" that "so much has lately been said about the teaching of reading" that "it may be hoped some radical change of method will result;" that about six months ago the writer "put a new reading-book into the hands of thirty-eight picked children who had just passed very well as readers in the two books provided for their examination," and found that "they blundered over such common words as 'each,' 'no,' 'on,' 'feel,' &c., because they appeared in sentences with which they were not familiar;" that "in reading there is no improvement—the percentage of mere passes is a shade lower than in 1876, while the general quality of these passes is no higher," "even where great fluency and a considerable amount of good modulation have been attained, questions on the meanings often disclose a mental state of almost Cimmerian darkness;" "a diplomatist" is defined as "him who acts plays," "a Zulu" as "a native of New Zealand," "an alderman" as "a native of Alderney," and so on; that after "six or more years" of schooling "it is quite refreshing to meet with a class that can read at sight really intelligently and with good expression" an ordinary paragraph from a newspaper, and that "the children are taught to spell the words that occur in the books from which the dictation lessons are liable to be taken, and here their knowledge of spelling ends; and while they can for the time spell a multitude of words they are not likely to want to spell after leaving school, they are quite unfamiliar with many words of common occurrence." Again, we are informed that "grammar is often well done on paper, though it does not seem to affect the popular speech;" that in grammar "the upper standards sometimes show grotesque results;" that "grammar seems to exer-

cise some kind of fascination for pupil-teachers, judging from the frequency with which they choose it as the subject of lessons to be given before her Majesty's inspectors; they make a point of insisting on elaborate classifications of different parts of speech to the utter bewilderment of their pupils, leaving them devoid of any knowledge of or respect for their mother tongue;" and that "in grammar the parsing is generally the least satisfactory part of the work." As to singing, we are told that "the chief faults are still want of expression, bad enunciation, and imperfect intonation;" that "though in a few schools singing is performed with spirit and good taste, it is in a large number a barren and by no means pleasing exercise," and that "singing is but very little better in style or quality, nor is enough care given to the choice of songs as to either words or music; the former are often trashy or even gloomy. Dickens's 'The Ivy Green' does not make an inspiriting school song, nor will a cheerful tune ever make 'Away to School' sound a delightful theme even to the ears of a twentieth century schoolboy." One inspector approves of the custom of drawing plans of the schoolhouse as likely to "do more than anything else, if properly used, to get rid of the common impression, often strengthened by the loose phraseology of the pupil-teachers, if not directly taught by them, that the north is higher than the south." Another affirms that dependence on geographical text-books "often makes children conversant with the names and exact length of rivers and heights of mountains, and able to repeat lists of headlands and seaports, but it rarely gives them much real working knowledge of their own country or the world in which they live." Another states that in needlework "the instruction hitherto has been a farce," that the scientific subjects do not flourish, that he has "only one school where physiology has been taught;" that "physical geography, which used to be very popular, has died out altogether," and that "domestic economy has also been dropped." Another observes that "specifics continue to be offered in many schools without the justification of success, and only too frequently with disastrous effects upon the other and more important branches of instruction." Another remarks that "the amount of attention given to specific subjects does not show much response to the inducements to teach them held out by the Code." Another announces that "of specific subjects" he "cannot speak, as hardly any of his schools attempt them," in which he thinks "the managers are wise;" and another, while pointing out that "specific subjects have never been taken to any great extent" in his district, predicts that under the New Code "they will be taken less frequently than ever."

That such should be the general tenor of the official reports on a system of national elementary education which has been established for fifteen years, and which costs the country between four and five

millions annually in rates and taxes, is not very satisfactory or encouraging. And what has been already said by no means represents the full extent of its shortcomings. Imperfect as the instruction is which at best it offers them, there is a general disinclination on the part of parents to make anything like the best of what it affords for their children. As one of the speakers at the recent International Congress on Education, Mr. Heller, a member of the London School Board and Secretary of the Teachers' Association, justly said, "the *minimum* standard of age and attainment which exempts the children from compulsory attendance has come to be regarded by the parents as the *maximum* point to which education need be carried." The pupils, as he added, leave earlier and earlier in each year, and thus the attainment of a higher level of education which improved methods and appliances should and might secure is prevented. Under the legislation of 1876, school attendance is, in certain circumstances, compulsory on children until they have completed their fourteenth year. But with the sanction of the Education Department, local by-laws make it possible, in a large majority of cases, for children to become free from school attendance on passing the fourth standard, which is easily done by them in their tenth or eleventh year. Thus of the whole number of 4,273,000 children on the school registers last year only 946,000 were of eleven years and upwards, and only 192,000 were of thirteen years and upwards. On the whole, therefore, it is pretty evident that a small percentage alone of children of the working classes receive any instruction at the period when they are most likely to be able to profit from it, and that while their acquirements in the obligatory subjects of their education are usually extremely superficial and inadequate, their acquirements in the optional or class and specific subjects practically amount in all save a minute minority to nothing, or worse than nothing.

The great failing of the English working classes is their disregard of the economies of life. The great cause of their wastefulness is their ignorance. Cases are not unknown in which a labourer's wife has been seen to throw a piece of mutton, sufficiently good for human consumption, to the cat, for the simple reason that she did not know how to cook it.* Again, the only way of reconciling parents to the

* Under the existing Code, the "principles of agriculture" and "domestic economy" are among the "specific subjects" for which grants may be earned. But no pupil may be presented for examination in any specific subject who is not also presented for examination in elementary subjects in the fifth, sixth, or seventh standard. Where, however, an inspector reports that special and appropriate provision is made for the practical teaching of cookery, a grant of four shillings is made on account of any girl who has attended not less than forty hours during the school year at the cookery class and is presented for examination in elementary subjects in the fourth or any higher standard. In London and several of the large provincial towns efficient cookery classes are now established in the Board Schools and are very favourably mentioned in the School Inspectors' Reports for 1883.

loss of the money value of their children's labour is by appealing to the unselfish against the selfish principle, and convincing them, if possible, that while they are poorer by their children's school attendance, their children will in the end be richer. But in agricultural districts there is little in the instruction given in elementary schools to make the parents feel that their children are likely to be gainers by school attendance. They may admit the necessity of reading and writing, but they will contend that much else is taught which is superfluous. It may be allowed that there is something in this. To gain the parliamentary grant is naturally a paramount consideration with the teacher, and that is only to be done by educating the children up to the point and in the subjects prescribed by the Education Department. The teaching thus too often lacks any direct reference to the occupations in which the children will engage after they leave school; it is not, in other words, calculated to give them a greater interest in their work, and, therefore, to make them better workmen.*

Of the intimate connection between an improved system of education and the repression of crime, nobody who takes the trouble to consider the subject can entertain any manner of doubt. It is true that a considerable amount of instruction may, and often does, co-exist

* In this connection it is desirable that due weight should be given to certain of the suggestions contained in the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, which was published a few months ago. In them are embodied the results of three years of patient and exhaustive investigation prosecuted by Sir Bernard Samuelson and his colleagues and assistants, not only in the United Kingdom, but in almost all parts of Europe and America as well. At present the subjects for which grants are made by the Education Department, on account of pupils in public elementary schools, are either obligatory or optional, and the optional subjects are divided into such as are taken up by classes throughout the school, and such as are taken up by individual pupils in the upper classes of the school. These several orders of subjects are also officially described as "elementary," "class," and "specific." The Commissioners are of opinion that rudimentary drawing should be incorporated with writing as an elementary subject; that instruction in drawing partly from casts and models should be given in all the standards; that modelling should be made a subject for encouragement by grant; that in the lower standards object lessons for teaching rudimentary science should include geography, so that there may be two instead of three class subjects in them; that proficiency in the use of tools for working in wood and iron should be paid for as a specific subject, arrangements being made for the work to be done as much as practicable out of school hours; and that in rural schools instruction in the principles and facts of agriculture, after proper introductory object lessons, should be rendered obligatory in the higher standards. They further think that after reasonable notice no school should be deemed to be provided with sufficient apparatus of elementary instruction unless it is furnished with an adequate supply of casts and models for drawing; that special grants should be made to schools in aid of collections of natural objects, casts, drawings, and so forth, suitable for school museums; and that the provision at present confined under a recent statute to Scotland, which prescribes that children under the age of fourteen shall not be allowed to work as full-timers in factories and workshops unless they have passed in the fifth standard, should be extended to England and Wales. They also propose that School Boards, or where they do not exist the local authorities, shall be empowered to establish, conduct, and contribute to the maintenance of, classes for young persons or adults, being artisans, under the Science and Art Department.

with criminal tendencies. It is further true that there are some crimes—for instance, forgery, and certain varieties of murder, and fraud—which imply instruction, and, occasionally, instruction in an eminent degree, in those who commit them. But the acquirement of even the rudiments of education is always accompanied by a measure of moral training and discipline, of which the ordinary effect is to curb the impulses and supply the deficiencies to which breaches of the law commonly owe their origin. It cannot be regarded as a mere accident that, as we have already noticed, our criminal population, so far as the graver offences are concerned, has remained stationary, and so far as the slighter offences are concerned has absolutely diminished during the last decade, while between three and four millions have been added to our general population. Still less can it be regarded as a mere accident that, among both convicts and other prisoners, a very marked falling off is observable in the number of those who are under as compared with the number of those who are over thirty years of age, or, in other words, in those who have been afforded educational opportunities which were denied to their older companions. Despite the unquestionable progress which has been made in the dissemination of education in the interval, the proportion of uneducated to educated criminals is at present a shade larger than it was before 1870. It was then about 95, and it is now about 96 per cent., among men and boys, and it was then about 97, and it is now about 98 per cent., among women and girls. Of 129,000 males and 49,000 females committed to prison in 1882, only 5,000 of the first and 1,400 of the second could read and write well. Only 140 of the first and seven of the second were persons of what is described as "superior instruction," while 40,000 of the males, and 20,000 of the females, could neither read nor write, and 83,000 of the males, and 28,000 of the females, could read, or read and write, imperfectly. Hence the inference may be drawn with some confidence that the inhabitants of our gaols and convict establishments are becoming more and more distinctly identified with the ever dwindling residuum of educational pariahs among us, and that, at all events, a very appreciable part of the reduced ratio which is now established between our general and our criminal population is to be credited to the spread of education, and its moral as well as its intellectual consequences, in the course of the last fourteen or fifteen years.*

That our educational machinery works perfectly, or that the principles on which the attempt to work it is made are uniformly sound, it would be a great deal too much to affirm. We have not apparently quite decided what we want and what we ought to do. Are we prepared to institute a vast system of free education in England, which

* *Journal of the Statistical Society*, vol. xxx. p. 137, and *Judicial Statistics*, 1883, p. 239.

would mean an immense addition to the rates? In 1883 the State paid more than £29,000 for grants to elementary schools in aid of extra subjects, such as French, German, Latin, physical science. What has been said above as to the expediency of giving to children in agricultural districts a teaching that is likely to benefit them when they are apprenticed to their work, certainly applies here; and if these extra subjects are to be maintained, they should be as much as possible industrial.

Many and loud complaints are now heard that a distaste, even a contempt, for manual labour is being widely propagated among the children of the working classes. The impression has got abroad, and is gaining ground, that it is "more respectable" to be a clerk than an artisan, although the work of the first is often as hard and is generally worse paid than the work of the second. Candidates for clerkships trained in the elementary schools are multiplied beyond all precedent, and the process will no doubt continue until measures are taken to impress the rising generation with the fact that situations in workshops or factories are neither less reputable nor less desirable on other grounds than situations in offices and counting-houses. Already some progress has been made in this direction by the School Boards in certain of our great centres of population, and preparation for, or actual instruction in, handicrafts is receiving a degree of attention which was never before conceded to it. In London special arrangements have recently been made for the teaching of rudimentary science, the indispensable preliminary to sound technical training. At Liverpool and Birmingham for several years past scientific demonstrators of ascertained capacity have been appointed, whose duty it is to pass from school to school and deliver experimental lectures on general physics. Every week from eighteen to twenty of such lectures are given, and are followed by recapitulatory lessons from the ordinary school teachers and periodical examinations of the pupils. At Manchester workshops, appropriately fitted up with lathes and joiners' benches, have been attached to some of the Board Schools, in which classes are familiarised with the use of tools and the mechanical manipulation of wood and iron. In several of the larger manufacturing towns higher or graded elementary schools, connected with and supplemental to the primary schools, have been established. Into these the more advanced and promising pupils are drafted, and are instructed in the subjects adapted to their intelligence and acquirements more effectually and economically than could be the case were they mingled with younger or more backward children. Both at Manchester and at Huddersfield there are schools of this kind of which, particularly in their scientific and technical departments, very satisfactory accounts are given. But it is at Sheffield that the best and most complete example is to be found. At the Central School 500 pupils are in

daily attendance, all of them with a few exceptions promoted from the primary schools of the town. Only those who can pass an entrance examination in at least the fourth standard—and if their age exceeds eleven in a higher standard—are admitted. Both the boys and the girls are taught French throughout the school, while some are taught German or Latin as well. All the girls are practiced in cookery and needlework and a few of them are instructed in chemistry. For the boys the science course comprises practical plane and solid geometry; machine construction and drawing; mathematics; chemistry, theoretical, and practical; magnetism, and electricity. The art course includes freehand, model, perspective, and geometrical drawing; drawing from the cast; modelling in clay, and wood-carving. Practical work in the workshops embraces the production of simple but perfect geometrical forms in iron and wood, such as the cube or the hexagonal prism, the construction of models in wood suitable for employment in schools as models for drawing, and of various kinds of wood joints, models of doors, and so forth. Also the construction of apparatus to illustrate by experiment the principles of levers, of levers in combination, pulleys, wheel and axle, the crane, and strains on beams with different positions of load. All the models are made from drawings prepared by the pupils themselves, the aim being to supply a systematic course of practical instruction in the science of mechanics. The ages of the boys varies from ten to sixteen, the majority remaining under tuition until they are between fourteen and fifteen years old.* It is manifest that the sort of training which is here indicated is fitted only for those whose after career is to be that of skilled artisans of the first order. It would be unsuited to the requirements of the rank and file of manual labourers even if the consumption of time which it implies did not effectually put it beyond the reach of the children of all save the very well-to-do among the working classes. What particular scheme of technical instruction should be pursued in any given elementary school must be determined in the main by local considerations: the nature of the industries prosecuted in the vicinity and the circumstances and prospects of the pupils under training. It is only in exceptional districts that any considerable number of them can be expected to remain at school until they are fifteen or sixteen years old. It would be absurd to pass the future agricultural labourer and the future mechanical engineer through the same practical course in the

* The Commissioners on Technical Instruction state that they "were much impressed with the excellence of the drawing, including that for industrial work," at the Sheffield Central School, and add that "it is greatly to be desired that the Government would support this practical workshop instruction, without which the continuance of the scheme is scarcely possible."—*Second Report*, p. 467. Of the Ducie Avenue Board School at Manchester they say that the grants earned from the Science and Art Department, together with the school pence, more than cover its working expenses.—*Second Report*, p. 427.

workshop. It would be ridiculous to suppose too that the general run of children in the primary schools could within due limits of age even be qualified for admission, or could be admitted with advantage to the higher or graded elementary schools. As it is, an outcry has been raised against "over-pressure" which is neither without foundation nor likely to be without effect. In spite of much exaggeration and some absolute fiction, enough is on all sides allowed to be true to indicate the existence of a real and very serious danger. The latest reports from the inspectors of schools, as well as the questions which have been put, and the answers which have been returned to them, in Parliament, all tend to prove that although "over-pressure" is comparatively rare and is nearly always the result of mismanagement on the part of the teachers, or mental deficiency and bodily weakness on the part of the pupils, it is far more common than it is either necessary or creditable that it should be.* It may well be feared that a thoroughly effective system of elementary education leading on to a course of special technical instruction would transcend the natural powers as well as the pecuniary resources of the vast majority of the children who are in attendance at our primary schools. But there is no reason why throughout the whole process of their training in them, such as it is and can be, their intended or probable callings should not be steadily kept in view, and every available opportunity seized for imparting to them the particular sort of knowledge which is most likely to be of service to them in the business of life.

What becomes of the boys and girls after their training in one of the elementary schools of the country—whether a Board or a voluntary school? The vast majority of both sexes proceed to get their living as best they can; the girls procure domestic employment, the boys are apprenticed to manufacturers or tradesmen. But as among the girls there is a small percentage who become pupil-teachers, and who subsequently go to training colleges, so among the boys there may be one or two who are destined to rise by their abilities and industry above the position to which they were born. Here, no doubt, there yet remains a great work to do. In some primary schools scholarships have been founded by private benevolence, as well as by the munificence of the great City companies, who, it should be noted, are also doing much to assist the development of technical and industrial teaching. These prizes are competed for annually, and they enable successful candidates to pass on to secondary schools and complete or mature their education. In a few towns, such as Bedford, there is a graduated system of schools; and a boy may pass from the lowest class in the school which is at the bottom of the scale to the

* *Report of the Committee of Council on Education*, 1883-1884, pp. 293, 304, 316, 336, 340, 350, 380, 388, 406, and 414. See also *Transactions of the Social Science Association* 1883, p. 234 *seq.*

highest in that which is at the top, from which he may proceed to the university, with more educational and scarcely fewer social advantages than he would have enjoyed at Eton after an expenditure of £1,500.* In most towns, and in many places which are little more than villages, there are endowed schools, grammar schools, and others of different grades, and if the pupil can afford to spend further time upon the business of education, he will be able to procure admission to one of these. The third grade of endowed schools are on a level with the elementary schools of the country: in the second grade, boys learn Latin as well as rudimentary Greek, remaining at them till about the age of sixteen. In schools of the first grade boys receive the highest liberal training known in England, and remain till eighteen or nineteen. Each of the institutions which these classes comprise is now as genuinely national as the Board School itself. It is, however, only in recent years that they have acquired this character. Before the time of the Endowed Schools Commission and the legislation which followed it, these institutions did exceedingly little work, and the endowments were generally monopolised by members of the Church of England. The effect of the new legislation was to make them independent of creeds, both as regards the benefits of their endowments and the appointment of their teachers, wherever the original statutes of the founders did not specifically prohibit such a change. In addition to this, provision was made for the teaching of the natural sciences and modern languages. The reorganisation of these schools by the Government with the new schemes of teaching in them has resulted in an educational revolution, second only to that represented by the Elementary Education Acts, and has provided such connecting-links as can be said to exist between the rudimentary schools of the country and its highest academic training.

What the Government did for those institutions, specifically known as endowed schools, by Act of Parliament, it did also for what are called,

* Attached to the Central School at Manchester there are twenty scholarships for necessitous boys and girls, from the primary schools. "These," the Commissioners on Technical Instruction say, "are of the greatest service, as they form the first step in the ladder by which a talented boy may climb from the board school to the university. Other scholarships take the boy from this higher elementary to the Manchester Grammar School, and others again from that to the university. Several boys have already accomplished this feat."—*Second Report*, p. 426. "When I was a member of the London School Board," Professor Huxley wrote a few years ago, "I said, in the course of a speech, that our business was to provide a ladder reaching from the gutter to the university, along which every child in the three kingdoms should have the chance of climbing as far as he was fit to go." He also pointed out the national importance of opening to any and of genius—the one in a million, according to Mr. Galton's computation—the highest and completest training the country can afford. "I weigh my words," he adds, "when I say that if the nation could purchase a potential Watt, or Davy, or Faraday at the cost of a hundred thousand pounds down, he would be dirt-cheap at the price. It is a mere commonplace and everyday piece of knowledge that what these three men did has produced untold millions of wealth in the narrowest economical sense of the word."—"On Technical Education," in the *Fortnightly Review*, January, 1878.

by way of distinction, public schools. A Royal Commission, appointed in 1861, inquired into the condition of the nine large endowed schools of Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury. It is to these that the Public School Acts have exclusive reference, while the great multitude of the remainder—upwards of a thousand institutions in all—are provided for by the Endowed Schools Acts, based upon the reports of different commissions of inquiry. Both in the case of the nine schools specially mentioned, and of the others, governing bodies were appointed, in which the masters and pupils, as well as the great body of the parents, the universities, and the learned societies are represented. In all cases an under-master has, in the case of any dispute with the head-master, the right of appeal to the governing body. The governing bodies have also the power to alter the qualifications of age and knowledge required of a pupil entering the school, to award scholarships and exhibitions as the result of competitive examinations, to provide for exemption from religious instruction, and to abolish a clerical qualification as compulsory upon head-masters and under-masters. The new relations thus established between governing bodies, head-masters, and their subordinates, did not at first work uniformly well; the transition from the old régime to the new was attended by much friction and by some collisions; there were troubles at Rugby, there were differences which did not become quite so famous at Eton. Happily these things now seem to belong to past history; the schools are doing their work fairly, and the masters, pupils, and parents have settled down under the changed conditions.*

The great public schools have felt the upward educational movement of the time, just as they have admitted, in the re-arrangement of their governing bodies, the supremacy of the State. In the last thirty years there have sprung up throughout the country a host of new claimants for the honours and prestige which the nine public schools used to divide among them. Marlborough, Cheltenham, Leamington, Brighton, Bath, Malvern, and Clifton have each of them become the centres of teaching which gives them a claim to be practically con-

* The Select Committee of the House of Commons nominated "to consider how the ministerial responsibility under which votes for education, science, and art are administered may be secured," have recently presented their report. Of this Committee the Chancellor of the Exchequer acted as chairman, and among the members were Sir Lyon Playfair and Sir John Lubbock. The general effect of their recommendations is that the existing arrangements in the Education Department should be superseded by placing at the head of it a President, who shall be answerable for all educational matters in Great Britain, that he shall be assisted by a parliamentary secretary and a council or board, and that he shall be invested with authority for dealing with all primary and endowed schools and all universities in the receipt of public grants in England and Wales and Scotland. With Ireland the Committee did not propose to meddle, and there does not appear to be any immediate prospect of the introduction of the reforms they advocate in the other parts of the United Kingdom.

sidered upon the public school level. These new seats of learning owe their rise partly to the immense development of the middle class which has been witnessed of late years, partly to the extension of the competitive examination system. It is this competition which has had much to do with the efforts at reform made by the authorities of our older public schools, and with the attention given to mathematics, modern languages, and physical science.

For some years after the institution of army entrance examinations, and the application of the competitive system, either in a free and unrestricted or a modified form, to the Civil Service, both at home and in India, the entire work of the preparation of candidates for these ordeals was in the hands of private tutors, better known by the generic name of "crammers." A "modern side" had indeed been instituted at many public schools, in which special attention was given to modern languages, mathematics, and physical science. But the work in these departments was generally done in a perfunctory manner, and the experiment during its earlier stages was only partially successful. The crammer was the recognised and necessary supplement to the schoolmaster. Boys who were destined for the army were systematically idle at school, because they knew, or confidently hoped, that they would be able to make up for their idleness by six months' or a year's work under the crammer's auspices. The tendency of this state of things was to establish an extremely undesirable divorce between the public schools and the public service; the effects of this divorce still remain, though in one or two ways the attempt has been made to remove them, and to increase the inducement for lads to go to the universities after leaving school, instead of to crammers. Thus at the present day, special privileges are offered to candidates for the Indian Civil Service who may have gone to Oxford or Cambridge, and a certain number of commissions in the army are annually reserved for undergraduates at these universities. Again, as regards the Indian Civil Service, the reduction in the standard for the age of entrance was intended to have the effect of bringing up candidates straight from school. Most of the great schools of the country have readily and effectually availed themselves of the opportunity thus offered, and special classes for the benefit of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, and since the English Civil Service has been reorganised and its most remunerative positions thrown open to competition, for that also have been set on foot. But as yet there is nothing to make one think that the crammer's occupation is likely to disappear altogether. The spirit of the age is favourable to specialists and experts, and the crammer is simply an educational practitioner who has made certain examinational requirements his particular study, just as the medical specialist has concentrated his thoughts and experiences upon a single variety of disease.

The fact, however, remains, that much has been done towards bringing the curriculum of the great schools of England into harmony with the requirements of special public examinations instituted by the State. It is an attempt at organisation, the success of which we cannot expect suddenly to witness, an honest effort to provide that valuable and important machinery of which before we had nothing. In other respects, too, there may be seen signs of the endeavour to secure something like uniformity in our system of higher education. The two universities have instituted an examining board which, on payment of a comparatively small fee, is willing to test annually the proficiency of the pupils of every school that cares to enter into an arrangement with it. Success in this examination is accepted by the authorities of Oxford in lieu of passing the Little-Go examination. But so far as the universities are concerned, this is only one of many proofs which they now afford of their anxiety to adapt themselves to the altered conditions of the times. Nor are the colleges idle: they are altering their statutes in the direction which the commissioners may probably recommend, are endowing new professorships out of their funds, and have, in some cases, abolished clerical restrictions in the case of their headships. Already, too, they had done more than this. In 1858, local middle-class examinations were established, conducted by members of Oxford and Cambridge, and entitling those who passed in them to the degree of Associate of Arts. Since then several colleges, both at Oxford and Cambridge, have given scholarships and exhibitions to the most distinguished of the successful candidates in these provincial tests, as an inducement for them to go to the university and reside. Ten years later, the scheme of unattached students was adopted, and young men were henceforth enabled to enrol themselves members of the university without being members of a college. The scheme was recommended on its earliest introduction by motives of economy, and has since proved wonderfully successful in practice. The colleges themselves have done much to help this attempt; they have, in many instances, opened their lectures to unattached students, and they have been frequently willing to receive such members of this body as cared to enter themselves upon their books on exceptionally favourable terms. As the universities have done much to adapt their distinctions to the necessities of practical life by founding new examination schools in such subjects as modern history and law, physical science, and theology, so the colleges have increased their educational efficiency by combining their tutorial staff for collective instruction.

Far outside their own geographical limits, from one end of Great Britain to the other, both universities are doing a great educational work. The university extension movement is gaining ground daily. As by the middle-class examinations boys who had not the chance of

going to Oxford and Cambridge had it placed within their power to gain a certificate of academic excellence, so Oxford and Cambridge have brought their harmonising influences within the reach of those whose schooldays have come to a premature close. In almost every great town of England there are lectures, given periodically by graduates of high standing belonging to one or other university, not merely in Latin and Greek, history, philosophy, and literature, but in political economy, and the various branches of physical science. The course of lectures on these subjects is followed by examinations; nor is it an unknown thing to find a Sheffield or Birmingham artisan, clad in his working dress, who has gained an Oxford or Cambridge certificate in political economy.

In the new alliance established between English schools and universities by means of the examining board, of which mention has already been made, indications of an effort may be observed on the part of schoolmasters—for it was to the schoolmasters as much as to the university authorities that the new scheme was originally due—to secure for themselves a more accurately defined position. There are, indeed, two features especially prominent in the relations which have been developed during the last few years among schoolmasters as a body on the one hand, and in schools in their connection with the universities on the other. The schools have been increasingly putting themselves into a sort of clientship to a university; schoolmasters have more and more been organising themselves with a view of attaining something like uniformity in their educational systems, and the power of making their voice heard in scholastic matters generally. The periodical conferences of head-masters have been one important step in this direction. These meetings are now about fourteen years old, and in the last five or six years assistant-masters have been admitted to them. Further progress along the same line has been made, and the idea has been realized of holding educational congresses, open to all teachers and examiners of first and second grade schools, and to all professors and teachers of the universities. Much work has also been done by the College of Preceptors—an association of which the aim is to prove the quality of teachers, principally in middle-class schools, and which grants diplomas to schoolmasters who have not been at universities, after they have been specially examined in the theory and practice of education. It also gives certificates to schoolmistresses. These examinations have been held half-yearly since 1854, and between two and three thousand teachers of both classes are now annually submitted to them. Delegates of the college also examine entire schools. The distinguishing feature of the body, however, is that it exists for the benefit and instruction of the teachers themselves. Education is studied, and lectures are given on education as a science and an art. For a long

time the college has been endeavouring to obtain registration by the Government for teachers in public and private schools. This would virtually amount to a legal enactment that no person should be accepted as a teacher who does not possess a certificate from some recognised board of examiners.

On all sides the complaint is made that our supply of middle-class secondary schools is defective alike in quantity and quality. One remedy, that suggested by Mr. Matthew Arnold, is an organised system of State inspection such as now exists in our primary schools, and, by means of the new university examinations, in some of our public schools as well. To hope that this would cure the evil is perhaps to expect too much from the machinery of inspection. No doubt the condition of things recorded in the reports of local delegates of the University of Oxford, as existing in our grammar schools and others, is sufficiently unsatisfactory. "The results of these matriculation examinations," write the delegates, "prove that the education of boys is very inefficient in English schools; that their ignorance is by no means confined to classical subjects, but is equally marked in mathematics." Hence the inference is that there is need for a superior authority to interfere on the behalf of the middle-class parents of England, and that this can only be done by a Minister of Education sending forth his inspectors to see how the work of education is carried on, not only in the case of the clever boys who get to the top of the school, but of the many who are allowed to drop behind and to do no real work at all. Let it be granted that the facts are as they are described to be, and that the parents are quite right in attributing them to the unsatisfactory teaching in the middle-class schools of the United Kingdom; does it follow that the cure is fresh legislation and more school inspection?

The report of the Endowed Schools Commission drew attention to many instances of systematically careless and imperfect teaching in middle-class schools. The public did not, however, require to master the contents of all these volumes to know that some of those who had embraced the profession of education had no educational zeal, taste, or capacity. Sometimes the pedagogue was an extremely agreeable specimen of the English clergyman and gentleman, fond of society, fond of shooting, a capital conversationalist, perhaps something of an æsthetic dilettante. He took an active part in the local cricket club, and was a leading spirit in a resuscitated toxopholite society. He was one of the most delightful persons in the world to fill a vacant place at a picnic party, and he had an abundant repertory of songs, which he sang with great feeling and judgment. But in an evil hour for himself and others he had taken to schoolmastering. When he was elected to his position by the governors—the present governing bodies had not then come into existence—the school was fairly well-

to-do. There were plenty of day-boys, and a considerable number of boarders. Nothing more than management, industry, and energy were wanted to perpetuate its success. These were attributes possessed by neither the new head-master nor his wife. Socially they were each of them great acquisitions. There was nothing in the world for which the pair were less adapted, however, than the drudgery, or slavery as it seemed to both of them, of perpetually having the responsibility of boys on their hands. The result, of course, was that which might have been expected. The school went down, the boys learned nothing, were plucked in every examination for which they presented themselves, and finally the head-master himself considered it advisable to accept a small living.

Provincial England at one time abounded in such experiences as these. Frequently the schoolmaster was something more than a man of pleasure—was really a scholar, or had a pretty turn for physical science, or archæology, or metaphysics. The unimpeachable character of the pursuit did not, in practice, much mend matters. The boys were neglected, and the fame and fortune of the school began steadily to decline. It would be too much to say that such cases as these are altogether unknown at the present day. They are certainly much less common than they were, and equally certainly it is very much easier than it was for the ordinary parent to procure a sound training of the higher sort for his boy. Of course all ground for the complaints of indignant parents is not removed. The doubt is whether it is necessary or desirable to attempt to remove them by Act of Parliament. It is, and it will remain to the end of the chapter, just as impossible to improve unsatisfactory schools and bad systems of teaching—or systems of teaching which are in reality no teaching at all—off the face of the earth by adding to the army of school inspectors at present scattered over the surface of the United Kingdom, as to eradicate criminal propensities from the minds of the lower classes by indefinitely reinforcing the ranks of police superintendents. There are two kinds of school inspection, the direct and indirect. The latter is, or should be, quite as effective as the former, and may be enforced in all cases in which the former does not exist—that is, in every kind of school which is a grade or two removed above the primary school. There are the Oxford and Cambridge middle-class examinations. There are the periodical examinations conducted by members of a regular staff of University examiners, which secure, as has been explained above, for the successful candidate immunity from the ordeal of "Responsions" when he has matriculated. There are innumerable examinations for Civil Service appointments, commissions in the army, Ceylon writerships, scholarships, and exhibitions at the different seats of learning in the United Kingdom. Now, each one of these really does the duty of an indirect school inspector, and if the

parent wishes to have presumptive and, as he may fairly regard it, almost positive proof of the efficiency of any school, he has only to find out what its representatives, in other words its pupils, do in their public trials. Here are data on which any parent can base his judgment, and they are data available to all who care to have access to them. The standard is one by which no schoolmaster will think it unjust that the merits of his school should be gauged. Occasionally he may be afflicted with an exceptionally stupid set of schoolboys; but the doctrine of averages holds good, and in the long run the dullness and cleverness of schoolboys bear the same mutual proportions.

The truth is, that it is the parents themselves who decide how much education is to be given to the boys, and of what kind. Money will do much, but there are certain things which it is not to be wished that it should do. It is not, for instance, to be desired that the payment by the father of a sum, very likely a considerable sum, of money should relieve him of the obligation of personally ascertaining what progress his boy is making, and what are the influences, mental and moral, under which he is growing up.

If the subjects taught at school are tabooed at home, on the ground that they are of little practical utility and do not pay, is it likely that a boy will work hard at them? These are the questions which the proposal of inspection for grammar schools very naturally suggests to schoolmasters. Says a schoolmaster: "A parent consulting me a few days ago about his son, a boy of some ability, but very much afraid of exertion, concluded by saying, 'I don't want my lad to grow up a fool, but I don't care for him to work very hard. It is not necessary, for he will have plenty of money.'" Well may the schoolmaster ask, "Whom would an inspector blame for this boy's ignorance and backwardness?" The parent above referred to probably belonged to that class of parents who send their boys to school not so much to learn as to make acquaintances. The purely social mission of school life is often enlarged upon in the present day by parents before boys to a very ill-advised extent. And though we hear more about education now than at any former period, it must always be remembered that there is much in the spirit of the age which is distinctly anti-studious. To play in the University Eleven, or to row in the University Eight, carries with it more of popular prestige than to have won a Balliol or a Trinity fellowship.

The general principles on which the great English public schools may be described as being administered are, first, that of recognising and organising the natural tendencies of boys; and, secondly, that of appealing to their good feeling and honour. Each of these principles finds its expression in what is called the monitorial or the prefectual system. This system is really one of government by the governed,

and, as perfected by Dr. Arnold, is the distinguishing feature of our public schools. It is, we are told, natural and inevitable that big boys should control small ones, and an organised system prevents abuse of this control. Again, it is part of education to learn to rule. And further, it is a waste of power not to utilise the governing instinct of the senior boys for work which they can do as well as, or better than, paid masters. We thus have three distinct lines of discipline; first, that of the head-master; secondly, that of the assistant-masters; thirdly, that of the boys. It is impossible to put down fagging by any laws. Human nature prompted strong boys to exercise an authority which was very often despotic over the weak. The question, accordingly, with which schoolmasters were confronted presented itself as one of regulating this authority among boys in such a way as to prevent its degenerating into bullying, and to establish some compensating principle to that of "might is right." Hence our schoolmasters have officially recognised fagging by the one or two upper forms of their schools. In this manner they have to a great extent succeeded in turning possible and probable bullies into actual disciplinarians. The head-master officially acknowledges the jurisdiction which the bigger boys have over the smaller, and in return for this sanction, the bigger boys are held by the head-master responsible for the moderate exercise of their powers, and by way of further reciprocity, pledge themselves to promote order and discipline throughout the school. This system has no doubt certain disadvantages. Boys, it may be argued, do not choose their leaders on the same principle as head-masters choose their prefects; there is, thus, a danger lest the depositary of the delegated authority of the head-master should not be identical with the wielder of the actual authority among his schoolfellows. Again, it is contended by some critics that the monopoly of schoolboy responsibility by a limited number causes the remainder, who are the great majority, to ignore the fact that they have any responsibility at all.

On the whole, however, fagging and the monitorial or prefectual power do not work badly at our public schools. Scandals occasionally there are, but the worst scandals do not occur in schools where the jurisdiction of the prefects or monitors is openly recognised, and where fagging is most freely sanctioned, but rather in those schools where the limits within which the former is kept and the latter is not allowed to exceed are very narrow. At Eton, though the prefectual system has not been nominally adopted, the head boy of each boarding-house is expected to keep things straight chiefly by setting a good example. Sixth-form boys generally are trusted to preserve order, and have the right to fag. In almost all schools where the monitorial system does exist its representatives are allowed to use the cane. At Winchester a prefect may cane on his own responsibility, but in serious cases the

head boy of the school is consulted. At Harrow no grave offence is punished, whether by chastisement or otherwise, without a meeting of the head boys of the boarding-house and their common approval of the steps taken. At Westminster no monitor can cane or punish in any way, unless in the presence of and with the approval of the head boy of the house, or of the entire school, according to the nature of the offence committed. In all cases appeal lies to the head-master. No monitor may punish for an offence against himself; the monitors, as a body, are formally invested with power by the head-master, and promise in writing to act faithfully. At Marlborough there is also an appeal to the head-master; two prefects must be present at a caning, and the strokes must not exceed twelve. At Shrewsbury no caning or imposition is given, except upon the adjudication of the whole body of prefects.

Such, in brief outline, being the English public school system, what is its product? The first thing which strikes one in the schoolboy of to-day is that his views of life are much wider than those of the schoolboy of earlier times. He seems to be much more in contact with its actual cares and responsibilities. There is no diminution of freshness or of capacity for healthy enjoyment, but he is manifestly not without a sense that existence has its business, and that that business he will sooner or later be called on to transact. The happy-go-lucky temper, the vague belief that all will come right in the end, is more or less superseded by an intelligent recognition of the circumstances that how this may be very much depends upon himself. The lad begins of his own accord to discuss the possibilities of a career, the chances of schoolfellows who are reading for examinations, or the merits of those who have actually gained appointments. In all this one may witness some of the results of the competitive system. If competitive examinations had done nothing more than bring home to the minds of English boys a sense of the necessity for prolonged individual effort, they would have done much. They may be sometimes unfair in their operation, they may often fail to secure for us the qualities which we want, but they have at least not so much modified as revolutionised the schoolboy's whole conception of life.

There are many other agencies tending in the same direction at work with the English schoolboy. As competitive examinations for scholarships, Civil Service clerkships, for the army and the rest, have opened up to him a novel view of the responsibilities of existence, so have the studies which these examinations involve immensely enlarged his general intellectual experience. Modern and ancient history, English and French literature—he looks at these from a standpoint to which he was once a stranger. There is, he at last perceives, some practical significance in them, and they bear a definite, tangible relation to the affairs and conduct of life. Nor does the impulse proceed

only from above. In many ways the modern English schoolboy does a great deal for his own enlightenment. Boy politicians and philosophers there have always been, but they have been of the nature of portents and prodigies. Till recently schoolboys have displayed, for the most part, an indifference to the history of their own times, as it may be learned from newspapers and from conversation. Every school and every school boarding-house have now their library and reading-room. The boys themselves, though as far removed from being prigs as, it is to be hoped, young Englishmen will ever be, have their miniature Parliaments, and discuss the public questions of the day. Their remarks may not be very edifying, but that such remarks are made, and such discussions are held at all, testifies to an educational fact of no small value—educational, indeed, in the best and truest sense of the term, since the process is the gradual drawing out, strengthening, and exercising of faculties which, in the old state of things, were allowed to rust in desuetude.

The English public school system has become as much a national institution as household suffrage or vote by ballot. That it is supposed to suit the English character may be inferred from its adoption at the newer public schools which are springing up. How strong is the hold which universities and public schools together have upon the English mind, to what an extent their influences dominate the men who in turn are entrusted with the administration of the country, may be judged by the following estimate: In the House of Commons elected in 1880, 237, or more than a third of the members, were Oxford or Cambridge men, while about 200 were public school men, of which total close upon a hundred came from Eton, and rather more than half a hundred from Harrow.

Nor has female education in England among the middle and upper classes failed to make a very perceptible advance of late years. There are ladies' colleges, not only at Cambridge, but in most of the large and fashionable towns of the United Kingdom. There is an elaborate organisation of lectures of all kinds for female students. There are high schools for girls of a younger age, where much study is given to many subjects. But while in many instances it cannot be doubted that the young ladies of the day are gradually developing into intellectual and cultivated women, we are experiencing some of the disadvantages attendant upon an era of reform at high pressure, and female education in fashionable finishing schools is often far too pretentious to be sound. We have seen the British schoolboy; let us briefly glance at his sister, the English schoolgirl, as we may frequently meet her. She has a considerable acquaintance with text-books and manuals. She can answer questions on a host of minute incidents and irrelevant details connected with great historical events and involved in salient historical principles. But of the principles or events them-

selves, of their connection with what preceded them, and of their bearing on what came after them, she has too often no kind of conception. In the same way she is tolerably well informed as to the vegetable and mineral products of different districts in the United Kingdom, and it may even be of the various countries of the world. That these districts have ever been prominent in the national annals for other reasons, that grave political issues have ever been decided within them, or that precisely the same order of things, so far as civil and religious polity is concerned, does not obtain indifferently in each of these countries as in England, are facts which she does not always seem to understand.

Is it wonderful that the young ladies thus trained ripen into wives and mothers, paragons of their sex very likely, but with intellects imperfectly developed, or not developed at all. They have been instructed, not educated. No attempt to educate them, save in the particular matter of music and dancing, has been made. They have, in other words, been crammed with the letter of text-books; they have not been taught in subjects. So long as parents are satisfied with this, so long as the examinations to which these young people periodically submit—and their success in which is cited by the lady principal of the school as conclusive proof of the excellence of her establishment—proceed upon their present method, are mere tests of book-learning and not of general intelligence, such will continue to be the case. The worst of it is that there are few counterbalancing advantages to the system of which the modern schoolgirl is too frequently the victim. Although her mind is not being enriched with philosophical views of history, it is not necessarily turned towards the theory and practice of domestic management.

Here this general review of our educational state may close. It has necessarily been little more than a mere summary of leading points; it has been the narrative of changes in the course of accomplishment quite as much as of reforms actually achieved. It has often revealed tendencies rather than results. The key-note of the entire system, whether as applied to teachers or to taught, is organisation; better provision for the pupils, more effectual guarantees that the schoolmasters shall be competent for their work, and shall have the opportunity of proving that competence to the public. In this work of organisation, so far as it has affected the higher education throughout the country, the University of London, it should be said, has taken a great part. It stands in relation to University College and King's College as the University of Oxford or Cambridge stands to Balliol or Trinity, and its degrees are academically as valuable as those of Oxford and Cambridge.

It is, indeed, with education as it is with the question of labour and capital, or of pauperism, or of co-operation. The system is not com-

plete, the different duties to be performed by its component parts are not yet determined, the connecting-link between these different parts does not always exist. On the other hand, what was once a void is now filled by complex and more or less successful machinery. The law ensures to every subject in the United Kingdom a certain modicum of education; it does not guarantee that every boy who deserves such promotion, or who is capable of profiting by it, shall rise, by a series of gradual ascents, to the highest academic training; but supplemented as our educational system is by private enterprise and voluntary organisation, it renders it exceedingly improbable that such a boy should not have the wished-for chance. Something of what we have done in the case of our manufacturing industries we have done in the case of education. We have economised force. The great machine for the improvement of humanity has at last been fairly put in motion. Its different parts may not be united so compactly as we shall some day see them, and the scale on which its labours are performed may be enlarged in the future; but even as matters are, the masses in this country have had the means of self-elevation opened to them, and we know that there is springing up around us a new generation which will not be like its predecessors, or which will, at least, have had at its disposal advantages which its predecessors never knew. Elementary schools, secondary schools, public schools, universities, private teachers, private and public societies, are now putting forth their utmost efforts, and many of them are working in unity and accord. That the fundamental principles of a complete system of national education are entirely settled it might be too much to say. It is for the future to show whether the State will ultimately recognise the duty of supplying, at the cost of the ratepayers, the children of all its subjects with instruction; whether, in other words, the "free school" programme will be realised. Finally, it is yet a moot point how long the compromise between such a system of public secular and private denominational teaching as was embodied in the Education Act of 1870 will endure. Every public grant accorded to any sectarian school for proficiency in non-religious subjects involves the principle of denominational endowment, and it has still to be seen whether in the course of years this principle will be formally sanctioned or definitely condemned.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

The English Character gradually losing its Insularity—Why?—How English Accessibility to Foreign Influences exhibits itself—The Results of Closeness and Frequency of Communication between England and France, especially as manifested in English Domestic Life—The "Flat" System—Gallicised English Households—Some of the Results and Dangers to be expected from this Emancipation from National Prejudices—Modern Cynicism—Modern Cosmopolitanism—Change in Ideas and Practice of Domestic Life—The Old Country Gentleman and the New—Society a Home—Parents and Children—Husbands and Wives—Marriage and Independence—Tendency to Free and Equal Intercourse of the Sexes: how favoured and illustrated by the Usages of Modern Life—The Fashionable Englishwoman's Day—Change in the Bearing of Men towards Women—And in Country Life.

The English character is gradually losing the insularity that has long been the moral heritage of our geographical situation, and is divesting itself of the tastes, prejudices, and habits which have been regarded as inseparable from the race. The social relations established between England and France exist more or less intimately between England and other European countries. The summer vacations of the average Englishman are spent abroad—at French watering-places, which are not more expensive than English, and which have a charm of novelty that English watering-places do not possess: in Brittany; in the Bavarian Tyrol; at the German spas; under the shadow of the Alps; by the shores, no longer solitary, of the lakes of Switzerland. Or he will go farther afield, and, performing the grand tour on a scale worthy of the larger notions of these later days, will traverse a hemisphere in his arduous pilgrimage of pleasure. He studies life under a republic in the United States, or he watches the working of the machinery of empire in India; or he endeavours to mark, by personal investigation, the differences between constitutional government as it exists in England and constitutional government as it is transplanted to our Australasian dependencies. If he is unable to accomplish all this in a single expedition, he still frequently contrives to leave the well-worn Alpine tracks far behind, and sets his face in the direction of the Scythian steppes or the snowy crown of Ararat. Not a year passes in which adventurous Britons do not achieve feats hitherto unattempted, the influence of which is never lost. The names of such men as Macgregor, Burnaby, Bryce, Grove, Freshfield,

become the watchword of the rising generation of Englishmen, and their exploits the standard of true British adventure.

It is, however, the intimacy between England and France the effects of which are chiefly manifested upon the well-to-do classes of English society. Hitherto international political relations have been mainly confined to diplomatists and statesmen actually in office. It was a new experience to find gentlemen who sit below the gangway, or on the front bench on the Opposition side of the House of Commons, exchanging visits with members of the French Chamber of Deputies. Nor is it only the increased space and attention given to French affairs in the English newspapers which cause a growing section of newspaper readers to take as much interest in the debates in Paris as in those at Westminster, and to understand, perhaps, scarcely less about them. A practical experience of the conduct of parliamentary business in the Chamber of Deputies has ceased to be confined to a limited number of those whose business it is to lead and enlighten English public opinion in the press; and many a man who a few years ago would have had no other object in a trip to Paris than to eat dinners, visit theatres, or see the races at Chantilly, finds himself impelled to pick up what he can of French political knowledge by witnessing French political institutions actively at work.

The consequences of all this meet us in England at every turn. English theatrical managers go to French dramatists for their new pieces, just as Roman playwrights went to Greek. Our daily way of life is largely accommodated to French practice; our bills of fare are drawn up in the French language. In some instances our servants are French, Swiss, German, or Italian. The "flat" system, borrowed from France, has now existed on a considerable scale in London during twenty years, and is in great and growing favour. In the course of a few years the rents of flats have doubled. Victoria Street, Westminster, is about equally divided between the offices of parliamentary lawyers, colonial agents, engineers, and domestic dwellings. These last consist in every case of flats. The sum paid annually for a suite of eight rooms on the ground floor is not less than £250. The drawing-room floor commands a still larger sum; and unless the tenant chooses to ascend to the lofty level of the garrets, no set of apartments can be procured in this quarter of the town for less than £150. At Queen Anne's Gate there has sprung up a colossal block wherein reside an immense aggregate of families. Here attendance and cookery are forthcoming as well as house-room, with, of course, a proportionate charge for both. Dinners and other meals may be taken in the private apartments of the occupiers, or in the public saloon. The rents paid are fixed at figures which might be thought prohibitory; yet few sets of rooms ever remain long vacant. No arrangement can be imagined more diametrically antagonistic to the tastes with which Englishmen

are generally credited. A flat, it may be said, is merely a house, with this difference, that the rooms are arranged not on the perpendicular plan, but on the horizontal. It also possesses what may well seem a great advantage to busy men or women who are anxious to purchase the seclusion of domestic life at the cost of as little inconvenience as possible. The tenant of a flat is able to compound for all the various petty charges incidental to the householder by payment of a lump sum. The flats belong to a company; the company has a secretary, and it is the business of that officer to see that the fabric of the apartments of each tenant is kept in proper order, and that no just complaint remains without attention. There are other advantages connected with the flat system of which the English paterfamilias is fully as conscious as the Continental. He can leave London at a moment's notice with his wife, children, and servants; or he can take his children and his wife with him, sending his servants on a holiday, secure in the knowledge that his abode is hermetically sealed behind him; that there is danger neither from the street burglar nor from the charwoman—the traditional custodian of the London house when the family is out of town—and the strange relatives and unsavoury friends whom that person may invite into the drawing-room during the period of her occupancy.

For all this we are mainly indebted to the force of French example, and the new régime suggests the necessity of modifying the conventional conceptions of the English character. It is not an argument to drive too far; but one is induced to draw from it the inference that the ice of English reserve is gradually melting, and that the time may be coming when the English table d'hôte at hotels and elsewhere shall seem less artificial and strange than, as we have seen, it does at present. As it is, we English are now in a transition state. We have adopted many of the outward observances of the country which is separated from us by the Straits of Dover—French cookery, French wines, French art. We have still completely to assimilate some of the qualities of French manners. The attempt to reproduce the Continental household is not quite unknown in England. In some cases the effort is an affectation, in others it is made from a conviction that it is the most effectual way of securing domestic comfort, with a certain amount of domestic elegance. English servants are not in good repute. They are often idle, exacting, thankless, incompetent, wasteful, and dishonest. There are a few English households in which not a single English servant is kept, and in which, except when company are entertained, not a single word of English is spoken. The children are taught to prattle French and German in advance of their native tongue. There are German and French nurses, the cook is Belgian, the housemaid Swiss, the footman Italian. You have no sooner entered the home managed upon such principles as these than you

find English ways, habits, furniture, are left behind. The ornaments visible are French. The manner in which the furniture is arranged is French also. Eminently French, too, are the polished wooden floors, the fireplaces, and the decorations in the neighbourhood of the fireplace. It is the same at table—a good dinner, but not an English one. Such households as these are exceptional, but they exist, and they illustrate the tendency of the time.

Naturally there is a rather ridiculous side to this systematic acclimatisation of foreign modes. There has been developed a type of character confined to no particular age and to neither sex, of which the chief feature is an adventitious aversion to everything distinctively English. Such people, having visited the Continent two or three years in succession, return possessed by a spirit of profound intolerance for the institutions and ways of their fatherland. They find the English theatres temples of dulness, the English press a scheme of organised platitudes. They prefer bad French cookery to sound English fare. They discover that the British breakfast is a barbarous and indigestible meal, and straightway they substitute the "déjeûner à la fourchette." They patronise French bootmakers and dressmakers. They profess a sudden ignorance of the good qualities of Great Britain. They boldly avow their inability to understand British prejudices. This is a social variety which has indeed become so common as scarcely to attract notice.

Influences more important than those which the process of gradual and partial emancipation from English prejudice and habit has exercised upon the English character are at work. Our stage, as has already been said, is inundated with comedies and farces of which the motive, the plot, and the moral are purely French. There is no doubt that many of our ideas of social propriety are as directly of Gallic origin as the dramas enacted behind the footlights. French literature, and foreign travel, familiarity with the more liberal views of Continental society —above all, the influences of the Second Empire—have caused us to regard many of our old-world notions of right and wrong, the venial error or the unpardonable sin, as ridiculously narrow and obsoletely puritanical. Especially are these views, as well as their practical results, apparent in the relations which nowadays obtain between the sexes. The truth seems to be that in this matter, as in others, we have shaken off the constraints which were once accepted in English society without question, or rebelled against with much peril, and have not yet learned by practice what are the corresponding or compensating constraints in foreign society. Further, this kind of cosmopolitanism engenders a more or less cynical disbelief in the reality and value of many old-fashioned virtues and institutions. We are still a nation of patriots; but what is the result which a systematic habit of depreciating the sentiments which lie at the root of patriotism must

have upon a patriotic people? English patriotism, too, was always nurtured by the substance of local attachment. The love of country in the abstract has been resolvable into definite concrete constituents —the love of English institutions, of the principles of English liberty and justice, of the beauties in the English landscape, the richness of English woodlands, the varied tints of English hills and English plains; and not only the love of these, but the belief in them as objects worthy of admiration, and as objects to be found only in our island home. This is a truth which English history and which English literature—itself the record and expression of English history—attest. But the homage it implies, and the devotion it points to, are they not diminishing now? Is it a healthy sign that we should be passing, if we have not indeed already passed, from patriotic enthusiasm and self-exaltation to a mood of indifference and disparagement? English tourists and holiday-makers are apt to cultivate and to know all countries save their own. There is even a tendency among the English aristocracy to regard England as a country chiefly important because it supplies their rentals, and furnishes them with good shooting and the best hunting in the world.

The change that has taken place in the English view of life is not confined to a mere extension of the horizon of our daily experience, to a large toleration of the stranger and the alien, to new modes of thought, and to fresh topics of conversation. The domestic life of England has undergone a complete metamorphosis, for the nation is only an aggregate of households. Modern society is possessed by a nomadic spirit, which is the sure destroyer of all home ties. A section of the English aristocracy pass their existence in a perpetual round of visits. They flit from mansion to mansion during the country-house season; they know no peace during the London season. They seldom endure the tranquillity of their own homes in the provinces for more than a month at a time, and then they temper their rural solitude by a succession of visitors from the great city. Existence for the fashionable and the wealthy is thus one unending whirl of excitement, admitting of small opportunity for the cultivation of the domestic affections, no time for reflection, or the formation of those virtues which depend upon occasional intervals of seclusion and thought.

Here and there in some out-of-the-way corner of the country may be found a survival from the old school of country squires, who is regarded with only an antiquarian interest by his descendants of to-day. He is not a great landlord; he is what, in the present age of immense fortunes, would be regarded even as a poor man. He has a rental of some four thousand a year, he has never speculated, and he is content if he can transmit this fortune, not largely augmented but not diminished, to his son. His whole being is absorbed in his

acres, his farms, his tenants, and his dependents. He lives among his own people, and the thought has never occurred to him that he might spend half his time elsewhere. Thirty years ago he took his eldest boy to Eton, and on the occasion of that memorable event he accepted the hospitality of a friend and contemporary, a fellow of the royal foundation. But with this exception he has not once slept away from home in the course of those three decades. Well stricken in years, he is still hale and vigorous; he can walk over several miles of his own ground in a day, and is fully equal to longer excursions on the back of his stout, sure-footed cob. The life which he leads now is the life which he has always led, not that necessitated by the infirmity of years, but the result of circumstances and custom. When he was twenty years younger he had as little taste for protracted absences from home as he has now. He remained where his lot had placed him and his forefathers before him, and he was content. He is hospitable, and knows every family in the county. If you visit him you will meet none but country folk, unless it be the friends whom his sons have brought with them from London. The hospitality, meted out with generous hand, is there for all to enjoy. But with the exception just named, the company is the same as regards its general composition as that which congregated there a century ago. And the talk, too, is purely old-world talk. The young men, fresh from Pall Mall clubs, or Temple chambers, or regimental messes, may discuss some of the events and scandals of the hour—what is doing at the theatres, what will be the next political combination at Westminster, what the next elopement in Mayfair. Such gossip as this only brings into stronger relief the themes which furnish the staple of the general talk; and as you sit and listen to the two sets of speakers by turns, you begin to realise that they are separated from each other by the gulf that divides two eras of our social history.

Compare now with this specimen of a bygone age the English squire *à la mode*, opulent commoner, or peer, whether he is or is not in the front rank of the territorial aristocracy. He has inherited a fine estate, possibly more estates than one, and he takes a pride in it or them. He has travelled much, been round the world, and on his return to England went into the army, just in the same way that a few years earlier he went to Eton or to Oxford. Or he may have lived among more stirring scenes. Instead of having passed ten years in the Guards, and been a great campaigner in London, he may have seen active service in India and in the Crimea. But he has, as he calls it, settled down now. He is a keen sportsman, and he is something of a scientific farmer. He breeds and is an excellent judge of stock of all sorts. He has indeed a passion for cattle, and has been known to give as much as £4,000 for a shorthorn. In

a word, he has all the tastes and knowledge of a country gentleman, and that is what he calls himself. But the country house of which he is proprietor probably does not see him for more than two or three months out of the twelve, and never for more than two or three weeks at a time. There is always business, social, political, and financial, or some pleasure scheme as urgent as business, which requires his presence in London. He spends a week in November at the fine old place which he has inherited, and then the thought strikes him that he will take the train to the capital and see a theatre or two. London, it is true, is conventionally empty, but there are sure to be acquaintances at the club. During the season he is, of course, in London more or less continuously. There is an occasional run across to Paris, and when the season is over, there are Goodwood and Cowes, and a little Continental trip. Before settling down for the winter he braces his system and invigorates his family by a fortnight at some English watering-place. This brings him to the first month of winter, and he beguiles the period of his duty as country gentleman by the reception of a series of guests from London. But he does not neglect the county society, and, indeed, in spite of his nomadic existence, looks closely after his affairs, and exercises a general and real supervision over everything. He is a good landlord and, when he is at home, a good neighbour. His peculiarity is a constant and insatiable desire for change—change, that is, of scene, for of the same companions he never seems to weary. The truth is, that for those who live, as it is called, "in society," there is but one society all the world over, abroad or at home, in town or in country. A modern country house is practically the same as a London house transplanted to a park girdled with trees and hills, and commanding extensive views of rich level meadows. The men and women are the same who met each other daily a few months ago in Rotten Row, at the opera, at dinner-parties, receptions, public balls. It is conversation, for the most part, in which those who do not live the same life can feel small interest and take no part. It is not provincial chatter, but it is local and personal, the locality being London, and it is not readily comprehended by the provincial neighbours who happen to be present.

The influences of the time are not favourable to domesticity, and in our progress towards cosmopolitanism the taste for the family life which was once supposed to be the special characteristic of England has to a great degree been lost. The claims of society have continually acquired precedence of the duties of home. The heart of the modern mother may in reality yearn with the same fondness as of old towards her offspring; but she does not permit herself, or events do not permit her, the same opportunity of indulging it. She has her own position to assert in the great world; she has the ambition of her husband to remember and to advance. Society has become the fetish

before which women prostrate themselves, and the mothers who used to live for their children now live for their acquaintances. This tendency and this resolve act—as they cannot fail to act—as the solvent of household ties and domestic obligations. Neither father nor mother would allow that parental duties were neglected, but they might confess that they were vicariously discharged. They would urge apologetically the multiplicity of their social engagements, and the imperious necessity of attending to them. They would proceed to assure you that all which human care could do towards seeing that their children enjoyed every advantage had been done; that they inquired in the most searching manner as to the character of the nurses and governesses whom they engaged, and always impressed upon their sons the paramount necessity of keeping out of scrapes—"Do as I say, not as I do"—and making desirable acquaintances at school. All this may be true and creditable enough, but it rests on the assumption that a parent can satisfactorily delegate to tutors or governors the sum of those duties which he owes to his child. The natural outcome of this is that the fashionable parents of the present day have little more than a mere superficial acquaintance with their own children. If this acquaintance is not cultivated early, it cannot be cultivated late. If the father or mother does not invite and train the confidence of the son or daughter when the quality of truthfulness, which with children is an instinct, has not been abused or blunted, it will not be won in after life; and if a son or daughter make shipwreck of his or her future, the parental grief, however deep, and the disappointment, however sincere, will not get rid of the heavy responsibility which this negligence has entailed.

There are other points at which manifestations may be observed of the change the domestic system of England is undergoing. The ultimate guarantee, the sole, sure condition of domestic unity, is the identity of interest between husband and wife. Conjugal fidelity has not in times past been confined to this country, and the sanctity of the marriage tie has not been an exclusively English notion. It is, however, a notion on which a very remarkable degree of emphasis has been laid in England. It is impossible to deny that the relations between husband and wife often show an increasing laxity. Here, as in other things, we have qualified our native views by comparison and contact with French examples. The very phrases by which, in the French vernacular, marriages of different sorts have long been spoken of, have become naturalised in the English language. The flirtations of girlhood are perpetuated or reproduced in what was once the staid and decorous period of matronhood. Nor is it merely that such things are; they are conventionally recognised as existing, and when recognition has been once won for a fact or a custom, it has practically obtained a social sanction.

Marriage is, as it will continue to be, the grand aim in life of every young Englishwoman; it is only the theory of marriage which has been altered. The central idea, the very type of marriage with the English girl used to be—with tens of thousands of English girls is still—home. But in the higher strata of society girls marry in a large proportion of cases, not that they may become wives, mothers, mistresses of households, but mistresses of themselves, and are often goaded to marriage by a sense that a fashionable mother finds them inconveniently in the way. An establishment, horses and carriages, dresses and jewellery: these, of course, are ends which need no justification. What we are now chiefly concerned with is the acc pted ideal of uxorial independence. The mere command of money is indeed a fascinatingly novel experience to most English girls, and it is probable that a more liberal supply of pocket-money than is given, even to the daughters of wealthy parents, would do them no harm. As it is, girls in this position in life are apt to get into debt, and debt means the indulgence of improvident and extravagant habits. But many English girls have other tastes than the simple and perfectly legitimate pleasure which the anticipatory control of pocket-money gives. They are fond of paintings, of art, of playing the hostess, of admiration. It may be, if their temperament is of the severer kind, they are fond of politics, literature, or science. In any one of these cases the wife speedily creates for herself a little world of her own, in which the husband only figures as an occasional visitor.

Even when the spirit of feminine independence after marriage does not assume quite so emancipated a form as this, it very often asserts itself in a manner comparatively new to English society. The acceptance gained by the rite of five-o'clock tea is the symbol of the ascendancy of the softer over the sterner sex. The incense of knightly worship easily blends itself with the fragrance which the delicate china cups exhale, and the world, touched at the sight, admits the propriety of the homage. The increased popularity of garden-parties, water-parties, and those al fresco banquets which retain their original name of picnics; of Hyde Park as a lounge and a promenade; of such pastimes as lawn tennis and croquet—if indeed croquet anywhere survives; of Hurlingham as an afternoon resort during the season; of the Orleans Club, whether in its Twickenham or its London house, as a meeting-ground for ladies and gentlemen; of the exhibitions which the past two years have witnessed, and which will be repeated during the next two years, at any rate, in South Kensington, are all indications of the undoubted tendency to multiply as far as possible the opportunities of reunion, friendly or formal, between women and their actual or potential admirers.

The daily life of a modern English girl or matron—it makes little difference which, for the former will be duly chaperoned, and as to the

latter, her husband has his own affairs to attend to—in the full swing of the London season, will show something of the extent to which we have cast off the old-fashioned restraints, and the perseverance with which we war against the shyness that has long been the Briton's reproach. There is the morning's ride in the Row from noon to two. All London is there, and it is a sight unique in the world. But, if you are a stranger, you should have a cicerone who is tolerably trustworthy and omniscient. The beauty and the splendour of the scene you can admire without such instruction. The trees, London trees though they are, are masses of well-grown greenery, and grateful indeed is the shade they afford under the July sun. The footpaths, which have the iron rails on the one hand, are lined with shrubs and flower-beds on the other. The rhododendrons have not yet lost their bloom. There is the scent of roses in the air, the perfume of mignonette, and now and again you catch the aromatic odour of the fir-trees lightly blown on the summer air. Hyde Park adds to its attractions as the most entertaining promenade in the world all the charms with which successive landscape gardeners have been able to enrich it. There are not fewer than ten thousand men and women on the paths which fringe the ride, alternately gazing at the beauty of flowers and herbage, and at the dazzling variety of the human panorama. Every nation may say that it is represented. There are ambassadors from every civilised kingdom in existence, attachés taking their morning ride before the diplomatic toils of the day begin. India and Japan send their contingents to the equestrian array—Japanese who have come from a home already Anglicised to acquire the finishing touches of an English education, and Hindu youths who have defeated English undergraduates on their own ground. There are pretenders to foreign crowns, mounted on steeds as faulty as their own monarchical claims; and there are foreign merchants—Greeks, Armenians, Spaniards, Italians—careering on horses which are the most perfect specimens of their kind that money and breeding can procure. Many members of the two Houses of the English Parliament are there too, not a few men of business, more of pleasure, and more still who are both. There are ladies of every age, position, degree of beauty and virtue, rank, circumstance, and position in life—fair girls to whom the whole scene is a novelty, and one fraught with an excitement half painful, half bewildering; girls on whom it is beginning to pall, and who go through the whole thing mechanically; mere happy children scampering and exercising their ponies.

As our imaginary heroine enters the Row she is not alone, and before she has gone half a dozen paces she falls in with a phalanx of friends of both sexes. A walk gives place to a canter, and then a canter to a walk. And so with gossip and exercise the morning passes

away, and the lady on whom we are in attendance turns her horse's head towards home. There, in all probability, one or two early visitors have already come, and the chatter of Rotten Row is exchanged for the precisely similar chatter of the luncheon-table. Afterwards may come an hour's pause, unless indeed there is something to be done before five-o'clock tea is served, and the hour for the evening's drive in the Ladies' Mile arrives. Very possibly, however, some engagement has been formed for the afternoon, and lunch is little more than well over ere the world again claims the presence of our ideal dame or demoiselle. It is, perhaps, one of the Saturdays on which the tournament of doves is held at Fulham, and a drive thither has been arranged on the box-seat of the coach of an amateur but eminent whip. Two ladies and three or four gentlemen are the complement of passengers, and Hurlingham is their destination—a spacious enclosure fenced round by trees, with tents, pavilions, and a semicircular ring of spectators. There are the traps from which presently the blue rocks, strong of wing and hard to kill, will be let loose. There are the noble sportsmen, and there beyond is the knot of betting-men engaged in making their books, and laying or taking the odds with the noble sportsmen. In a few minutes business will commence, and you will hear nothing but alternately, or simultaneously, the inarticulate murmurs of polite talk, the successive cracks of the guns, and anon the hoarse roars of the gentlemen of the betting-ring.

Theoretically this advance which we have made in the direction of a system of social intercourse between the two sexes, conducted, as nearly as may be, on terms of complete equality, may be considered an improvement. But the equality is not yet entirely established; the process is not without certain hitches and awkwardnesses, and some of the evils of a state of transition have to disappear. The liberty is still a little new, and it may be that the deep draughts of it which are taken are a trifle too powerful for our as yet unseasoned social system. Intoxicated with a sense of their recently acquired privileges, the emancipated victims of outward restraints may be led to extravagances and extremes which they should be careful to avoid when they know better what it is not to wear the yoke. If social scandals are more common now than was once the case, it must be attributed, charitably, not to the new system, but to the fact that the system is new. When the novelty is worn away so will be the peril, and young men and maidens, recovering the conventional balance, will exhibit only the fair side of the social revolution.

One more contrast between the social life of the present and of the past remains to be noticed. Society seems to have pronounced sentence of perpetual exile upon repose. A country house of the altered type, as has been said, is but a London house, with a change of natural

environment and pursuits. Yet there was a time when the country-house season was really a change from the life of the London season, and the finest ladies and gentlemen consented for some months in every year to lead a genuine country life. Nowadays nobody lives in the country. The tranquil country existence which people were once not ashamed to enjoy after the London season, and which many enjoyed all the year round, is as extinct as the Plesiosaurus or the Phœnix. One must look to the novels of fifty years since if one wishes to form a notion of this vanished and most peaceful régime: of the comparatively simple fare, the rationally early hours, the general repose of the house and of its inmates, the absence of all dissipation except an occasional dinner-party of a sort that would now be voted provincial, a picnic one week and a garden-party the next. These were the days in which the country gentleman was satisfied to fulfil the duties of that station to which it had pleased God to call him, when he took a patriarchal interest in parish politics, and concerned himself with the affairs of the whole country-side. He may have been in the habit of passing three weeks or three months in London. But he shook off the dust of Babylon long before he planted his foot on his estate in Arcadia; and as for the smart parties and the big shoots of these latter days, he would have shrunk from the very idea of them. It is the age of exaggeration, and the battues are as Brobdignagian as the weapons with which the quarries are slain are precise. The sport of destruction is compressed into a few weeks or days, according to the capacities of the estate. The birds brought home are reckoned not by the few modest brace, but by the hundred or thousand head. Of these just enough are kept for the house-party. The rest are packed off to the poulterer, and so it comes to pass that game which was once a very rare luxury, is now bought and sold like beef or mutton. One of the consequences of the new order of things is that the habit of despatching presentation boxes of game is becoming antiquated. Place, in imagination, by the side of the sportsman of the period at the conclusion of his day's campaign—with the birds and hares that have fallen before his breechloader piled up around him—his ancestor. It is only from paintings of the old school that we can get an idea of the sport of the old order. There, depicted on some pleasant canvas, is the country gentleman of the pre-central-fire epoch, with his single-barrel lying beside him, resting under a tree and gazing with a look of triumph, that is probably reflected in the faces of the two chubby boys at his side, upon the hard-won spoils of a laborious day. A couple of hares, two brace and a half of partridges, a pheasant or two if October has come, and an odd rabbit make up the total. But then these have been in many cases stalked, and before the gentleman in the picture has picked up his partridge he has walked many a yard, perhaps many a mile. Now there is no picking up at all, and every-

thing is left to the beaters. As for the spirit which animates the gunner of to-day, what has it in common with that which filled his predecessors, to whom shooting implied a mastery of the art of venery and woodcraft? But Nature brings not back the Mastodon, nor we these times; and the big shoot has taken the place of the small by the same inexorable law as that by which large landlords have swamped little ones, and, in business, limited liability companies have swallowed up industrial traders on a modest scale.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE STRUCTURE OF ENGLISH SOCIETY.

Three Elements in English Society—Fusion between the Aristocracies of Birth and Wealth—Results of the Process—Patricians in Trade—Gratification of Democratic Instinct and Maintenance of Aristocratic Principle—The State of Things thus brought about favourable to Plutocracy—Absence of a *Noblesse* in England—Results of this Absence contrasted with Consequences of its Presence in Austria, &c.—Table of English Precedence, and the Principles on which it is arranged—Gradations in English Society—New Social Era in England dates from Reform Bill of 1832—The Decline of Dandyism—Essentially Solid and Serious Character of the Foundation on which English Society rests—How this Fact affects the English Estimate of different Professions and Callings—Social Position of Merchants, Stockbrokers, Lawyers, Authors, Artists, Doctors—Importance of State Recognition and Reward of Professional Men.

In the constitution of English society at the present day, the three rival elements—the aristocratic, the plutocratic, and the democratic—are closely blended. The aristocratic principle is still paramount, forms the foundation of our social structure, and has been strengthened and extended in its operation by the plutocratic, while the democratic instinct of the race has all the opportunities of assertion and gratification which it can find in a career conditionally open to talent.

The antagonism between the aristocracy of wealth and birth has long been disappearing. The son of the newly-enriched father is identified in education, social training, habits, prejudices, feelings, with the scions of the houses of Norman descent. At all times there has been a tendency on the part of birth to ally itself with wealth, and it would be found upon examination that for the greater part of their princely rentals many a noble English stock is indebted to purely commercial sources. Judicious matrimonial alliances have largely assisted in identifying the two principles of wealth and birth. This has continued down to the present day, and the consequence is that though English society may be divided into the higher classes, the middle classes, the lower middle, and that vast multitude which for the sake of convenience may be described as the proletariat, the feud between the aristocracy of lineage and of revenue is almost at an end. There are typical country gentlemen in the House of Commons and in society, but the country interest is no longer the sworn enemy of the urban interest. Our territorial nobles, our squires, our rural land-

lords great and small, have become commercial potentates; our merchant princes have become country gentlemen. The possession of land is the guarantee of respectability, and the love of respectability and land is inveterate in our race.

The great merchant or banker of to-day is an English gentleman of a finished type. He is possibly a peer, and an active partner in a great City firm; if he is not a peer, the chances are that he is a member of the House of Commons. He is a man of wide culture, an authority upon paintings, or china, or black-letter books; upon some branch of natural science, upon the politics of Europe, upon the affairs of the world. Does he then neglect his business? By no means. He has, indeed, trustworthy servants and deputies; but he consults personally with his partners, gentlemen in culture and taste scarcely inferior, it may be, to himself; he goes into the City as punctually as his junior clerks; and when he returns from the City he drops for a few minutes into the most exclusive of West-end clubs. His grandfather would have lived with his family above the counting-house, and regarded a trip to Hyde Park as a summer day's journey. As for the descendant, his town-house is in Belgravia or Mayfair. He occupies it for little more than six months out of the twelve, and during the rest of the year lives in his palace in the country, takes a keen interest in the breeding of stock, the cultivation of the soil, and the general improvement of his property. There is, in fact, but one standard of "social position" in England, and it is that which is formed by a blending of the plutocratic and aristocratic elements. If it is realised imperfectly in one generation, it will be approximated to more closely in the next, and thus it will go on till the ideal is reached.

There is a rush just now equally on the part of patrician and plebeian parents to get their sons into business, and noblemen with illustrious titles and boasting the most ancient descent eagerly embrace any good opening in the City which may present itself for them. It is perhaps the younger son of an earl or a duke who sees you when you call on your broker to transact business; it may be the heir to a peerage himself who is head partner in the firm which supplies the middle-class household with tea, puts a ring-fence round the park of the Yorkshire squire, or erects a trim conservatory in one of the villa-gardens of suburban Surrey. It may also be remarked that an institution which is the great object of menace and attack on the part of the radical reformers of the age has greatly assisted to knit together the various parts, sections, and interests of the social system, and at the same time that it has dispersed the aristocratic leaven has proved to be a distinctly popularising agency. Primogeniture, the bulwark of an hereditary nobility, is one of the guarantees of the alliance between the upper and the middle classes which has con-

tributed to give us the social stability that other nations have lacked. Imagine primogeniture abolished, and the French system, as a possible alternative to primogeniture, adopted—an equal division of property among the various members of the family. The distinction between elder and younger brothers would disappear. Most of the sons of our great landlords would have a competency, and as a probable consequence they would combine together to form an anti-popular and exclusive caste, would intermarry to a much greater extent than at present, would cease to go forth—since the necessity would cease—into the world to make their fortunes, and would erect a hard and fast line of demarcation between classes.

If we look at polite society in England as an entire system we shall find that it differs in one very important respect from polite society in certain other countries and capitals of Europe. It has a nobility, but it has not, and it has never had, a *noblesse*. The peerage and the commonalty are the only two political orders into which the State is legally divided, and among us all men who are not peers are commoners. As it is now, so it has been throughout the whole period of our constitutional history. Speaking of England in the middle ages, Macaulay uses language which with little alteration might well be applied to England in the present day. "There was," he says, "a strong hereditary aristocracy, but it was of all hereditary aristocracies the least insolent and exclusive. It had none of the invidious character of a caste. It was constantly receiving members from the people and constantly sending down members to mingle with the people. Any gentleman might become a peer. The younger son of a peer was but a gentleman. Grandsons of peers yielded precedence to newly made knights. The dignity of knighthood was not beyond the reach of any man who could by thrift and diligence realise a good estate or could attract notice by his valour in a battle or a siege. It was regarded as no disparagement for the daughter of a duke, nay, of a royal duke, to espouse a distinguished commoner. Thus Sir John Howard (the historian should have written Sir Robert Howard) married the daughter of Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Sir Richard Pole married the Countess of Salisbury, the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence. Good blood was, indeed, held in high respect; but between good blood and the privileges of the peerage there was, most fortunately for our country, no necessary connection. Pedigrees as long and scutcheons as old were to be found out of the House of Lords as in it. There were new men who bore the highest titles. There were untitled men well known to be descended from knights who had broken the Saxon ranks at Hastings and scaled the walls of Jerusalem. There were Bohuns, Mowbrays, and De Veres, nay kinsmen of the house of Plantagenet, with no higher addition than that of esquire, and with no civil privileges beyond those enjoyed by every farmer and

shopkeeper."* Hence in this country there was never established a barrier between the patrician and plebeian sections of the community, such as that which grew up and still in some measure exists on the Continent. With the exception of the peers themselves, whose privileges belong to them as hereditary legislators and councillors of the Crown, the second has always been in all substantial things on an equality with the first. And even as regards merely honorary distinctions, the line which separates them is slight and evanescent. Between the son of the younger son of the greatest duke in the land and the son of a successful trader no titular distinction whatever is recognised. In the whole of the three kingdoms there are only sixteen or seventeen hundred persons, from the premier peer to the junior baronet, who are in possession of hereditary dignities; while abroad, on the contrary, "foreign counts and barons"—to use a familiar phrase—are numbered not by hundreds, but by hundreds of thousands.† With us no "title of courtesy"—that is, no title which, being neither a peerage nor a baronetcy, is enjoyed by anybody as the son or daughter of somebody else—is capable of transmission by inheritance, or can consequently endure for more than a single generation. It is, no doubt, customary to accord to the children of the sons and heirs-apparent of dukes, marquises, and earls the same style and designation as they would have if their fathers instead of being nominally were really peers. It is also usual when the sons and heirs-apparent of dukes, marquises, and earls die before their fathers, leaving sons, for those who so become the heirs-apparent to their grandfathers to be assigned some inferior titles belonging to their grandfathers, which may or may not be the same as those formerly assigned to their fathers. But such prolongations of "titles of courtesy" are strictly confined to the lineal course in which the peerages they are attached to are destined to descend. While on the one hand the absence of perpetuity in honorary distinctions divests English society of much of the exclusiveness characteristic of society on the Continent, on the other hand it exacts for them while they are in existence the most rigid and jealous observance. In our Indian empire, the Dominion of Canada, and some other of the colonies, personal precedence, in so far at all events as local rank and station are concerned, has been abolished, and in them, as in France and Italy, official precedence has

* *History of England*, vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

† "The Chevalier F. de Tapies, in his work 'La France et l'Angleterre,'" says Sir Bernard Burke, "states that in Russia there are five hundred thousand nobles;" that "Austria numbers two hundred and thirty-nine thousand;" that "Spain in 1780 reckoned four hundred and seventy thousand;" and that "France before 1790 had three hundred and sixty thousand, of whom four thousand one hundred and twenty were of the *ancienne noblesse*." The Ulster King-of-Arms gives the number of persons with transmissible titles in the United Kingdom as one thousand six hundred and thirty. But he adds that there are among us some two hundred thousand "who are nobles in the Continental sense of the term."—*Reminiscences Ancestral, Anecdotal, and Historic*, p. 112.

been introduced in its place. Precedence in Russia is military and bureaucratic; in Austria, Spain, and Germany, military and personal; while among ourselves the considerations by which it is determined are partly personal and partly official, although the former are far more numerous and influential than the latter. In England the homage paid to the aristocratic principle is, in fact, still as genuine in spirit, if it is not so severe in form, as it used to be in Austria, once the aristocratic country of Europe *par excellence*. Within the Austrian emperor's dominions there existed, and continues to exist, a great hereditary *noblesse:* the titles of prince, count, and baron in the masculine or feminine gender being transmitted in perpetual succession from the father to both sons and daughters. Society, in the approved sense of the term, was thus, so to speak, a close corporation absolutely unapproachable by all who lacked in their cradles the requisite credentials of position. Neither ability, nor worth, nor great political power and eminence furnished an adequate claim for promotion to the highest level. Within its sacred limits official rank was of course recognised. But it was never permitted to supersede or to supply the want of the distinctions of birth. So far was this formerly the case that until recently even the Austrian Prime Minister, if he had been born outside of the charmed circle, was not admitted to certain select ceremonies of State. It used to be said that the Princess Nicholas Esterhazy, the daughter of that *grande dame*, the late Countess of Jersey, was excluded from several privileges in Austria for no other reason than that her great-grandfather was Mr. Child, the eminent banker. But even if there had been no Mr. Child in the way among Lady Sarah Villiers' ancestors, her marriage with Prince Nicholas Esterhazy could only have been "morganatic," although of course valid enough. The Esterhazys of Galantha were once a reigning and are now a mediatised house, and can match in full and complete matrimony with the members of other reigning or mediatised houses alone.* It is for a similar reason that the wife of Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar, the sister of

* "A morganatic marriage is a marriage perfectly legal between a member of a reigning or of a mediatised family and one not of a reigning or mediatised family. By this marriage the wife is excluded from the family name, arms, and title, and the children, though legitimate, lie under the same disabilities, and are incapable of inheriting or transmitting a right of succession to the titles, sovereign privileges, and entailed possessions of the family. They are entitled merely to whatever may be settled on them by contract. All the houses which held directly and immediately of the Holy Roman Empire at its break up, and which had then a seat and voice among the Herren in the Diet, are either still reigning or mediatised. They are all considered on an equality as to blood, and an emperor of Austria may, if he please, choose an empress from among the Bentincks, Fuggers, Platen-Walmodens, Wurmbrands, &c. In Germany morganatic marriages are called also left-handed marriages, because at the nuptial ceremony the left hand is given. The word morganatic is derived from the fact that the wife only receives a gift on the morning after the nuptials."—Burke, *Reminiscences Ancestral, Anecdotal, and Historic*, p. 243. Sir Bernard Burke adds to these remarks a "catalogue of the mediatised princes and counts of the Empire, in which the name of Esterhazy of Galantha will be found."

the present Duke of Richmond, is formally described as Countess of Dornberg, and that Prince Victor of Hohenlohe assumed the designation of Count Gleichen when he married the sister of the late Marquis of Hertford, who could not become Princess Victor of Hohenlohe. Neither in Austria nor in Germany is this a mere matter of etiquette. It is a matter of law, affecting the succession to great estates, and even to sovereign authority. Where the question is simply one of the proper number of "quarters"—that is, of "noble" descent in all directions for a certain number of generations—the punctiliousness of earlier times has almost entirely disappeared.* If a lady of high rank, the wife of a man occupying a distinguished position, should now suffer heraldically from the unequal marriage of one of her progenitors, it would no longer operate as a bar to her admission to court —that is to the society of the great world—even without the special grace of the Emperor. And there are also many other instances of marked exception in our day to the primitive exclusiveness formerly prevalent in Austria.

In English society the chief fundamental fact is, as already indicated, the absence of a *noblesse*—a fact which has its disadvantages as well as its advantages, and which has probably a deeper and wider effect on our national character than is generally supposed. The highest society in Austria is, perhaps, even now more agreeable to aristocratic Austrians than the society which most nearly corresponds to it in England is to aristocratic English people. It is, in fact, a kind of family party on a large scale—a magnified edition of the patrician cliques and coteries the majority of whose members are bound together by the ties not only of acquaintance and community of tastes and sympathies, but also of relationship in one shape or another. There is, consequently, just that absence of restraint and reserve in the "great world" of Austria which might be expected where the possibility of encountering any "doubtful person" is out of the question. In England, where the antecedents of many of those who are admitted to the "best society" are obscure, and where the connections between the families of the peerage and the commonalty are infinite and invisible, it is natural, and it is right, that considerable caution should be exercised. Hence, in a great measure, the proverbial reserve for which English men and women are celebrated. As it is impossible to tell exactly who any given person may be, or to whom related, so there is a tendency on the part of the many aspirants to social station, if not to affect kinsmanship, at all events to pretend to intimacy with personages of rank and importance. Comparative strangers addressing one another can never feel quite sure of their ground, and are apt to be a little agitated as to their respective positions. The prosperous

* The "Seize Quartiers" consist of a descent from sixteen great-great-grandparents, all entitled to bear a coat of arms, which implies "nobility" all over the Continent.

merchant into whose family the heir to a dukedom marries will probably have near relations who belong to the lower stratum of the *bourgeoisie*. These strange contrasts and associations are impossible in such a country as Austria, where outside "society" there is scarcely any distinction between the *bourgeois* and his footmen, just as inside "society" in England there is practically no distinction between the man who was the day before yesterday in a counting-house and the peer whose ancestors were at Ascalon or Runnymede. In England the wife of a distinguished politician or soldier shares the status of her husband. *Ubi Clodius ibi Clodia.* Where he goes there she goes also. But the wife of an Austrian minister or general who was destitute of the qualification of birth would hardly feel aggrieved if she failed to receive an invitation to enter the social paradise of the elect, and if she did enter it she would almost certainly experience the discomfort that arises from strangeness and novelty.

It is an old saying that the code of precedence which governs English society is nothing more nor less than "a system of rank confusion." It must be confessed that, having regard to the deference it commands, it is by no means so free from anomalies, incongruities, and omissions as might be reasonably desired and expected. It is, in truth, like our "glorious Constitution" itself, the result of gradual growth rather than of deliberate manufacture, and in almost every portion of it traces are to be discovered of the occasional and piecemeal way in which it has assumed its existing shape. But such as it is, it would be a mistake to suppose that it is the product merely of the officious zeal and frivolous ingenuity of Kings-of-Arms and Masters of the Ceremonies. Its rules and regulations, as the Heralds are fond of reminding us, are part and parcel of the law of the land: they are set forth in the "Institutes" of Chief Justice Coke, and are explained in the "Commentaries" of Mr. Justice Blackstone.* In the old time questions of precedence came under the cognizance and jurisdiction of the Court of Chivalry, over which the Constable and the Marshal of England jointly presided. But towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII. they were made the subject of express statutory provision, and an "Act for the Placing of the Lords" was passed by Parliament in 1539. By this statute, which was followed by another of William and Mary in 1689, and the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland in 1707 and 1800, together with certain ordinances of James I. in 1612 and 1616, the scale of general precedenc was practically settled as it now stands. But where it has not been fixed by parliamentary enactment, as in the statutes already mentioned, and some others creating judicial offices and determining the rank of the holders of them, precedence is a matter wholly within the discretion and prerogative of the Sovereign.

* Coke, *Institutes* IV., cap. 77. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, Book I., chaps. iv. and xii.

The "Act for the Placing of the Lords" was based on ancient usage and established custom, of which there are five authentic records preserved in the Heralds' College, which have been privately printed by the late Sir Charles Young, Garter King-of-Arms.* The earliest is the "Order of All Estates," issued in 1399 by the direction of Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmoreland, Earl Marshal, for use at the coronation of Henry IV., and the next is the "Order of All States of Worship and Gentry," drawn up in 1429 for the coronation of Henry VI., under the sanction of the Lord Protector Humphrey Plantagenet, Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl Marshal John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk. Two others are the "Orders according to ancient statutes" for "the Placing of All Estates," by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, Constable of England, and the "Order of All Estates," by Anthony Widvile, Earl Rivers, Constable of England, dated severally 1467 and 1479, and both of the reign of Edward IV. The last, which is particularly referred to by Sir Edward Coke as a "record of great authority," is shortly described as the "*Series Ordinum*," and was the work of a Commission under Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, appointed for its preparation by Henry VII. either just before or just after his marriage in 1486. As evidence also of "ancient usage and established custom," as it was understood subsequently to the passing of the statute of Henry VIII., Sir Charles Young has added to his collection a couple of documents to which much weight is attached at the College of Arms.† The first is an "Ordinance or Decree made by the Commissioners of the Office of Earl Marshal of England for the Precedency of all Estates according to their Birth and Calling," in 1594, the Commissioners being Lord Burleigh, Lord High Treasurer; Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral; and Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain of the Household. The second is the "Roll of the Proceeding of King James the First from the Tower through London to Whitehall," on the eve of his coronation in 1603, "ordered by the Lords Commissioners for executing the Office of Earl Marshal"—namely, the Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer; the Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral; ‡ and the Earls of Suffolk, Worcester, and Southampton. Anybody who takes the trouble to turn to the introductory portion of Sir Bernard Burke's or Mr. Foster's "Peerage and Baronetage" will discover the combined effects of these various statutes and ordinances duly set forth in the tables of "general or social precedence," one for men and another for women, at present in force among us. At first sight, probably, the somewhat complicated arrange-

* *Order of Precedence: with Authorities and Remarks.* By Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King-of-Arms. London: 1851.

† *Ancient Orders of Precedency.* Printed by Sir Charles George Young, Garter King-of-Arms. Not dated, but later than the memoir of 1851.

‡ Charles, second Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral, had been created Earl of Nottingham in 1596, and was a Commissioner on both occasions.

ments they are intended to formulate will appear to the uninitiated to be destitute alike of order, design, and symmetry. But a little examination will show that the "mighty maze" is "not without a plan," and that it has been put together with at least a certain amount of regard for definite principle and logical consistency. Two things, at all events, will be made manifest on the slightest and most cursory survey of it; first, that with rare exceptions, official rank is always postponed to personal rank; and secondly, that the extraordinary preference which is accorded to titles of courtesy goes far towards compensating the possessors of them for the unsubstantial and transitory character of the distinctions they enjoy. Among women official rank can hardly be said to exist at all. Neither the Mistress of the Robes, nor the Ladies of the Bedchamber, nor the Ladies-in-Waiting have any precedence in virtue of their offices. And the case is the same, it may be observed in passing, with respect to the ladies and dames of the "Royal Order of Victoria and Albert" and the "Imperial Order of the Crown of India." The only exceptions are the Maids of Honour, who are given the prefix of "Honourable" when they are not already entitled to it or a higher description, and are ranked immediately after the daughters of barons, and before the wives of knights of the garter, of knights bannerets made by the sovereign, and of the younger sons of viscounts. Nor do the wives or daughters of the great officers of State, of archbishops or bishops, of privy councillors or judges, take any precedence which is not independently due to them on account of their own personal rank, or the personal rank of their husbands or fathers. And it is only in the case of peeresses in their own right, by either creation or inheritance, that women have any personal rank which is not derived from their husbands or fathers, save under special grant and concession from the Crown, or can transmit any personal rank to their sons and daughters.* But the wives of the eldest sons and the daughters of dukes take precedence of countesses; the wives of the eldest sons and the daughters of marquises, and the wives of the younger sons of dukes, take precedence of viscountesses; and the wives of the eldest sons and the daughters of earls, and the wives of the younger sons of marquises,

* "Widows of peers and baronets and of knights, on marrying commoners, continue by the etiquette of society, though not by law, to retain their titles and precedence after a second marriage with persons of inferior rank. At a coronation or other State ceremonial widows of peers who have married commoners are not summoned to attend. This rule was followed at the funeral of the late Duke of Wellington. In society it is different, and the widows of peers, baronets, and knights married to untitled commoners generally adhere to the titles acquired by their first marriages, although the practice is not derived from right. Widows of 'Honourables,' who subsequently marry commoners, not the sons of peers, are not allowed, even by the courtesy of society, to retain their prefix of 'Honourable' after such subsequent marriage. Dowager peeresses and baronets' widows take precedence of the wives of existing peers and baronets of the same creation, from their being senior in the dignity, from their husbands having been nearer the succession."—Burke, *Book of Precedence*, p. 7.

take precedence of baronesses. Hence among women there are no fewer than eight separate categories of persons possessing titles "of courtesy" merely who take precedence of peeresses, whether in their own right or by marriage. Yet in the eyes of the law the former are, in spite of their superior rank, to all intents and purposes commoners, while the latter belong to a distinct order in the State, and are entitled to all the privileges of the peerage except sitting and voting in Parliament. If, for example, of two daughters of a duke one married an earl and the other an esquire, the esquire's wife would take precedence of the countess. But if both of them should happen to commit bigamy, the first would be tried at the Old Bailey and the second by the House of Lords.

In the tables of precedence the sovereign and the royal family stand at the head, and the royal family includes all the lineal and collateral relations of the sovereign as far as grandsons and granddaughters, and nephews and nieces. But it extends no further, for as Sir William Blackstone says "after these degrees are passed"—which as he shows are always to be reckoned from the king or queen actually reigning—"peers or others of the blood royal are entitled to no place or precedence except what belongs to them by their personal rank or dignity;" * and thus, for instance, during the present and next reigns, if the Prince of Wales should succeed her Majesty, the children of the Duke of Edinburgh or the Princess Christian would be placed before all dignitaries of the Church, great officers of State, and peers and peeresses. If, however, Prince Albert Victor were to be the Queen's successor, they would have no place whatever among the royal family. In like manner the Duke of Cambridge and the Duke of Cumberland, who are the Queen's first cousin and first cousin once removed, have now no ascertained position as princes of the blood.† By letters patent in 1865, the style or attribute of

* "Which," adds Sir William Blackstone, "made Sir Edward Walker complain that, by the hasty creation of Prince Rupert to be Duke of Cumberland, and of the Earl of Lennox to be Duke of that name, previous to the creation of King Charles's second son James to be Duke of York, it might happen that their grandsons would have precedence of the grandsons of the Duke of York."—*Commentaries*, vol. i., p. 224. Sir Edward Walker was Secretary at War to Charles I., and Garter King-of-Arms, and one of the Clerks of the Privy Council to Charles II. It was not the Earl of Lennox who was created "Duke of that name," but James, third Duke of Lennox in Scotland, who, in 1641, was created Duke of Richmond in England. He was the King's kinsman through his grandfather, Lord Darnley, and Prince Rupert was the King's nephew. But that does not affect the argument.—See Walker, *Historical Discovrses*, p. 301.

† "When his late Majesty King George II. created his grandson Edward, the second son of Frederick Prince of Wales, Duke of York, and referred it to the House of Lords to settle his place and precedence, they certified that he ought to have place next to the late Duke of Cumberland, the then King's youngest son, and that he might have a seat on the left hand of the cloth of estate. But when on the accession of his present Majesty (George III.) those royal personages ceased to take place as the children, and ranked only as the brother and uncle of the King, they also left their seats on the side of the cloth of estate; so that when the Duke of Gloucester, his Majesty's second brother, took

"Royal Highness" was assigned to the children of the sons of any sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and in virtue of this authority the Duke of Cambridge and his sisters are entitled to be called "Royal Highnesses." But the Duke of Cumberland and his sisters are only the grandchildren of the son of a sovereign of Great Britain, and were it not that their father was King of Hanover they would not in strictness be royal highnesses at all.* Next after the royal family comes the Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, then the Lord High Chancellor, and then the Archbishop of York, Primate of England, their several positions being fixed by the Act of Henry VIII., for "the placing of the Lords." Here the Lord Chancellor is placed, because at the time at which that statute was enacted he was the chief minister of the Crown, as he is still the keeper of the principal symbol and instrument of executive authority—the Great Seal. Afterwards follow in order the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord President of the Council, and the Lord Privy Seal, who if they are peers take precedence of all dukes, even if they themselves are only barons.† Then come the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, the Earl Marshal, the Lord High Admiral, the Lord Steward of the Household, and the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, who if they are peers take precedence of all other peers of their own degree—if dukes of all other dukes, if marquises of all other marquises, if earls of all other earls, and so on. Of these great offices of State those of the Lord Treasurer and the High Admiral are now

his seat in the House of Peers he was placed on the upper end of the earl's bench on which the dukes usually sit, next to his Royal Highness the Duke of York."—Blackstone, *Commentaries*, vol. i., p. 225. Hence every demise of the Crown degrades the position of the collateral relations of the sovereign, until in two removes at most they altogether pass out of the limits of the royal family, in so far as precedence is concerned.

* "Ambassadors yield precedence only to members of the royal family of the Court to which they are accredited, and to the sons and brothers of crowned heads. Foreign Ministers and Envoys have no real claim to precedence. The question was raised and settled at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. But of late years precedence has been allowed them in this country after dukes and before marquises."—Burke, *Book of Precedence*, p. 8.

† By 31st Hen. VIII. c. 10 it is enacted that "if the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Council, Lord Privy Seal, or Chief Secretary be under the degree of Baron of Parliament by reason whereof they can have no interest to give any assent or dissent in the said House (of Lords), then they shall be placed at the upper part of the sacks in the midst of the said Parliament Chamber, the one of them above the other, in order as is above rehearsed." Speaking of this statute, Sir Charles Young says that "although it refers more particularly to the placing of the Lords in Parliament and Conferences of Council, yet it has been held to confer a precedency on the great officers of State and the Lords temporal and spiritual, which has been generally observed upon all public occasions out of Parliament, and to the extent only thus prescribed, has been considered as restraining the royal prerogative in regard to precedence." But he adds that "it seems to be the better opinion that the rank of the great officers elsewhere than in Parliament is not affected by their not being peers. In the Commission for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots (a record of great authority) Sir Thomas Bromley, Knight, Lord Chancellor, is accordingly named immediately after the Archbishop of Canterbury."—Young, *Order of Precedence*, p. 19.

executed by commission, the last Lord Treasurer having been Charles Talbot, Duke of Shrewsbury, in 1714, and the last High Admiral, William Duke of Clarence, in 1827, who succeeded to the throne as William IV. But no official rank belongs to the Lords Commissioners of either the Treasury or the Admiralty, although in our days the First Lord of the Treasury is always the Prime Minister, and the First Lord of the Admiralty is always a member of the Cabinet. The offices of Great Chamberlain and Earl Marshal are hereditary. The former is now held jointly by alternate reigns by Baroness Willoughby de Eresby and the Marquis of Cholmondeley, as coheirs of the Berties, Dukes of Ancaster, who derived it by descent from the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, with whom it had been from the reign of Henry I. The latter is held by the Duke of Norfolk under a grant from Charles II. But it had been conferred by Richard III. on John, the first Howard Duke of Norfolk, and had been held as of inheritance by his ancestors, Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, younger son of Edward I., and the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk. The office of High Constable of England, which was originally an office by tenure, once hereditary in the families of Bohun and Stafford, Earls of Hereford, and Dukes of Buckingham, is now revived only on the occasion and for the purposes of a coronation, the Duke of Wellington having discharged it at the coronations of George IV., William IV., and the Queen. But the Earl of Errol is hereditary High Constable of Scotland, although no special place is assigned to him in the general scale of precedence.* Another great office, in fact the greatest office of all, that of the Lord High Steward of England, is entirely omitted from it, "because," Sir Edward Coke says, in noticing the absence of his name from the statute of Henry VIII., "it was intended that when the use of him should be necessary he should not endure longer than *hac vice*." The High Stewardship became merged in the Crown on the accession of Henry Bolingbroke as Henry IV., who inherited it with the Earldom of Leicester and Barony of Hinckley, to one of which it was feudally attached from his maternal ancestor, Edmond Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster and Leicester and Baron of Hinckley, the younger son of Henry III. Since then it has been called into independent existence by special commission only for a coronation or for a trial by the House of Lords. The Marquis of

* "The question of the precedence of the great officers of State of Ireland and Scotland with reference to similar officers in England is not provided for in the Acts of Union, and has never yet been definitely settled, unless indeed the placing of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland next to the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain at the coronation of King William IV. be deemed a royal settlement of the point."—Burke, *Book of Precedence*, p. 6. But at the coronation of George III. the Lord High Constable of Scotland was placed next to the Lord High Constable of England, and at the coronation of George IV. the Lord High Constable of Ireland was placed next to the Lord High Constable of Scotland, who had precedence as before. The same order was observed at the coronation of the Queen.

Anglesey was Lord High Steward at the coronation of George IV., and the Duke of Hamilton at the coronation of William IV. and of the Queen. In Scotland and Ireland, however, the office is still hereditarily represented, in the first by the Prince of Wales, who is hereditary Great Steward, and in the second by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who is hereditary Grand Seneschal. None of the other great offices have ever been inherited in England, and the great offices which we have named exhaust the list of those which in any way affect the precedence of the higher grades of the peerage. All of them are ancient and many of them are practically obsolete. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, the Viceroy of India, the Governor-General of Canada, the Commander-in-Chief, the Lord-Lieutenants of Counties, the Governors of Colonies, Field Marshals, and Admirals of the Fleet, together with all other officers of the army and navy have no official rank whatever. And as to the Prime Minister, his place, if he is a commoner, is according to his seniority among Privy Councillors after the younger sons of earls, the eldest sons of barons, and such Knights of the Garter as are not peers or are without any higher precedence.

Among peers there are, as everybody knows, five classes and five orders: peers of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom, and dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons. Peers of England, created before the Union of 1707, take precedence of Peers of Scotland: thus the Duke of Rutland, creation 1703, ranks before the Duke of Hamilton, creation 1643; and Earl Poulett, creation 1706, ranks before the Earl of Crawford, creation 1398. Peers of England and Scotland and of Great Britain, created before the Union of 1801, take precedence of peers of Ireland: thus the Earl of Malmesbury, creation 1800, ranks before the Earl of Cork, creation 1620, and Lord Ribblesdale, creation 1797, ranks before Lord Kingsale, creation 1397. Otherwise all peers have precedence according to the seniority of their peerages in each degree. Dukes take the lead, and are immediately followed by marquises, who are succeeded by the eldest sons of dukes. Then come earls, the eldest sons of marquises, and the younger sons of dukes; viscounts, the eldest sons of earls and the younger sons of marquises.* Here the bishops are interposed, headed by those of London, Durham, and Winchester. Next follow barons, led by the Secretary of State if he is a peer and of no higher degree, and succeeded by the Speaker of the House of Commons, the first "commoner" in the United King-

* What was known among the old heralds as "Tiptoft's Rule," so named after John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, and Constable of England, "because it was of his devising," provided that the eldest son of every one of a created degree is *tanquam* the next degree under him, but is to take place after the next created degree, as for example the eldest son of a duke, which is the first created degree, is *tanquam* a marquis, which is the next created degree to a duke, but he is to take place after a marquis; and so downwards."—*State Papers: Domestic Series, James I.* vol. lxvii., art. 119.

dom. After several Household offices which are now always held by peers or the sons of peers with titles "of courtesy" comes the Secretary of State if under the degree of a baron, the singular standing for the plural, and including the Secretaries for the Home, Foreign, Colonial, Indian, and War Departments. Then follow the eldest sons of viscounts, the younger sons of earls and the eldest sons of barons, Knights of the Garter if they are commoners come next. Both Mr. Pitt and Sir Robert Peel were offered the "Blue Riband," and this would have been their place had they accepted it. During two centuries, however, only three commoners have been elected into the order, and of them only Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, ranked merely as a knight. Of the other two, one—Lord North—was the eldest son of the Earl of Guildford, and the other—Viscount Castlereagh—was the eldest son of the Marquis of Londonderry. Practically the Garter has been long restricted not to the peerage simply, but to the higher grades of the peerage. Lord Godolphin, Queen Anne's Lord Treasurer, was the last baron who had the order, and he was subsequently advanced to an earldom. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century only four viscounts have received it: Viscount Townshend, from George I.; Viscount Weymouth, from George III.; and Viscounts Palmerston and Stratford de, Redcliffe, from the Queen.* To Knights of the Garter succeed Privy Councillors and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Lord Chief Justice of England, the Master of the Rolls, and the Lords Justices of Appeal, all of whom are invariably members of the Privy Council, and in practice have their precedence among them. Afterwards come the judges of the various divisions of the High Court of Justice; "bannerets made by the sovereign in person under the royal standard displayed in open war," and the younger sons of viscounts and barons. Baronets are placed next to these, a position specially assigned to them by their founder, James I., after a long and memorable controversy, wherein the baronets claimed precedence of the younger sons of viscounts and barons, and the viscounts and barons indignantly repudiated their pretensions on behalf of their younger sons before the King and the Privy Council.† Then follow a number of knights, beginning with "bannerets not made by the sovereign in person," a degree which, like that of "bannerets made by the sovereign in person," has been extinct certainly for two, and probably for three centuries.‡ But no precedence is given to knights,

* Twenty-two Howards; thirteen Greys, Percys, and Stanleys; ten Talbots and Seymours; nine Nevilles, Somersets, Cecils, Russells, and Cavendishes; eight Herberts, Mannerses, and Spencers; and six Hastingses, Clintons, Sackvilles, Lennoxes, nd Leveson-Gowers, have been Knights of the Garter since the institution of the order by Edward III. to the present day.

† Selden, *Titles of Honor*, Part II., chap. xl., p. 748—9; and see *Herald and Genealogist*, vol. i., for several articles on the Baronetage.

‡ "A banneret, or knight banneret," Sir Harris Nicolas says, "was a knight who, being possessed of considerable lands or revenues, and having distinguished himself in

either of the Thistle or of St. Patrick; the only orders of chivalry noticed being the Bath, Star of India, and St. Michael and St. George before we arrive at knights bachelors. After which come Serjeants-at-Law and Masters in Chancery, both of whom are virtually extinct, who are followed by the Companions of the orders already named, and of the Indian Empire, the eldest sons of the younger sons of peers, of baronets, of Knights of the Garter, and of knights bannerets, and bachelors. Then come the younger sons of baronets and knights, and finally the rear is brought up by esquires and gentlemen. But no precedence is conceded to the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, or Queen's Counsel; to deans, archdeacons, or canons; to the sheriffs of counties, to members of the House of Commons, to graduates of any of the universities, or to a host of political and professional persons whose official position is sufficiently eminent to confer a distinct public individuality on them, although it is not of the highest dignity or importance. Hence, as Sir Bernard Burke has observed, although our laws of precedence are as strict as the laws of the Medes and Persians, they are, as adapted to present times and circumstances, very far from being sufficiently comprehensive.* It is always possible indeed for exceptions to be made in them, but only if the company in which they are made are willing that it should be done, and at an ordinary London dinner-table the adherence to them is very rigid. Sometimes they conflict with each other in a rather ludicrous manner, and a conjuncture is not inconceivable in which, if all of these persons insisted on their proper precedence, it would be doubtful if any of them could ever leave the room. Imagine the Speaker of the

war, was elevated to that rank, whereby he became entitled to bear in the field a square banner containing his arms, and to command such knights, esquires, and soldiers as he had furnished for his sovereign; so that a banneret was, in fact, the commander of a body of officers and soldiers raised by himself serving under his banner and paid by the Crown." He also says that bannerets could only be created when the king's banner was displayed, and mentions the picturesque description of the ceremony given by Froissart in reference to the cases of Sir John Chandos and Sir Thomas Tryvet. "The last time when a banneret was made in England," Sir Harris Nicolas continues, "has not been precisely ascertained, but it is supposed by some that Sir Ralph Sadler (so created by the Protector Somerset after the battle of Pinkney, in September, 1547), and by others, that Sir John Smith, who was knighted by King Charles I. at the battle of Edgehill, in October, 1642, for having rescued the royal standard, was the last person created to that dignity. Unless, however, Sir John Smith's banner was delivered to him by his Majesty with the usual formalities (which is very doubtful) he could not have been made a banneret."—Nicolas, *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, Introduction, pp. xxxii.—xliii. It was supposed that Sir John Ligonier, afterwards Earl Ligonier, and Commander-in-Chief, had been made a knight banneret, because he was knighted under the royal standard at the battle of Dettingen in 1742, and that the same honour had been conferred on certain admirals and captains also knighted under the royal standard at "Portsmouth and in the camps," in 1773, 1778, and 1797, and they were always styled knights bannerets. But there is not the slightest doubt that whatever the intention of the King's Lieutenant or the King himself may have been, they were none of them created anything more than knights bachelors, and that the order of knights bannerets may safely be regarded as altogether extinct.

* *Reminiscences; Anecstral, Anecdotal, and Historic*, p. 218.

House of Commons, a baron, the son of a duke or marquis, to be placed in the same apartment, and requested to leave it in their relative order of rank. The Speaker has place before all commoners; the baron, as a peer, has place before the Speaker; the son of the duke or marquis, who is a commoner, has place after the Speaker, but before the baron. The social conundrum here presented for consideration may best be left to rare experience perhaps for practical solution.

An anecdote is recounted by Sir Nathaniel Wraxall concerning the eccentric Charles Duke of Norfolk, which serves to throw considerable light on the strangely mixed constitution of English society. In 1781 the latter, who was then Earl of Surrey, was breakfasting with the former at the "Cocoa Tree" in St. James's Street, when he told him that he had purposed at one time to give an entertainment in the year 1783, in order to commemorate the tercentenary of the creation of the dukedom of Norfolk in the family of the Howards. "He added," Sir Nathaniel Wraxall states, "that it was his intention to invite all the individuals of both sexes whom he could ascertain to be lineally descended from the body of 'Jockey of Norfolk' (the first duke of that name, killed at Bosworth Field)." "But having already," said he, "discovered nearly six thousand persons sprung from him, a great number of whom are in very obscure or indigent circumstances, and believing, as I do, that as many more may be in existence, I have abandoned the design." This may be taken as an illustration of what is always possible in a country where, as in England, a *noblesse* does not exist. It is, however, certain that if the humblest of the Duke's kindred had suddenly risen to distinction he might have found his way into much the same society as the head of his house was entitled to enter, and he would have done so not because he was remotely connected with a duke, but because he had established for himself a claim to social consideration.

Subject to given conditions, the *parvenu* in England may associate with peers, even though he feels some constraint in their presence, while the son of the *parvenu* might be the equal of peers—nay, very possibly be a peer himself. This free development of social promotion is responsible for a large amount of petty social jealousy. Mr. and Mrs. Dash are a couple whose place by birth is a respectable one in the great middle class. But they have gradually risen superior to it, and without legal rank have acquired a valuable prescriptive rank in what is called "society" *par excellence*. The husband has inherited a fortune, or has made his mark in politics, or has possibly distinguished himself in some other way; the wife is a perfectly well-bred lady, conspicuous for her accomplishments and tact. They are, therefore, made welcome in the most select drawing-rooms, and have a visiting list with which a duchess might be satisfied. But there is no rose

without its thorn, and the social triumphs of this agreeable pair have aroused the envy of not a few households which in point of birth and worldly circumstance are fully their equals. The Dashes decline the invitations which they receive from these worthy persons, and the worthy persons accordingly declare that the Dashes are offensively elated by their promotion. On the other hand, the Dashes have a considerable amount of reason on their side; they are under no kind of antecedent obligation to visit houses which are unacceptable to them; they have really gained a degree of consideration in more distinguished quarters, with which there is no harm in their being, and with which it would be strange if they were not, gratified. This fact is not understood in the region which lies outside their world, and if they were to enter that region they would find themselves in a thoroughly false and therefore more or less disagreeable position.

The era of the enlargement of English society dates from the Reform Act of 1832, and if it has brought with it some contradictions, anomalies, and inconveniences, it has also been instrumental in the accomplishment of great and undoubted good. It has substituted, in a very large degree, the prestige of achievement for the prestige of position. The mere men of fashion, the fops, dandies, and exquisites, the glory of whose life was indolence, and who looked upon anything in the way of occupation as a disgrace, have gone out of date never to return. Both Brummell and D'Orsay, the second especially, concealed sterling qualities beneath the polished affectation of their exterior, but the kind of fame which each of these acquired in his day would be an anachronism and impossibility now. Before the eventful year 1832, there existed a society in England very like the old exclusive society of Vienna. The chief and indeed almost only road to it lay through politics, politics being for the most part a rigidly aristocratic profession. Occasionally men of the people made their way out of the crowd, and became personages in and out of the House of Commons; but most of the places under Government were in the hands of the great families, as also were the close boroughs, and the tendency was to fill each from among the young men of birth and fashion. The Reform Bill admitted an entirely new element into political life, and threw open the whole of the political area. A host of applicants for parliamentary position at once came forward, and as a consequence the social citadel was carried by persons who had nothing to do with the purely aristocratic section which had hitherto been paramount. The patrician occupants of the captured stronghold, if they were somewhat taken aback by the blow which had been dealt them, accepted the situation, and decided upon their future tactics with equal wisdom and promptitude. If the new comers were to be successfully competed with, they saw that they must compete with them on the new ground, and must assert their power as the scions of no *fainéant*

aristocracy. The impulse given to the whole mass of the patriciate was immense, and the sum of the new-born or newly displayed energies as surprising as it was satisfactory. The man of pleasure ceased to be the type to which it was expected, as a matter of course, that all those born in the purple should conform.

The activity thus communicated directed itself into an infinite number of channels, and it has continued operative ever since. Many of our aristocrats of to-day are fired by a robust ambition. Some take up statesmanship as the business of their lives, and work at its routine duties as if it were necessary to the support of existence. Others, whose tastes do not incline them in the direction of the senate, write books, paint pictures, or carve statues. Possibly, even probably, they are of a theatrical turn, and subsidise a theatre, or even manage a company. They go into business, or they dedicate their existence to agricultural enterprise. At least they do something. Society, in fact, has bidden adieu to its ideal of gilded and inglorious ease, and in strict conformity with the spirit of its new departure, selects its protégés and favourites upon a new principle. The question asked about any new aspirant to its freedom is not only, Who is he? or How much has he a year? but, in addition, What has he done? and What can he do? The heroes and lions of society are not handsome young men, who can do nothing more than dress well, or dance well. They are seldom even those whose fame is limited to the hunting-field or the battue. They are men who have striven to solve the secret of the ice-bound pole, who have tramped right across the arid sands of a strange continent, who have scaled heights previously deemed inaccessible, who have written clever books, painted great pictures, done great deeds in one shape or other. It is surely a considerable social advance to have substituted for the exquisites of a bygone period, as ideals of life for the rising generation, men who have followed in the track of Xenophon, or who have been the pioneers of civilisation on a continent.

Thus it may be fairly inferred that whatever its levities and frivolities, the foundation on which English society rests is essentially serious, the result of the traditional and pre-eminently English habit of taking grave and earnest views of life. Religion is not now spoken of; what is meant is, that pure enjoyment is not the ideal of the typical Englishman in whatever class. He takes his pleasures heartily indeed, and with gusto, if he finds them in his path. Occasionally, as before shown, he may make the mistake of forsaking the true path of his career and following the phantom of pleasure till it lands him in disaster. These are our failures. The ordinary Englishman has ambitions, social and professional, and he subordinates all other things to them. He is bent upon improving his position, or immortalising his name. His dominant motive is the desire to rise, or the resolu-

tion to do to the utmost his duty in the sphere of life in which his lot has been cast. The plan of existence, thus regarded as the great and only opportunity for the accomplishment of a definite work, acquires an energising solemnity. The Englishman may stumble sometimes, but after the fall he picks himself up and pushes on to the goal.

A hundred illustrations might be given of the development of this inborn national tendency in the march of an English generation from the cradle to the grave. At school the boy who does nothing has neither popularity nor respect. He is without any recognised status in the little world which is the reflection in miniature of the great world to which he will presently be introduced. He may shine at his studies; he may excel in the cricket-ground or on the river. The one essential condition is, he must do something if he wishes to have any rank or consideration among his equals and contemporaries. This destiny pursues him throughout. At college the mere loafer is a nonentity; the reading man or the athlete is a personage. In the army no young officer ever yet made a reputation which one of his compeers envied by elegant dawdling. He has devoted himself to professional studies, and secured a place in the ranks of coming men. Or he has been of a less studious turn, and knows more of the stud-book and the racing calendar than of Jomini or Hamley. But he has established his reputation in the hunting-field or on the steeplechase course, and he has extended or maintained the reputation of his regiment. It is the same whatever the pastime he may have made the business of his life; his character will be assessed by the degree of earnestness and success with which he has taken it up.

The gradations of esteem allotted to the different English professions are exactly what might be expected in a society organised upon such a basis and conscious of such aims. Roughly it may be said professions in England are valued according to their stability, their remunerativeness, their influence, and their recognition by the State. These conditions may partially explain the difference which English society draws between the callings of the merchant and the stock-broker. Stockbrokers make immense fortunes; but there attaches to them a suspicion of precariousness infinitely in excess of that which, in some measure, necessarily attaches to all fortunes accumulated by commerce or trade. The merchant represents an interest which is almost deserving of a place among the estates of the realm, and with the development of which the prosperity and prestige of England are bound up. His house of business is practically a public institution, and the speculative element—the fluctuation of prices and the uncertainty of markets—enters as little as possible into it. Merchants have from time immemorial been the friends and supporters of monarchs—have taken their place in the popular chamber of the legislature, have been elevated to distinguished stations among the titular aristocracy

of the land. We have had not only our merchant-princes, but our merchant-peers and merchant-statesmen. The calling has been recognised in our social hierarchy for centuries, and if not exactly a liberal, is an eminently respectable and dignified one. Nor is the merchant, as a rule, so much absorbed in the affairs of his own business as to be unable to devote as much time as is requisite to the pursuits of society and the affairs of the country. His operations run in a comparatively equal and tranquil channel, and to hint that he lives in an atmosphere of feverish excitement is equivalent to insinuating a doubt of his solvency. It is different with the stockbroker, whose social position is so quickly acquired that it cannot yet be looked upon as assured—whose wealth, though great, has the garish hue of luck and glories which may dissolve themselves at any moment into thin air, like Aladdin's palace, and who himself is popularly supposed to be more or less on the tenterhooks of expectation and anxiety from morning to night. The merchant drives to his place of business in a family brougham or barouche; the stockbroker drives to the station, where he takes the morning express to the City, in a smart dog-cart, with a high-stepping horse between the shafts and a very knowing-looking groom at his side.

Such, at least, is the conception formed by the public of the two men of business, and it indicates not incorrectly the corresponding view of English society. The British merchant, as has been said, is very probably a member of Parliament; the instances in which stockbrokers are members of Parliament at the present day might be counted as something less than the fingers of one hand. The life of the ideal stockbroker is one of display; that of the ideal merchant, one of dignified grandeur or opulent comfort. Possessed of a certain amount of education, often acquired at a public school, sometimes both at Eton and Oxford, the stockbroker of the period has decided social aspirations. He makes his money easily, and he spends it lightly in procuring all the luxuries of existence. He marries a handsome wife, sets up a showy establishment, lays in a cellar of choice wines, and hires a French cook. He has carriages and horses, a box at the opera, and stalls at theatres and concerts innumerable. He belongs to one or two good though not always first-rate clubs. He has acquaintances in the highest circles, and congratulates himself on being in society. But the blissful experience is not one in which his wife shares. She has to be content with all the talk, stories, and scandal of society which she hears retailed at her husband's table by the young guardsmen and other patrician guests who readily accept the invitations to a house where cook and cellar are both excellent, where the hostess and such other ladies as may be present are pretty or attractive. As a consequence of this, there is a copious stream of male visitors at the residence of the fortunate speculator in scrip and shares while

the lord and master of the household is occupied in the City. Perhaps an uncharitable world begins to talk; at any rate, the glitter and show of the *ménage* acquire a certain flavour of Bohemianism, between which and the animating spirit of English society the only sympathy that exists is of a purely superficial kind.

Let us continue to apply the test which has been indicated to other departments of English professional life. We live in an age the boast of which it is that it can appreciate merit or capacity of any kind. Artists and actors, poets and painters, are the much-courted guests of the wealthiest and the noblest in the land—to be met with at their dinner-tables, in their reception-rooms, and in their counting-houses. To all appearance, the fusion between the aristocracy of birth, wealth, and intellect is complete, and the representatives of each appear to meet on a footing of the most perfect and absolute equality. Still the notion prevails that the admission, let us say of the painter, into society is an act of condescension on society's part, none the less real because the condescension is ostentatiously concealed. Nor does the fact that artists occasionally not only amass large fortunes, but contract illustrious matrimonial alliances, militate against the view. It is only possible, where an entire class is concerned, to speak generally, and to this, as to every other rule, there are exceptions. Why should the rule—always assuming that it is a rule—exist, and what is the explanation of it? As regards painters, there is this to be borne in mind: their calling is a noble one; but in view of the genius of English society, it labours under certain disadvantages. A vague and unreasoning prejudice still prevails against the profession of the artist. The keen-scented, eminently decorous British public perceives a certain aroma of social and moral laxity in the atmosphere of the studio, a kind of blended perfume of periodical impecuniosity and much tobacco-smoke. This laxity, moreover, is to a great extent a tradition of art, which artists themselves do not a little to perpetuate. They are, or they affect to be, for the most part a simple-minded, demonstrative, impulsive, eccentric, vagabond race, even as Thackeray has drawn them in his novels. As a matter of fact, many, perhaps most of them, are the reverse of this—shrewd, hard-headed men of business, with as clear a conception as the most acute trader of the value of twenty shillings. But social verdicts are based for the most part on general impressions; and the popular view of the painter—speaking now, as always, of the guild, not of any individual member of it—is that the calling which he elects to follow lacks definitiveness of status, and that it is not calculated to promote those serious, methodical habits which form an integral part of the foundation of English society.

If this sentiment were to be exhaustively analysed, it would be found that there entered into it considerations which apply to other professions. Solicitors, general practitioners, and even illustrious

physicians in the daily intercourse of society labour under nearly the same disadvantages as artists. It is therefore natural and logical to ask what is the social differentia of this group of professional men? It is to be found, unless we greatly mistake, in the fact that they are each of them in the habit of receiving money payments direct from those with whom they consort nominally on a footing of social equality. All professional men make their livelihood out of the public in some shape or other. The only thing is that some of them receive the money of the public through an agent or middleman, and that others do not. A barrister has no immediate pecuniary dealings with his client. An author has no immediate pecuniary dealings with those who read his books or articles. A beneficed clergyman is independent of his congregation for his income. Artists, solicitors, surgeons, dentists, physicians, are paid by fee, or they send in their account and receive—or at least look for—a cheque in settlement. But this is exactly what a tailor, a wine merchant, a butcher, a grocer, or any other retail dealer does. Thus we arrive at the conclusion that whatever the social disadvantage at which artists and the rest may find themselves, it arises from precisely the same cause as that which exists in the case of persons who derive their income from occupations which can in no sense be called either liberal or learned.

To pass on to two of the conditions which, at the outset of this argument, were loosely enumerated as tests of professional dignity. The sphere of the influence exercised by artists, as by actors and musicians, is necessarily restricted within comparatively narrow limits. Neither great paintings, nor good acting, nor musical masterpieces exercise a very appreciable power on our everyday life and the conduct and current of affairs. A fine picture makes a stir in the artistic world; but it does not mould the thoughts, or regulate the aspirations, or inspire the mind of the world outside. Excellence in the performance of a leading character in a clever play is the theme of much conversation in society; but it is impossible to say that influence attaches to the merit thus displayed. The sentiments to which the actor gives expression on the stage may produce a deep result, and have before now given an impulse to movements which have almost culminated in revolutions. In the same way, the language with which the singer accompanies the melody may convey the most profound, the most tragic effects. But in each of these cases it is the author, the dramatist, or the poet who speaks, and the actor or the singer, so far as the sentiment to the eliciting of which he contributes his share, but only his share, is concerned, is little more than the organ which the soul of literature inspires, and through which it speaks. In a scarcely less degree it may be predicated of the professions of the solicitor and the doctor that they are without those opportunities of moving the mind of the thinking public in any given direction. A

physician, who is a great authority in his consulting-room, acquires a considerable position; and from the pedestal of that position he may speak with the certainty of being listened to on many non-professional subjects. But he has not gained this authority as doctor. A solicitor again, may be an election agent, and thus affect the destiny of parties in the State. But this branch of the profession is only a rare and accidental development of his calling. The more closely the matter is looked at, the more apparent does it become that none of the professional classes—as professional classes—can be said to have the same power of appealing to the intellect and the moral convictions which supply rules for the guidance of everyday life, and of colouring the views of the people on religious or political matters, as the writer, the clergyman, the barrister who takes a prominent place in his profession. The barrister who practises in court, much more the judge who sits on the bench, materially and perceptibly assist in the manufacture, modelling, and remodelling of the public law, which is a distinct department of public ethics. The author assists his readers, sensibly or insensibly, in their verdicts on public men and public questions—in their formation of those ideas of right and wrong of which the conscious or unconscious effect is the good or the evil genius of their moral existence. Of the clergyman—the preacher—there is no need to speak.

We have said that the esteem in which society holds these different orders of professional labourers is closely proportioned to the extent and character of their influence on the public mind. We may go farther, and say that the State in the recognition of their services judges them by the same standard. Those who rise to the highest titular rank by their own efforts, when they are not chosen on the ground of convenient political ability or party service, or immense wealth expended in a cause of which the Government of the day approves, or of brilliant exploits on the sea and on the field—exploits which decide the fate of nations—are selected from some one or other of the classes that we have just been considering. Artists are occasionally advanced to the honour of knighthood or to the dignity of the baronetage; so are doctors; and such fortune sometimes may come to solicitors. But, unlike the barrister, no solicitor can be said to carry the wig of the chancellor, or the robe of the peer, in his bag.* Has the coronet which the distinguished author may bequeath to his children ever been placed upon the painter's head? † Can

* On the recommendation of Lord Beaconsfield two solicitors were created baronets: Sir Philip Rose in 1874, and Sir Gabriel Goldney in 1880. Knighthood has been conferred on a multitude of solicitors.

† Lord Tennyson is the first person who has received a peerage as the reward of literary merit alone. Lord Macaulay and Lord Lytton, although they are now remembered and will be remembered by posterity exclusively for their contributions to the literature

Æsculapius himself, in his most sanguine moments, anticipate any dignity analogous to the bishop's mitre, which every clergyman may consider he potentially packs up in the portmanteau that he takes with him when he leaves home to do duty for a friend, and possibly to preach before a royal or illustrious personage? No doubt it may be said with truth that in these days representative members of all professions consort together, and are treated in society on a footing of perfect equality; but we have attempted here to go a little beneath the surface, and to hazard a possible explanation of what are perhaps foolish prejudices and superstitions.

of their country, were statesmen, or at least active politicians, of very considerable eminence in their day.

CHAPTER XIX.

SOCIETY AND POLITICS.

Gradual Diminution of Social Influences upon Politics—The Aristocratic Principle still a powerful one—English System of Statesmanship essentially Aristocratic—Statesmanship in Families favourable to this Tendency—Place of the Country House in our Political System—Clubs: their General Aspect and Political Significance—Peculiar Excellences of the Conservative Club System—Explanations of this—Social Structure of Conservative Party—Political Salons: their Decline, and Reasons for this Decline—Lady Palmerston's Drawing-room—Prospects of the Salon.

It is the fashion to say that, since the English people have been taken into partnership in the work of National government by the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, and we have fairly entered upon the broad road which is thought to lead to pure democracy, the influence of rank and fashion, in other words of what is called "society," upon politics has ceased to exist. Before 1832, the history of English politics was largely identical with the history of English society. It is within the last half-century that the members of the great English families have perceived that they can no longer, by judicious alliances, keep the game of government to themselves. Somewhat more than a hundred years ago, Burke was indebted for his entrance to Parliament to Lord Rockingham, who, seeing that his Administration was, as Charles Townshend puts it, "mere lutestring, pretty summer wear, but quite unfit for winter," made the young Irishman—then chiefly known, as Macaulay reminds us, "by a little treatise in which the style and reasoning of Bolingbroke were mimicked with exquisite skill"—his private secretary. Pitt, Chatham's son though he was, commenced his parliamentary career under the ægis of a great governing house, the Lowthers. Canning was the brother-in-law and protégé of the Duke of Portland. "One of the most curious features," remarks a writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*,* "of this obsolete day is the manner in which the country was disposed of. No game of whist in one of the lordly clubs of St. James's Square was ever more exclusively played. It was simply a question whether His Grace of Bedford would be content with a quarter or half a cabinet, or whether the Marquis of Rockingham would be satisfied with two-fifths, or the Earl of Shelburne should have all or should share the power with the

* No. cccl., p. 754.

Duke of Portland. In all these barterings and borrowings we never hear the name of the nation. No whisper announces that there is such a thing in existence as the people. No allusion ever proceeds from the stately lips or offends the 'ears polite' of the embroidered conclave referring to either the interests, feelings, or necessities of the nation." Nor is less curious testimony to this vanished state of things contained in a letter addressed by Burke to his original patron, Lord Rockingham : "Lord Shelburne," he writes, "still continues in Administration, though as adverse and as much disliked as ever. The Duke of Grafton continues to bear the old complaint of his situation and his genuine desire of holding it as long as he can. At the same time, Lord Shelburne gets loose too ; I know that Lord Camden, who adhered to him in the late divisions, has given him up and gone over to the Duke of Grafton. The Bedfords are horribly frightened at all this, for fear of seeing the table which they had so well covered, and at which they sat down with so good an appetite, kicked down in the scuffle. They find things not ripe at present for bringing in Grenville, and that any capital move just now would only betray their weakness in the closet and in the nation."

Absolutely antiquated, of course, such a state of things as this has long since been. Nevertheless, it would be a great mistake to conclude that the great houses are without influence on the formation of cabinets, or that there are no points of contact between aristocratic drawing-rooms and a Parliament in which the popular chamber is elected by household suffrage. That the English masses can secure at the head of an Administration any statesman upon whom they have set their hearts, and that the Government which is to have the national confidence must be composed of men approved by the constituencies, is certain. Still there is left a fair margin in which the machinery of society may be brought to bear upon the politics and politicians of the day. In the case of a Liberal Government taking office, the Whigs may hold the balance between the left and right wings, and the Whigs have eminent social resources at their disposal. In the same way with the Conservatives, the Tories of the old school are not yet an extinct race ; and a moderate Conservative Premier would hardly venture to form a cabinet without consulting the feelings of his patrician Tory supporters, or to decide upon a legislative programme for a single session that had not been previously considered by the same illustrious depositaries of aristocratic power. Neither Whig nor Tory nobles would, indeed, any longer dream of opposing to the last a popular demand earnestly and resolutely made. On the other hand, no representative of the people would commence with defying the power of the great titular and territorial magnates. Negotiation, compromise, mutual concession are the notes of modern statesmanship. The privileged classes constitute a powerful organisation, and they know that if these privileges are

to be preserved, there must be the tacit understanding that whatever in the last resort the multitude wills it shall have.

But because it recognises in this order of things the decree of manifest destiny, it has no notion of surrendering everything to the popular impulse. Democratic as our tendencies may be, there never was a time when rank and fashion, when everything which is comprised in the single word position, had so signal an opportunity of influencing the popular mind. The reason for this has been to some extent explained in the preceding chapters. The process that has been going on for years is that of levelling up. The increase of the wealth of the middle classes, and their intermarriage with their social superiors, have caused them to assimilate the tastes and prejudices of their new connections. Property grows, and the holders of property naturally take the colour of their views from those who are above them, and not from those who are below. The consequences of this, whether socially or politically considered, are identical. It is the aristocratic principle which dominates our political as it dominates our social system. The statesman who was indiscreetly to proclaim the truth from the housetops might probably suffer for his communicativeness.

Hence, it is not surprising that statesmanship should have a tendency to become as much a tradition in some families as the gout, a quality subtly communicated from father to son. The most valuable political training which a young man can have is given him by surrounding circumstances and associations, and is wholly apart from the education of books. Aristocracies exist by force, democracies by ideas; and English statesmanship, at its most vigorous times, has never been exclusively, or even mainly, allied with literary scholarship. If the reading of books be the measure of knowledge, then the young men of the higher classes of English society are the most ignorant in the world. If an acquaintance with the theories of philosophers and the speculations of historians be necessary to enable them to render their country sound political service, then that service will never be rendered by them. But if there be such a thing as education without books, and if that is the most valuable education of all, it is as well that matters should remain as they are. The science of life can only be learned from life itself; and wherever human nature is—in the senate or the street, the court or the club—it is pretty much the same. Our young men nowadays rattle round the world in the course of the grand tour. They study the idiosyncrasies of their countrymen and countrywomen in the drawing-room, on the racecourse, in the park, and the entire process is one of unconscious education. The knowledge of events and places which is picked up from books is the possession of one day and the loss of the next. The knowledge which practical experience gives remains.

Nor is it only that the character of the English nation and the

genius of our English political system are favourable to the exercise of social influences on politics. Social influences, actively and continuously felt in the region of public life, are implied in our system of party government. If in ordinary times polite society seems to be indifferent to the issues of party politics, ladies who are born stateswomen, who have a natural turn for forecasting parliamentary combinations, and who calculate the probable figures of the division list with the eagerness of junior whips, are not quite unknown. For the most part, it is only heroic questions, or questions in which the chief questions concerned are easy to grasp, and appeal directly to the imagination, that have any large interest for society. If a measure were introduced for disestablishing and disendowing the National Church, thousands of feminine swords would, metaphorically speaking, flash from their scabbards. Again, such problems as the Eastern Question have a social aspect as well as a profound political significance. Its broad issues have been fairly intelligible, or have, at least, seemed so, without the accompaniment of figures and statistics. Moreover they have been fraught with much of that purely personal attraction which politics so often lack. The rivalry between the two most distinguished statesmen of the day has been brought into prominent and sensational relief. The progress of the bloody strife between Turk and Russian gave just those opportunities for the display of sympathy which society loves. Concerts or fêtes were constantly being held in aid of one or other of the combatants; and fashionable sisters of mercy not only were able to occupy themselves with a good work, but had the satisfaction of deriving from it a fair measure of social excitement.

The country house is also an important point of convergence between society and politics. The country house system is as distinctively national as the British Constitution, and the country house season is one which may be said to last all the year round. The English country house is a microcosm of the chief forces that are at work in modern society. If it is a good thing, and one which has tended to the partial obliteration of the hard and fast lines which separate class from class, that our aristocracy should open their parks upon occasion to all who like to make decorous holiday within their limits, a corresponding social good is done when they open their houses, as freely as they do now, to men who represent something more than the principles of idleness and enjoyment. To a large percentage of visitors the season now spoken of is but a synonym for the shooting season. Even the sportsmen are not deficient in a certain representative character. There are among them men of business as well as of pleasure; members of all professions; men who, as a rule, never know what is a day's idleness, as well as others who have never known what is a day's work. Bishops, or some other

highly-placed divines, will give an air of eminent respectability to the gathering, and suggestively symbolise the union of Church and State. A traveller who has newly returned to British soil, after years of exploration and wandering, is also a decided acquisition. Professors are found to relax a good deal of their professorial dignity. Highly scientific jurists, as well as natural philosophers, very often blend admirably with the other guests; and it is interesting to watch how an erudite historian, who has delivered a little lecture of a rather stiff character in the afternoon on the remains of an ancient British camp, becomes pleasantly chatty on commonplace topics at dinner, and shows that he has a keen appreciation of the ludicrous over a cigar in the smoking-room. It may be thought that one regulation character has been omitted from this catalogue. Where, it will be possibly said, is the wit of the company? The truth is, he is not always to be found. His jests are becoming familiar and wearisome, and though "society" likes to be amused, it has a highly edifying taste for instruction as well. So, instead of the punsters pure and simple, it invites to its houses professors who can be facetious when wanted, or philosophers who can either solve the riddle of the universe or assist in the guessing of a double acrostic. In these blended elements the political fills a prominent place. It was said by Moore, the poet, that there was no receipt for taming a Radical like an invitation to Bowood. There is no doubt that if the secret political history of the past forty years could be written in the frank fashion of the "Greville Memoirs," it would be found that in many instances a judicious course of Whig hospitality during the months of autumn had subdued the wild fervour of the hitherto intractable and irreconcilable democrat.

While the country house, as an institution, situated in that extensive borderland where politics and society meet, is common to both the great political parties in the State, it has been reserved for the Conservatives to achieve a unique success with the club system. And here it may be desirable to say a few preliminary words on the general question of clubs. Clubs may generally be described as embodying the principle of co-operation in its application to tavern life. They have been of great service, both political and social: socially they have done an immense deal towards the creation of a sound body of public opinion; politically, they have consolidated the sense of unity, and have increased that mutual knowledge which is essential for the keeping together of the various members of a party organisation. How far clubs possess the attribute of economy, which is one of the advantages that co-operation usually bestows, may be doubted. At some of the older-established institutions, which have large balances in their bankers' hands, it is indeed possible to procure the necessities and luxuries of life at cost price, and to eat dinners for a third of the

sum which would be paid for them at an ordinary restaurant; but it is a delusion to suppose that, in the majority of clubs, a man can live as cheaply as he may do if he has his meals in his own apartments, or even at well-selected taverns. There are certainly very few clubs in London at which it would be possible to have so good and so complete a dinner as may now be purchased at more than one London restaurant for three shillings and sixpence. What the club man does get, what he could not get elsewhere, and what he may well be content to pay for, is a very considerable degree of luxury and of comfort. For all practical purposes he is the inhabitant of a palace, and so long as he pays his subscription and does not violate the laws of the institution, he need not fear that he will be exiled from it. The social advantages of clubs are apt to be exaggerated even more than the economical ones. Membership of a really first-rate club does undoubtedly confer upon a man some degree of social distinction. But then, it is rather the hall-mark which stamps the value of the article than the article itself. It is the formal recognition of qualities or advantages which have an existence perfectly independent of the club, and which are indeed the primary cause of membership. But of society, in the sense of fellowship, a club affords little or nothing; indeed, the genius of modern club life may be almost described as that of isolation. A new comer into the community will probably find that he is not the less completely alone because he happens to be in the presence of some score of his fellow-creatures.

To belong to a club does not necessarily carry a personal acquaintance with any one of the members. In some clubs, where there exists a less rigid system of etiquette, it is not thought irregular for one member to address another of whom he knows nothing if they happen to occupy contiguous chairs in the smoking-room; in such matters as these, as in many others, every London club of importance has special features of its own. Clubs themselves present almost as many and various characteristics as do the gentlemen frequenting them. To some men a club is a mere lounge, at which they spend perhaps two or three hours daily; perhaps not as much as two or three hours a week. The more superficial specimen of a club lounger enters the morning-room hurriedly, just looks into the candidate's book, and then, after a few words of casual gossip with a slight acquaintance, meets a member with whom he is on more intimate terms, and arranges perhaps some question of business or of pleasure. Others there are who are regularly to be found at their club on certain days, or at certain hours in every day, during the week; while to others, again, the club is not merely a second home, but home itself. As are the clubmen so are the clubs. At some there is a general air of easy familiarity, at others there is as much ceremony as at a State function; at some members sit down to dinner

without compunction in morning dress; at others this is a sin, which would only be excused if the diner were on the point of setting out on a journey.

There are clubs which, though affected to one or other of the two great political parties, and subserving a political purpose, do not charge themselves with an evangelising mission, as the purely political clubs do. The last have political committees, charged with the administration of a fund for political purposes, whose business it is to watch over parliamentary elections, and to see that its members do not too flagrantly violate, in their political action, the principles of the party to which they belong; but if these bodies are wise, they will use their power very sparingly. It was not considered a prudent act, on the part of the committee of the Conservative Club in St. James's Street, when it expelled the first Lord Westbury, at the time he was Solicitor-General in Lord Aberdeen's Government; nor, in the general opinion of politicians who were also men of the world, did the Reform Club exhibit much greater judgment when it exiled, a few years ago, Mr. Ripley, the member for Bradford, on the ground that he had not shown himself a good member of the Liberal party. The Carlton Club has shown more sagacity, and has never recognised the existence of the political committee, which has now at the Junior Carlton Club become a dead letter. Just as the late Lord Derby was a member of Brooks's to the end of his life, so it was only a few years ago that Mr. Gladstone removed his name from the list of the Carlton. When, in 1852, Mr. Gladstone was personally insulted by some Conservative members of the Carlton, the public opinion of the club was emphatically against the perpetrators of the aggression. Clubs, as a connecting-link between society and statesmanship, are of proved utility, but their utility very largely depends upon the skill and judgment with which they are managed; if the tactics adopted at all savour of inquisition, they are sure to fail.

As for the true explanation of the different fortunes that have waited on the development of the club principle among Conservatives and Liberals, it must be sought in the fundamental divergences between the composition of the two parties, and the traditions, feelings, and prejudices of their members. The Conservative is by nature a clubbable creature, in the modern acceptation of the word. Liberals and Conservatives each have a *cachet* of exclusiveness of their own; but the Conservative exclusiveness differs from the Liberal in this: that it does not militate against—that, in fact, it rather ministers to—freedom in club life. Proof of the fact is to be found in the existence of the Carlton, the club of the Conservative party, in a sense in which the Liberals have no club at all. Unlike the Reform, unlike Brooks's, the Carlton is used equally by the official leaders, the patrician chiefs of the party, and by the rank and file of their followers. Great peers,

small squires, merchants, and traders meet together on a common ground, and every Conservative has a club acquaintance—and, for the most part, a club acquaintance only—with his accepted chieftains. There is no such comprehensiveness or homogeneity as this about the Liberal clubs. The ordinary members of the party make the Reform their house of call—as do several hundreds of other gentlemen who have no occupation in particular, and whose political views are conveniently colourless. The leaders of the party go to Brooks's. The Carlton is, in fact, what it pretends to be—a purely politico-social institution, the accepted rendezvous and head-quarters of the accredited representatives of a party. The Reform Club lacks political unity among its members, and the pervading consciousness of a political purpose. On the other hand, the Liberal leaders receive their political followers with hospitality and warmth at their private residences; and, while of club intercourse there may be less among the Liberals, of private visiting and social hospitality—open house and friendly entertainment—there is probably more.

Nor is it difficult to see why clubs exactly suit the genius of the Conservative party. Modern Conservatism is successful precisely in proportion as it is an alliance between the aristocratic and democratic elements. The attitude of mind and bearing favourable for the perpetuation of this alliance has long been cultivated among the Conservatives to a degree that was scarcely possible among the Liberals. The typical Tory has been a large landowner, and if not a master of foxhounds, a tolerably assiduous votary of the hunting-field. Circumstances have made it his part to ingratiate himself with his inferiors, and unconsciously he has learned to study and exhibit in his own person that air of well-bred condescension, of frank, unsupercilious patronage, which answers so well with Englishmen in the bulk. There could be no better kind of hereditary preparation for the mixed régime of club life than this; there could be no better opportunity of cheaply, yet effectively, satisfying the social aspirations of political followers than the Conservative club. The manner to which he has been born; the genial, hearty address, which seems to mean so much and really means so little; the bluff English courtesy which has been picked up, or inherited from ancestors who picked it up, at the covert-side and in daily conversations with farmers and labourers, serves its turn admirably when it is reproduced, with the necessary modifications, in Pall Mall.

As a social instrument used for political purposes, the salon can scarcely be now said to fill a very definite place in England. English political society has grown too large for its representatives to be contained within the limits of a single drawing-room; or it may be that the very dimensions which society has attained have inspired English ladies, who might, under other circumstances, have been dictatresses,

with a profound impression of the hopelessness of engaging in the attempt to regulate so chaotic an empire. English ladies who are capable of controlling a drawing-room have not ceased to exist, but, with a very few exceptions, their gifts and powers are now exercised in different areas. The best society in England, while possessing a strong political infusion, is not exclusively political; it is the object of those who govern it to include in it representatives of all that is distinguished in art, science, literature, war, and commerce. Even Prime Ministers no longer confine their guests to those who are politicians merely, and the State dinners given on Her Majesty's birthday and other occasions are graced by the presence of eminent artists, authors, and philosophers.

It is, therefore, rather because the conditions of English society have changed that the salon, in the sense in which it is usually spoken of, has almost ceased to exist, than because no opportunities or inducements are to be found to influence politics through society. When Lady Palmerston died, in 1868, there passed away the great social queen of her era, and she has had no successor. The extraordinary popularity of Lord Palmerston was not a plant of sudden growth. On the contrary, Lord Palmerston was for a long time extremely the reverse of popular. He married, and a change took place. For most of his popularity and much of his influence the husband was indebted to the social tact and the salon of his wife. A little more than a quarter of a century ago, Lord John Russell, on a memorable occasion, dismissed Lord Palmerston from the Foreign Office. The exile was short, but it was short only because, whoever ruled in Downing Street, Lady Palmerston ruled in society. The world not merely sympathised with Lord Palmerston as against Lord John Russell, it applauded him; and only a few days after the split in the Cabinet occurred, Lady Palmerston gave a party, which may be remembered as historical, and at which was present every person of political, social, or intellectual position. The *Times* contained a complete list of the guests, under the significant heading, "The Expelled Minister;" and Mr. Disraeli, who was of the company, declared to Lord Granville that he had made a mistake when, a few nights previously, he had said, "There *was* a Palmerston."

Lady Palmerston received not only at night, but in the day. All her invitation-cards were written with her own hand. By consummate skill she preserved for her assemblies the *cachet* of distinction; and every one who was invited to them regarded the invitation as an honour, although he was not singular in the enjoyment of it. There was no resort in London so interesting to the man of the world or so useful to the politician. It was the one place where the pulse of the world might be infallibly felt, and Ministers went there to ascertain the true currents of popular and polite opinion. The place left vacant

by the death of Lady Palmerston, more than one great lady has done her best to fill. But their invitations are in the hands of, and are issued, as the names of the invited are written, by secretaries, whips, and clerks. Attendance at these assemblies is as much a business as a pleasure. Almost the same thing may be said of many big political dinners. The great leaders of the two chief political parties in the State cannot, and will not, study the arts of social entertainment. Dinners and receptions are given, but they are given—as invitations to them are accepted—as matters of necessity and not of choice. Nothing can be easier than to exaggerate the influence exercised upon political life, whether by clubs or salons. It is perfectly true that the club, as already said, has answered better in the hands of Conservatism than of Liberalism. But the inference is, not so much that the successful organisation of Conservatism is the result of club life, as that particular reasons conducive to club success exist among the Conservatives and not among the Liberals. The first essential in the development of club life is a supply of moderately young men, tolerably well provided with pocket money. These are the special possession of Conservatism, while, in addition to these, the Conservatives have an element of social and political stability which the Liberals have not. In the same way, to search for Lord Palmerston's popularity and power in Lady Palmerston's drawing-room is to confuse cause and effect. The period was one of political indifference, and Cambridge House was a distinguished rendezvous. It was the former of these circumstances which assisted the latter, not the latter which created the former. So far as any permanent political leverage is concerned, the age of salons is as completely gone as the age of chivalry. Individual politicians may be amenable to social pressure, and some stray irreconcilable may be bought off by what he considers social promotion. But a new irreconcilable will at once disclose himself, and the difficulty will only be averted, not removed. At the same time, though the salon is no longer powerful, it may be useful. It may be convenient to politicians of the same way of thinking that they should know where to find each other at stated times, for the purposes of confidential talk. This opportunity the salon may continue to afford them; but then so, for that matter, will the club.

Society's chief ailment of to-day is a want of any principle of cohesion. The social area is too vast, the social coteries which it comprises are too numerous, too mixed, and too ambitious, to be controlled except by some power external to, and appreciably above, themselves. Society may have always consisted of a congeries of sets. But in the old days these sets either remained tranquilly together, or else met each other in an orderly fashion upon special occasions, like the respective couples in a well-regulated quadrille. This has now ceased to be possible, because no social set is penetrated

by the authority of some presiding individual. One social circle comes into emulous contact with another. None owns any dominant system of discipline, and the general result is a wild and disturbed gyration, which is only invested with an appearance of order by the recognition of the controlling power of royalty, as represented by the Prince and Princess of Wales. Society, when their Royal Highnesses are withdrawn from it for any length of time, may be compared to an indiscriminate gathering of clocks and watches without the mean time of Greenwich by which to set themselves. Marlborough House is the universal goal of society—an institution that exercises an ascendancy, and therefore insures a discipline and a method, which, if frequently ignored and forgotten when the system is actively at work, is perceived directly, and regretted proportionately, when Marlborough House is closed.

CHAPTER XX.

CROWN AND CROWD.

Disposition of the Multitude to acquiesce in Existing Régime—Influence of the British Constitution upon National Character—Attitude of Masses towards Monarch and Ministers—Reception given in Public to Sovereign and Leading Statesmen of the Day—Nevertheless New Influences at work among the Masses—The Organisation of Public Opinion in Large Constituencies—The Caucus—Gradual Movements towards Democracy—The Democracy ultimately supreme in our Political System—Effects which this Supremacy must have on Statesmanship and Policy—"Employer and Servant" Theory of Imperial Administration—Its Dangers, and how these Dangers may be met—Checks upon the Democratic Tendency of the Times—General Diffusion of the Aristocratic Principle—This illustrated in the Relation of (1) House of Commons, (2) House of Lords, to Masses—The Sovereign—Influence of the Crown on Politics, and Relation of Sovereign to Subject.

It is a much easier matter to give a general account of the place occupied by the educated classes in regard to our political system than to indicate precisely the relations existing between that system and the multitude. The English masses are not indisposed to accept the political opinion which is manufactured for them. In this, as in other matters, they are, for the most part, creatures of habit, and as long as the shoe does not pinch, they make no demand for political innovation. They look, not to theories, but to facts. While work is plentiful and wages are good, the British workman has not been accustomed to trouble himself with the principles of statesmanship. In England, unlike France and some other European countries, there is not present to the mind of the ordinary citizen the apprehension of never-ending changes in the political régime under which he lives. If he is the conscious victim of abuses, he will, in the last resort, make a demand for legislative remedies. After the long continuance of neglect on the part of those in power of all which concerns him most, he will avail himself, perhaps, of the machinery of an agitation which his superiors will have done much to place in his hands, and which they will themselves have suggested. Thus it was that the riots preceding the Reform Act of 1832 had their origin. In the same way the movement which was the prelude to the Reform Act of thirty-five years later, and which culminated in the breaking down of the Hyde Park railings, would in all probability never have existed, had it not been for the fact that reform was for many years antecedently the stalking-

horse of parties, and that on this occasion its importance was insisted on by every speaker on every Liberal platform.

What the English multitude require from the State is much what they require from the private employers of their labour—they ask that they shall be fairly treated, that they shall not be the victims of any exceptional inferiority, disadvantage, or disqualification. Periodical revolutions leave their impress upon the individual character of a nation, and in a country in which dynastic and constitutional changes are at any moment liable to occur, a habit of fickleness and suspicion will be generated in the people. But for the very reason that the English masses themselves are not greatly occupied by or interested in constitutional discussions, their political teachers and rulers ought to be careful that constitutional issues should not be raised. Whenever there is a discussion in Parliament as to whether a particular act or policy is in conformity with constitutional law, so far as any effect is produced upon the multitude at large, it can scarcely be salutary. As far as the practical working of the Constitution goes, it depends, as financial credit depends, upon confidence. So long as the English masses have confidence in the wisdom and moderation of their statesmen, the cry for reorganising the Constitution will never be of much volume. If the study of history could at all influence the feeling of the working classes towards the representative of English monarchy, the result would probably not be in the direction of loyalty. In the popular histories and in some of the popular periodicals which circulate among the working classes, the views given of monarchy and of other established institutions are eminently unfavourable. Yet when the sovereign appears in public the reception is one of the highest enthusiasm—the very men who a few hours before may have given vent to sentiments positively seditious are borne away on the tide of general feeling, and applaud the pageant to the echo.

Let us suppose that her Majesty has to-day opened the session of her Imperial Parliament, and that, as is sure to have been the case, very many of her loyal lieges have assisted in some part or other of the ceremony. Have there been any disloyal lieges? Strolling across the Green Park, after having witnessed the ceremony, one may have encountered a moody-looking, malodorous pair, some of whose criticisms on the monarchical principle are but too audible. One, at least, of these scowling but perfectly harmless democrats the spectator may have seen before to-day. His chin is rough and stubbly and of a dirty blue colour, with a beard of some days' growth. He has no linen visible. In his mouth is a short pipe, from which he discharges jerky blasts of intolerable smoke; and as he leans across the iron railings in converse with his companion, he points with the finger of scornful menace in the direction of Buckingham Palace. The spectacle

of the charity-girls and the Duke of York's boys, who have been marched out to catch a glimpse of their Sovereign, incites him to wrath. The words "mockery" and "despotism," "tyrant" and "oppressor," "prince" and "flunkey," "reason," "humanity," and "republic," drop at intervals from his lips. But where was he to be seen a few hours ago, and what was he doing? Conspicuous among these demonstratively loyal subjects of Her Majesty, carried away by that irresistible contagion of loyal enthusiasm which a great crowd communicates, was this terrible republican, the democratic firebrand of the discussion forum, the modern disciple of Marat and Tom Paine. This is no exceptional experience. Whenever it is known that either the Queen or, as Her Majesty's representatives, the Prince and Princess of Wales are about to appear in public, a tremor of anticipatory enthusiasm asserts its presence in the thoroughfares. Men, women, and children gather in little knots and wait until the royal carriage approaches. Frequently the interval of waiting is long. That they do not mind. Be it summer or winter, at the risk of sunstroke or in the certainty of getting drenched to the skin, the patient and most loyal populace will not disperse until the carriage in which monarchy is seated has driven past, and the national devotion to the monarchical principle has expressed itself in a series of shouts that rend the air.

Scarcely less impressive in its way is the public reception which, especially on great occasions, is accorded to the English statesmen whose names are household words, whether they are past or present members of the Cabinet. The scene is Palace Yard, and there is a great debate expected. Every minute the enclosure grows fuller and fuller of cabs and carriages, and of masses of enthusiastic and excited spectators as well. They form an avenue in front of the entrance into the great hall, and they greet their favourite statesmen with volleys of applause. The rank and file of the representatives of the people pass without general recognition until some statesman, whose person is as familiar as his career, makes his appearance, and he is greeted with salvoes of acclamation. There is nothing very noticeable about the great man. He is of the middle height; he stoops a little; he has a lightish beard and whiskers, which are just tinged with grey; he wears spectacles, and he walks with rather a quick step, looking neither to the right nor left. As he passes he bows more than once; and who shall say that the sound of the ringing plaudits does not fall pleasantly on his ears and convey a comfortable hint to his anxious soul! He is, perhaps, not exactly what would be called a heaven-born statesman. He is not an orator like Canning; he does not display the skill of a Palmerston in fathoming the secrets of diplomacy. But he has the confidence of his countrymen, who know that he will make no great mistake, and that their main interests are safe in his

keeping. Presently there is another arrival. He has just left his carriage, and as he proceeds bravely to run the gauntlet of the crowd the face of a lady looks out from the brougham. His step is light and firm; his face pale as death, but strong and resolute. He is a man who has never quailed before an angry crowd; as a politician he has always had his foot in the stirrup, and as a speaker has always carried his lance in rest. But, in truth, he has seldom had occasion to dread the clamouring of an angry mob. He has been the people's hero, and the sounds which have always greeted him have been those that testified an unshakable belief in his genius and his virtues. It is a curious, even a menacing, conflict of noises which awaits him now. There are cheers and there are groans; there are hisses and there are cheers again. He walks very swiftly; no muscle quivers; the only change visible in his countenance is that the pallor of his cheeks grows deadlier and his figure more erect. By what curious fatality is it that this statesman—who has been before the public for half a century, and during most of that time has been among those who share the responsibility for the conduct of the Queen's Government—is followed by the veteran and victorious chief who has been during nearly the whole of this period his peculiar rival and special foe? By what strange chance does he, this hero of the fiercest parliamentary fights which, since 1832, the century has seen, on this afternoon, above all others, select as his approach to the illustrious chamber in which he has won himself a place, the great hall before whose portals are ranged the outside critics of parliamentary statesmanship?

Significant as such scenes as those which have just been described are, and not more general than deep as is the belief in the existing order, new forces have begun unmistakably to assert themselves in the popular mind. On all sides there may now be witnessed what may best be spoken of as the organisation of popular opinion. The spread of education, the extension of the newspaper press, the multiplication of lectures, and of a variety of agencies for bringing the working classes together, all tend to make them think more upon the great questions of contemporary politics, and to cast about for new ways of giving effect to the opinions at which they thus arrive. One of the results of this state of things is seen in a tendency to push institutions to an extreme. Successive acts of parliamentary reform, culminating in household suffrage, have imbued the masses with a strong sense of political power. They have come to realise more than they ever did before the truth that parliamentary institutions should be representative in something more than name. This movement is one which is really altogether new. It is, perhaps, the first in a series of great changes of which no one now living will witness the last. "It is too soon," wrote Mr. Bagehot, in his introduc-

tion* to the most useful and practical work on the Constitution in the English language, "as yet to attempt to estimate the effect of the Reform Act of 1867. The Reform Act of 1832 did not for many years disclose its full consequences, and a writer in 1836 would have been sure to be mistaken in them. A new Constitution does not produce its full effect as long as all its subjects were reared under an old Constitution, as long as its statesmen were trained by that old Constitution. It is not really tested till it comes to be worked by statesmen and among a people neither of whom are guided by a different experience." Mr. Bagehot proceeds to illustrate this truth in an interesting and suggestive manner. The change of generation, he remarks, is as powerful as any change in political machinery or institutions. The entire spirit of politics was changed by the death of Lord Palmerston and the disappearance from the stage of his contemporaries. "All through the period between 1832 and 1865, the pre-'32 statesmen, Lord Derby, Lord Russell, Lord Palmerston, retained great power; Lord Palmerston to the last retained great prohibitive power. . . . . In consequence, at his death, a new generation all at once started into life; the pre-'32 all at once died out." In the same strain this acute and luminous writer goes on to remark that until latterly the nominal constituency was not the real constituency; that the mass of the ten-pound householders did not really form their own opinions, and did not exact from their representatives an obedience to these opinions; that they were, in fact, guided in their judgment by the better-educated classes; that they preferred representatives from these classes, and gave their representatives much license.

In proportion as political opinion in the constituencies becomes organised, the members of Parliament elected by those constituencies will become more and more their direct representatives. It does not, indeed, necessarily follow that when the new system has made its full effects felt, these representatives will be mere delegates. Constituencies will always be attracted in many instances by men of great parts, and will allow such politicians in whom their confidence is reposed much independent liberty of action. Prominent among all the associations for the organising of opinion among the political electorate is what has come to be known as the Caucus.† "The aim of the Caucus," says

* See Introduction to "The English Constitution." Ed. 1878.

† The word "Caucus" is defined in Worcester's English Dictionary, published in Boston, Massachusetts, as a meeting of citizens or electors held for the purpose of nominating candidates for public offices, or for making arrangements to secure their election. It is a low word, and supposed to be a corruption—"calkers'," "caulkers'," meeting—a term applied to electioneering meetings held in a part of Boston where all the ship business was carried on. Dr. Charles Mackay suggests, in a letter published in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, January 24, 1879, that the true root of the word is to be found in the Celtic "comh" (pronounced "co")—a prefix implying concord or agreement with—and "cuis," signifying cause, affair, concern, business, procedure, &c. From this comes "co-cuis," or "caucus"—a meeting of those who agree with the business in hand, whatever it may be—a packed meeting, in fact.

the statesman who, more than any other person, is qualified to expound its true object and character, Mr. Chamberlain, "is essentially democratic: it is to provide for the full and efficient system of representation of the will of the majority, and for its definite expression in the government of the people." First let it be briefly explained what the Caucus is. Every parliamentary borough is divided into a certain number of municipal wards. In each of these wards a meeting of all the members of the party is annually convened, with every possible provision to give it publicity and importance. The electors so brought together choose, first, their representatives to the general committee, the "Six Hundred" or "Four Hundred," as it may be called; second, a smaller number of representatives to the executive committee, consisting of perhaps twenty to fifty members; and lastly, a ward committee, which acts as a canvassing committee at parliamentary elections, and which selects the candidates and controls the policy of the party in the ward at municipal contests. This last committee is as large as possible, and includes all who are willing to serve. It will be seen that the constituency itself elects all the committees, including the executive, which is therefore in direct communication with and responsible to the electors. In America the electors choose the primary committees, the primary committees in turn choose the general committee or Caucus, the Caucus chooses an executive, the executive a sub-committee, and the sub-committe a "boss" or chairman, who is thus as far as possible removed from the original electorate. It is hardly necessary to point out the importance of the distinction thus established between the English and American practice.

America is the home of the Caucus, and those who support the institution do not deny the fact that in America its existence coincides with grave political mischiefs. But they point to the facts already stated as showing that the Caucus in America differs materially from the English organisation, and they deny that, even in its American form, the Caucus is the sole or main cause of the evils complained of. Thus it is urged that if men of inferior capacity or doubtful character find seats in the House of Representatives, the same thing is unfortunately true of other representative assemblies, and that if a prize-fighter once represented New York, a member of the same profession not long ago represented a borough in Yorkshire. Again, as Mr. Chamberlain pointed out in an able article on the subject in the *Fortnightly Review* for November, 1878, the very fact that the greater issues of politics have long ago been settled in America—to say nothing of the absorbing passion for material wealth and well-being—may explain why many men of education refuse their share of public duty. "A nation," he writes, "which has no Land Question, no Church Question, no Education Question, and no Foreign Policy, must purchase its advantages at the price of less-sustained and vital interest in

its legislative work." Further, it is shown, by way of reply to the criticisms upon the Caucus derived from transatlantic experience, that "America is foremost among the nations of the world in respect to the wide-spread intelligence of its citizens, the rapid development of its resources, the general respect for law and order, and the universal acceptance of the principles of liberty and freedom." If, it is contended, all this is compatible with the Caucus, surely the much-execrated machinery cannot be so very bad.

Two remarks about the Caucus may be made with confidence. It cannot be denied that it is an extension of the principles of party government, and that it tends to make the political power and wish of the individual elector more directly felt. As Mr. Chamberlain has said in the words quoted above, the Caucus is an instrument for expressing and giving effect to the will of the majority. Therefore, it means the subordination of the will of the individual to the will of the many. But that is what our political party system involves already. Again, ours is the age of association, and the Caucus is simply an association of ratepayers, who are parliamentary electors, to secure a parliamentary representative who is fairly in accord with their views. They conceive, and experience seems to confirm the view, that they can secure this with more certainty by collective than by isolated and individual action. Now comes the objection—that the interest of the great bulk of the electors in the Caucus will soon flag, and that the reins will pass into the hands of half a dozen zealous workers, who will make politics an art of which they will be the sole masters. As Mr. Chamberlain and other champions of the system point out, this anticipation depends for its fulfilment on the hypothesis that the interest of the majority will fail in the manner predicted. As a matter of fact, we are told there is no reason to believe the sinister prophecy. In our chapter on Municipal Government, the growth of an intense spirit of citizenship in our great towns has been traced. The men who interest themselves in municipal business are the men who will also interest themselves in politics; and to suppose that a sudden paralysis is likely to overcome the energies of the inhabitants of these great centres of industry, is to suppose that a process which has now been steadily and swiftly going on for years will be suddenly and decisively arrested.

Nor is it entirely reasonable to speak of the Caucus as over-riding the public opinion of the constituency in which it exists. The Caucus is public opinion—not its manufactory, but its expression. It is, of course, conceivable that at particular times and seasons the Caucus may find that it has got out of accord with the public opinion which surrounds it. In this case its decrees and deliberations are an empty farce, and it will be without practical authority until it has again brought itself into harmony with the majority whose organ it is. The

Caucus is thus, at least, representative; occasionally it may be dominated by the superior will and opinion of individuals possessed of exceptional force of character; but, then, so are parties, and communities, and states. And it is certainly the most genuinely representative variety of political organisation which has ever been invented.

The Conservatives have attempted in some boroughs to imitate the organisation of their opponents, but hitherto without much success. The traditions and practice of Conservatism, indeed, are almost antagonistic to a democratic organisation such as that which we have described, and at the same time the need of any such system is less, because habits of discipline and subordination are more common in the Tory than in the Liberal ranks. What the Caucus is to Liberalism, that the action of political clubs, the deference paid to the wish of local coteries in the selection of parliamentary candidates, are to Conservatism. Further, it must be remembered that the Conservatives form a party which is always, more or less, organised on certain unmistakable social and constitutional lines. The Church, the aristocracy, the great interests of the country, are each of them organising agencies with the Conservatives. It is only natural that a greater tendency to individualism should be developed among the Liberals than among their opponents, and this tendency has resulted in the multiplication of Liberal candidates on the eve of a contested election. Hence, there has been a division of the party in constituencies which frequently, when the existence of a Liberal majority was an undoubted fact, has been instrumental in bringing about a Conservative victory. The Caucus may not be liked, it may even be dreaded. Its associations are as unwelcome as its name. It may be most undesirable that any body, even though composed of the electors themselves, should stand between the member of Parliament and his constituency. But whether un-English or not, the Caucus exists and increases. At the present time the Liberal party in the majority of the urban constituencies is organised on the Birmingham model, and the number is constantly growing. It may be safely asserted that whatever other results may follow, the bulk of the electors having once been taken into confidence and consulted in the management of the party and choice of candidates, will never again consent to go back to the old system of management by cliques and coteries. Under the circumstances, the only practical course seems to be to accept it as a perhaps unpalatable but certainly an inevitable condition of a democratic age.

Let us now trace this democratic principle of our time a little further, and watch its influence on the relations with the highest question of imperial policy. For good or for evil, it seems we must receive the democratic view of our national policy, not as that which is now estab-

lished, but as that which will some day or other be established. This conception is very simple, and may be readily stated. According to it, just as the individual is the unit of the town ward, so is the town ward of the town council, and so is the town council of the Imperial Parliament. Parliament, ward, council, citizen—these are the chief notes in the democratic scale, the graduated series by the successive stages of which we shall ultimately arrive at the highest sovereign expression of the national will. This fact, the ultimate supremacy of the people—that is, of the majority, the separate parts in the fabric of their supremacy being those which have been already described—is not unrecognised by contemporary statesmen. A very few years ago, a Minister of State, who was then Foreign Secretary, in addressing a deputation waiting to learn the policy of the Government on foreign affairs of great moment, spoke of himself and his colleagues as "waiting for instructions from their employers"—the people. This expression of Lord Derby's has been much criticised, but whether felicitous or not, it must be said to represent the actual facts of the case with an undoubted degree of truth. The executive has no appeal from the House of Commons, and the House of Commons is chosen by the ratepayers. What will be the power of these when a new generation of electors has arisen, and a generation whose minds are educated, and whose organisation, whether by the Caucus or any other instrumentality, is complete, is the great problem of the future. We live under a constitutional monarchy, which now fears no shocks of revolution; which is absolutely impotent to pass a law, or to keep in place a minister against whom the masses have unanimously declared; which is for all practical purposes controlled by the democracy. This view of the English Constitution will not be found in any of our philosophic histories, but it is none the less the true view, and the view which English ministers must henceforward recognise, even though they do not care to proclaim it in words.

There are several reasons why the condition of things which has now been described may be anticipated with comparatively little apprehension. Logically, the consequence of the master and servant theory, as it has been called, which Lord Derby enunciated, would be, as an able writer* has put it, the submission of all important questions to the popular vote. "If," he says, "Government is not to direct opinion, but simply to register its decrees, then steps should be taken for enabling public opinion to pronounce its decrees in the hearing of all men. . . . . Upon this theory there should have been some means of removing Lord Derby's doubts by the method of plebiscite, and the country should have been asked to vote upon some proposition, raising substantially the issue whether England should defend

* Mr. H. D. Traill, "The Democracy and Foreign Policy," *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1878.

the integrity and independence of Turkey against invasion by Russia." But the master and servant theory, though fundamentally true, will never involve a precarious appeal of this kind. There are as many checks upon the practice of the theory as upon constitutional monarchy itself. Some of them are to be found in the temper and some in the institutions of Englishmen. A nation which has been trained during centuries in the school of deference and subordination, and which has become habituated to a belief in the good faith and capacity of its public men, does not in a moment, or indeed at all, throw off its ideas and ways in a sense of elation at its newly realised sovereignty. If it is henceforth to be more self-governed than ever, it has been undergoing for ages the education which of all others would best qualify it for that complete self-government. There is no danger of household suffrage, even when it includes the agricultural labourers, reducing society in England to its primitive atoms; and though the basis of government may have been broadened, there will not be as a consequence any pervading anarchy in administration. The greater the multitude, the greater the influence of the individual; and because the English electorate and the English proletariat are convertible terms, the authority of the English statesman will not be gone. It is, indeed, conceivable—for this is the characteristic of all democracies—that the English constituencies may be more liable than hitherto to be carried away by sudden gusts of passion which sweep all before them, and it is precisely these impulses which the statesman will have either to utilise or to control. But because some of the forces with which he has to work are new, the influence of statesmanship will not be less than it has always been in England. More insight, more courage, more candour may be wanted, and when these qualities are forthcoming the authority of the individual statesman and his colleagues will still be paramount.

The attribute last named, candour, suggests one or two important considerations in the theory and practice of English statesmanship under the new democratic régime. The master and servant theory need not be so interpreted that it requires the perpetual reference of the policy of the minister to the masses for their approval. If it is the fact that the masses are the final arbiters of the position, it must be desirable that ministers should boldly recognise the truth. What, then, is the important question, are the arts by which the confidence and goodwill of the masses are to be won? As were the ten-pound householders, so are the householders who are only ratepayers. But this, though the preponderating, is only one of several elements in our modern democracy. To the working men must be added that class which socially takes precedence of all others, and which is aristocratic and plutocratic in about equal degrees: the numerous class of professional men; the commercial class, which will, of course, include the

employers of labour. Here, then, we have a variety which is itself a guarantee of permanence, and at the same time that there is a distinct interfusion of orders—it being very often difficult to say where one class or interest commences and another ends—there is also a unity of upward-tending aspiration. Each inferior class, in other words, takes more or less of its colour, wishes, views, from the class above it, and thus the English Constitution is indeed that of a democracy, but a democracy with a distinctly aristocratic bias. Hence there is every reason to believe that we have a twofold guarantee of national stability: first, that mutual association of ranks, with a tendency unswervingly felt in one direction; secondly, the docility and enthusiasm of the working classes themselves, if only they are dealt with in a suitable manner and by rulers whom they instinctively trust. All these considerations must be borne in mind if we are either to formulate or accept that master and servant doctrine of imperial administration which has just been spoken of. It is essential not to be misled by false analogies, but to remember that as is the servant—the governing class—so in the long run will be the master—the governed.

But in proportion as this statement is recognised as true it is necessary to insist on the fact that a certain line of treatment must be pursued by those in whom the administration of affairs is vested. If our constitution be really democratic, yet not devoid of the leaven of aristocracy to which we have already referred, it is clear that our statesmen must not only mould their policy according to the exigencies of the case, but must attempt its execution in such a way as to conciliate the approval and to enlist the support of the multitude, to whom in the last resort the appeal lies. The methods which were perfectly applicable to the conduct of national affairs before the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1867, when government was, as we have seen, a stately game played by the patrician powers of the kingdom, are impossible now. The people have entered into partnership with the aristocracy, and they must be treated as partners. It is quite possible that in specific departments of statesmanship—foreign policy, for instance—the new system may involve great difficulties. Our statesmen having to reckon with a force which exists, as it exists in England, in no other country in Europe, may find themselves at an obvious disadvantage in the hour of international crisis, as compared with the chancellor of the Russian or the German Empire. But it argues a very imperfect knowledge of the English character to suppose that if, at anxious moments like these, the supreme direction of affairs is in the hands of men who have the confidence of the masses—men of whom Lord Palmerston has been the most conspicuous example during the past fifty years—the democracy will claim to act upon that master and servant doctrine in which so much of peril has been discerned. There is surely more of permanent—less of mere frothy and evanescent

—enthusiasm, which the statesman may regard as the most precious of all political capital, in the English people than among any other nation of the world. But it is only placed at the disposal of those who deal openly and fairly with the people, and whom, in return, the people delight to trust. Has this mode of dealing with the masses in these grave matters ever been fairly tried and failed? The democracy may be as mischievous an impediment in the way of a great foreign policy as it has been taunted with being, if approached in a spirit of selfish timidity, temporising vacillation, or mistimed reticence. Indignation meetings are held, demonstrations are organised, agitations are set on foot, the chiefs of the Government complain that they are paralysed by a factious opposition. But may they not be in some degree responsible for this opposition? Is it not possible that they may in the first instance have been wanting in the resolution—fearful to hazard the compactness of their majority—to tell the people what is the expenditure and what the military measures indispensable, in their opinion, to uphold the dignity and strength of the empire? Is it unreasonable to suppose that the minister representing to the English people the qualities identified with Palmerston, who should rise in his place in Parliament and say that such-and-such taxation was necessary to ensure a minimum of naval and military efficiency, would find no reluctance to supply him with the funds? Or that the minister who should insist upon the danger of prematurely disclosing confidential negotiations would not fail to carry his point? The real peril would seem to come not so much from the fact that the democracy is the ultimate master of the position, as from the chance that this fact may not be sufficiently recognised.

The very working of the English Constitution is in itself a powerful force for the education and the discipline of the masses. For practical purposes this Constitution must, as Mr. Bagehot has well pointed out, be divided, not into the three estates of the realm, not into judicial, executive, or legislative departments, but into two portions, the dignified part, at the head of which is the Queen, and the efficient part, at the head of which is the Prime Minister. The sovereign, says Mr. Bagehot, is the fountain of honour, but the Treasury is the source of business. Inasmuch, however, as the Prime Minister's tenure of office depends on his majority in the House of Commons, it is clear that the representatives of the people, and in the last resort the constituencies who elect them, are supreme in that portion of the Constitution to which has been applied the epithet efficient. The Cabinet is thus a committee for the administration of the empire, whose members have for the time being the confidence of that popular assembly, which itself is the mirror and embodiment of the popular will. Hence there is an interchange of influence between the House of Commons and the multitude outside, which is its creator. As the speeches made in the

House reflect national opinion, so do the debates which take place in that House educate the national mind. Conscious of their power to control the action of the Cabinet, and to regenerate the elective legislature, the constituencies often read, and sometimes digest, the speeches made at Westminster, and reported for their benefit in the newspapers. There is thus no divorce between the active current of a people's life and the political life of its legislators under a Cabinet system of government, the Cabinet being dependent on the popular Chamber. Under the presidential system the conditions are exactly reversed, and "a nation has, except at the electing moment, no influence: it has not the ballot box before it; its virtue is gone, and it must wait till its instant of despotism again returns. It is not invited to form an opinion like a nation under a Cabinet government; nor is it instructed like such a nation. There are, doubtless, debates in the legislature, but they are prologues without a play. There is nothing of a catastrophe about them; you cannot turn out the Government." *

While thus in one sense it may be said that as a result of its structure the English Constitution is more democratic, inasmuch as it gives the masses more direct power over the action of the legislature, than that of the American Republic, the conditions of this structure also ensure a steady and continuous exercise of influences, which if they are not aristocratic are at least anti-democratic, upon the multitude. At the present time the composition of the House of Commons is more dissimilar, perhaps, than it ever was before from the House of Lords. It is plutocratic rather than aristocratic, but the tendency in England is for plutocracy to assume more and more of an aristocratic complexion. Add to this that the House of Lords is being perpetually recruited from men whose presence is the most distinctive feature in the House of Commons—men of lowly origin who have acquired position and money by their exertions and talents, by success in commerce and trade, and enough will have been said to show that however marked the contrast between the two chambers, there will, from the necessities of the case, always be a gradual approximation between them. It is the more necessary to bear this in mind, because, as we have already seen, the political opinion of the working classes is becoming more and more organised, and we may at any moment expect to witness an accentuation of the differences that exist between the personality and the prerogative of the two Houses, or between certain sections of the members of those Houses. We must never forget that the force of repulsion is accompanied by a compensating force of attraction, and that while the working men and artisans are intent upon securing direct representation for their interests at Westminster, these representatives, when they have been returned to Parliament, will come within the circle of influences more or less the reverse of popular. It

* "The English Constitution," p. 21.

is this fusion of influences and classes, go where we may, in social or political life, in the market-place or the assembly, in the club or at the dinner-table, which is the guarantee of our political stability and our security against revolutionary changes. We have, in a word, what would be the most democratic Constitution in the world, were the democracy itself practically to assert its sovereign power, working in the most aristocratic manner.

Lastly, we come to the consideration of the relations in which the Crown stands towards the multitude on the one hand, and the executive directly nominated by the multitude on the other. According to the letter of the English Constitution, the Crown and the executive are convertible terms. According to the theory of the Constitution, the Sovereign can exercise of his or her own accord a variety of powers, any one of which would precipitate a revolution. When, in 1871, purchase in the army was abolished, the Army Bill becoming law immediately after the exercise of an act of prerogative, there was great and general astonishment. "But," says Mr. Bagehot, "this is nothing to what the Queen can do by law without consulting Parliament. Not to mention other things, she could disband the army (by law she cannot engage more than a certain number of men, but she is not obliged to engage any men); she could dismiss all the officers, from the general commanding-in-chief downwards; she could dismiss all the sailors too; she could sell off all our ships of war and all our naval stores; she could make a peace by the sacrifice of Cornwall, and begin a war for the conquest of Brittany. She could make every citizen in the United Kingdom, male and female, a peer; she could make every parish in the United Kingdom a university; she could dismiss most of the civil servants; she could pardon all offenders. In a word, the Queen could, by prerogative, upset all the action of civil government within the Government; could disgrace the nation by a bad war or peace; and could, by disbanding our forces, whether land or sea, leave us defenceless against foreign nations."

If we contrast with the theoretical powers of the Sovereign those actually exercised in the relations between the monarch and the monarch's ministers, the facts may be put in a very few words. It is for the Sovereign to know the policy which ministers may be executing or deliberating, and to exercise, if she so desires, the right of encouraging, counselling, warning. The choice of its ministers is the privilege of the Crown, but this choice can only be exercised within certain narrow limits. Practically, the constituencies decide who the Premier shall be, and the Premier selects his colleagues in accordance with the political exigencies of the time. But though the Sovereign does not possess, or does not actively exercise, the power of direct political initiative, she has immense political influence, and is charged with grave political duties. Here, again, we have another illustration

of the remark that where there is knowledge there will be power. The Sovereign whose mind is a storehouse of political history and precedents necessarily affects, and frequently in a very important degree, the action of successive generations of her advisers. Moreover, the Sovereign is the head not only of the Government, but of the society of the realm. The English Court is still the greatest social institution in the country; the arts of the courtier are up to this day diligently studied and assiduously practised. In a community dominated, as the English community is, by the aristocratic principle, it is inevitable that the Sovereign should always have much power. A constitutional hereditary monarchy may sometimes be compared to the presidency of a republic, but in reality it is endowed with attributes generically distinct. So long as society and politics act and react on each other, the authority of the Sovereign will never become a fiction or a dead letter.

But independently of the official duties of the Sovereign, and the political power of which, as a consequence of her exalted station, she is the depositary, the Crown is the symbol of a national unity, the force of which is deeply felt by the masses. Monarchy is a strong government in proportion as it is an intelligible government. It is not an abstraction, it is a concrete embodiment of power. When the English multitude gazes upon its Sovereign it is conscious that it beholds an august personification of the principle of its rule. This is not the only way in which the existing Constitution appeals vividly to the imagination. "A family on the throne," writes Mr. Bagehot, "is an interesting idea also. It brings down the fruits of sovereignty to the level of petty life. . . . . To state the matter shortly: Royalty is a government in which the attention of the nation is concentrated on one person doing interesting actions. A republic is a government on which that attention is divided between many who are all doing uninteresting actions. Accordingly, so long as the human heart is strong and the human reason weak, royalty will be strong because it appeals to diffused feelings, and republics weak because they appeal to the understanding." These are the main practical elements in the strength of the English monarchy. It is a great political and a great social force, because it accords with the genius of the English people and the feelings of human nature itself.

CHAPTER XXI.

OFFICIAL ENGLAND.

The Great Offices of State—Their External Aspect—Their Internal Management—History of an Official Paper—The Colonial Office—The India Office—The Foreign Office—Board of Trade—The Treasury—Privy Council Office—Business done at Privy Council—The Cabinet—Mutual Relations of Cabinet Ministers—Cabinet Procedure—General View of Life of Minister of State—Non-official Correspondence received by Members of the Government.

No more ambitious pile of buildings has been added to the capital of the empire than that which meets the gaze of the spectator as he walks down Whitehall. On the right-hand side, as he goes in the direction of the Houses of Parliament, he will see successively the offices of the Treasury and the Privy Council office, an old building with a new and imposing façade, and a grand block of stately structures which comprise under one roof the Home, Colonial, Foreign, and India Offices. By the side of these the official residences of the Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Downing Street, present but a mean appearance. Even Downing Street itself—that historic site which has represented the great prize in a long series of political struggles—threatens to disappear, and it is probable that before another fifty years have passed, not one of those houses which, less than a century ago, sufficed for the conduct of nearly the entire business of the State, will be left standing. By that time we shall probably have a material addition made to the group of edifices in which the offices above named are domiciled, designed upon a scale not less magnificent, and concentrated, without break or interruption, within one and the same august precinct.

What, it may be asked, is the nature of the business transacted within these buildings, and what its routine? What are the stages of administration which may be successively observed in the different departments of the structure? How is the influence of the outer world made known in the official penetralia? and how are the decrees fashioned which, emanating from an area of at most a few acres, are transmitted to every quarter of an empire which is a synonym for civilization? In endeavouring to give an answer to these questions it may be remarked at the outset that there is one type of management to which the administration of the different great offices of State

generally conforms. That it is more closely adhered to in some departments than in others necessarily follows from the kind of business transacted in each. In giving priority to the Colonial Office and the conduct of its affairs we are guided by a wish to present the reader with what may be called a pattern of the way in which, in an office divided into several distinct sections, the business of the nation is done. No department is so suitable for an illustration as this, because within it is transacted every sort of official and administrative business. Independently of the specially difficult relations between the mother country and its dependencies, those dependencies have to be advised or directed on all subjects—foreign affairs, international and domestic law, finance, public works—in short, the whole duty of government.

Let it be supposed, then, that the despatches and official letters, both from England and other parts of the world, are pouring in during the hours of the early morning. It is at the Registry Office that these documents first come within the official horizon. Here there are assistant clerks who mechanically open everything in the letter and despatch-bags which is obviously of a more or less official character. It is not their business to make themselves accurately acquainted with the contents. They are expected to do nothing more than to gain just such a general idea of their purport and character as will enable them to get a title for the official docket of the correspondence. To this correspondence is attached, by the Registry Office clerks, a large paper for the writing of minutes, on which the day of receipt is inscribed. The second stage in the history of our official paper is its transit from the Registry Office to the head of one of the departments into which the entire organisation is divided; these departments, in the case of the Colonial Office, being, with the single exception of that which deals with general business, arranged on geographical principles. Having, then, been duly entered in the Registry Book, the despatch or letter is forwarded to the principal clerk at the head of the department to which it immediately refers. This official examines it with a view of seeing, in the first instance, whether it is of an urgent character, demanding precedence over other business, and whether it requires for its proper comprehension any reference to previous transactions. In the last case he at once places it in the hands of one of his juniors, with instructions to collect, and, if necessary, to make a précis of, the correspondence containing the history of those transactions; or if the task is one of particular nicety, or calling for the employment of special knowledge of precedents, the departmental principal may probably take it in hand himself.

Thus furnished with all supplementary matter necessary for a right understanding of the case, the document advances a step nearer to

the ken of the great man who presides over the working of the whole office. It comes, as minuted and prepared in the department, before one of the Assistant Under-Secretaries, each of whom has assigned to him a particular sphere of work, and who, after having carefully perused the papers now submitted, writes his own comments and views in the shape of another minute, and sends the whole budget, which, ever since its introduction to the office, has been gradually growing in bulk, to the Permanent Under-Secretary of State. It is to be noticed that it is at this stage—namely, when the correspondence first comes within the secretarial purview—that the element of official discretion begins. If it is perfectly plain that no decision has to be taken upon the papers, and that the course of action is simple, as, for instance, to refer or transmit them to another department of State, then it may be conjectured that the room of the Assistant Under-Secretary will be the limit of the official progress of the paper. For the most part, however, there is no summary arrest before the Permanent Under-Secretary is reached. It is, indeed, the constitutional theory that all communications addressed to a Secretary of State on questions of the public service are laid before the Sovereign —in other words, to adapt the tradition to the ways and language of responsible government, are personally considered by the Secretary of State—and it may be said, with perfect confidence, that whenever any portion of this miscellaneous correspondence is found to involve anything more than mechanical action in accordance with previously decided principles, it does come under the eye of the Secretary of State. When, on the other hand, the point to which the correspondence relates is practically settled by well-established precedents, and there can be no doubt as to the decision, the Under-Secretary may fairly assume the duties of a court of ultimate jurisdiction. Possibly we should not be far wrong if we were to say that this occurs almost as frequently as not.

There is yet one further experience which it will acquire before our typical communication from the other side of the world reaches the audience-chamber of the Queen's direct representative—it has to pass into the hands of the parliamentary Under-Secretary. It should be understood, however, that this is not a necessary incident in the life of such an official document as we are now considering. Supposing that the business is pressing, and that the parliamentary Under-Secretary is otherwise engaged, the paper would pass direct from the Permanent Under-Secretary to the political chief of the department; and, in fact, in all offices of State these two functionaries are the pivots upon which the whole system of administration turns. In all offices the parliamentary and the Permanent Under-Secretaries have co-ordinate power. Their relation is thus one of mutual supplement; and while it is the business of the parliamentary deputy of the

Secretary of State, who is for the most part in the House of Commons, to attend to the progress of measures which concern the department in Parliament, it is especially the function of the Permanent Under-Secretary to supply his chief with the facts and precedents which form the data on which his opinion is based. In other words, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State has to know and the Secretary of State himself has to decide.

Coming now to the work of the eminent politician or statesman who is the apex of the entire official system of a great department, let us see what are the duties which it rests with him to discharge, and how he discharges them. Supposing he is in London, two or three despatch-boxes closely packed with official documents are delivered at his house as soon as the office has closed for the evening. At almost any hour he may be found closeted in his study with these. Selecting first those papers which are marked as "demanding urgency," and proceeding to the examination of the different sheets of the manuscript "minutes" or observations attached to them, he finds that they are charged with great diversity of opinion. Between these conflicting views he has to decide, and as his decision is, such will be the tenor of the despatch which is ultimately founded on it; and, indeed, it is probable that at each successive stage something like the rough draft of an answer has been drawn up by the different officials to whom the papers have one after another been submitted. Consequently, the reply finally approved of is often nothing more than a fine specimen of official mosaic. The Secretary of State, it may be assumed, in most cases adopts the form of answer which has been suggested by the Under-Secretary, with certain modifications, as the Under-Secretary, also with modifications, may have adopted that of his immediate subordinate.

By twelve o'clock the chief of the department, seated probably in his library, has gone through this portion of his work, and he returns all the documents which he has examined to his private secretary at his office. The papers are then sent back through the same succession of hands as that through which they have previously passed, and thus ultimately the reply is drafted. The entire process occupies less time than from this description might be supposed. The different stages here traced may, in ordinary matters, be performed in a couple of days, and very rarely occupy more than a week. When the Secretary of State is in the country there is, of course, a little less promptitude. Bags containing official documents are sent to him daily, the hour of their actual dispatch from the head-quarters at Whitehall being late, as the post there does not close until seven in the evening, when the colonial mails are sent off.

Much the same routine as that which has been described in the case of the Colonial Office is observed in the department which deals with

the affairs of our Indian Empire. The correspondence which makes its way hither may be classed under two heads: first, that relating to the Government of India itself; secondly, the communications which originate in England, and pass either between the India Office and other departments of State, such as the Foreign Office, the Colonial Office, the Board of Trade, and the War Office, or between the India Office and private persons interested in Indian affairs. Again, the Indian correspondence itself is of two kinds: first, ordinary despatches which come, in every case, either from the Government of India, or the Governments of Madras and Bombay, the Lieutenant-Governors not corresponding directly with the Home Government; secondly, secret despatches which pass directly between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. As at the Colonial Office so at the India Office, there is a central register to which, as a rule, despatches are sent. There are, however, many important exceptions, and documents relating to politics or finance would go, in the first instance, not to the Registry, but to that department to which they immediately relate—political, secret, financial, public works, military, as the case may be. They are, of course, opened by the secretaries of the department to which they belong, and these officials put forward the papers whenever they like. After this they pass successively through the hands of the Under-Secretary—permanent or parliamentary, according to the nature of the communication—the Secretary of State, a committee of the Council especially told off to consider documents of the class to which this one belongs, and, finally, the Council itself in full conclave assembled. But the powers of the Council are deliberative, and it may be added obstructive, as well as executive. The power of obstruction is not necessarily mischievous. It is often exercised, and is intended to be exercised, as a check on rash and ill-considered action.

In the Foreign Office a very different mode of procedure is rendered necessary. A majority of the documents received there are more or less confidential, and, as a consequence, the opening of the despatch-bags is not delegated to subordinate employés, but is performed by some high official. Who this official may be depends on circumstances—the determining circumstances mainly being the view the Secretary of State takes of the limit of his responsibilities, an arrangement arrived at between the Secretary and Under-Secretary, or the personal appetite for work which either of them may possess. Thus at one time we are told of a Permanent Under-Secretary of State who takes a pride in remaining at the office daily till eight in the evening, in order that he may depart with the consciousness of having broken the seals of two hundred envelopes. At another time report informs us of a Secretary of State who would allow no letter or communication of any kind to be opened by anyone save himself, and who insisted

on dictating answers to all the correspondence which poured in. Hence, too, it may be correctly inferred that there is not at the Foreign Office anything like the same system of minuting correspondence which exists elsewhere. The entire department is divided into what was formerly called the Establishment, but now rechristened the Diplomatic Establishment, and departments not on the Establishment. The new name is intended to distinguish the Diplomatic Establishment from the Librarian's, the Treaty, and the Chief Clerk's departments. In the Diplomatic Establishment, where a total of forty-one clerks are employed, the Chief Clerk has a department of his own, with twenty clerks under him, who are not themselves on the Diplomatic Establishment, and whose work is chiefly financial. Next —still on the Diplomatic Establishment—there is the Consular Department, presided over by the Superintendent of the Consular and Slave-trade Department, and subdivided into two sections: the second charged with all correspondence and other matters relating to the slave-trade, the first having to do with the Consular Service correspondence. Lastly, there is the Commercial Department. The more purely diplomatic portion of the Foreign Office is subdivided into five departments, distributed geographically, which are under the control of a senior clerk. Naturally the business transacted in all of these is of a strictly confidential character, and includes everything appertaining to the negotiation of treaties.

We now come to the Treaty Department, which is not on the Diplomatic Establishment, and is occupied with the formal drafting and engrossing of documents which have already come under the scrutiny of the confidential officers of that august bureau. The Treaty Department is a Black Letter Department, and those who are employed in it bear much the same relation to the diplomatic staff that the lawyer's clerk who engrosses the deed bears to the lawyer who is the confidential adviser. Even the head of this department, though personal merit and the technical experience which he may have acquired often cause him to be the depositary of a large amount of confidence, is not, in virtue of his office, admitted into the secrets of the Diplomatic Establishment. The relative positions of the two cannot be better illustrated than by saying that, whereas members of the Diplomatic Establishment are, *ex officio*, admitted members of the St. James's Club, members of the Treaty Department have to submit to the ordinary ballot. Of course, clerks of the Treaty Department of the Foreign Office are trusted not to divulge the import of the papers they are employed to copy and reduce to official order. But their functions are not confidential in the same way as the functions of the clerks in the Diplomatic Establishment. It is only when treaties are ripe for parchments, or when precedents and historical data are required in the preparation of treaties, that the officers of this department are

consulted; and the mere circumstance that it is the sole department in which hired writers are engaged is sufficient proof that its sphere is generically different from that of the Diplomatic Establishment.

While the Privy Council Office may be spoken of as the formal head and mother of departments, the foremost place in the official hierarchy may, on some accounts, be claimed by the Treasury. It is the Treasury which has the power of the purse over all other departments, and with which, as a consequence, the ultimate decision rests. The Treasury, moreover, in addition to being the establishment where the annual Budget is made up, has immediately subject to it the two great Revenue Departments—the Customs and the Inland Revenue—as well as the Post Office—only accidentally a source of revenue—while it is practically supreme in point of power. The Privy Council Office is unquestionably sovereign in respect of dignity. It may, in effect, be regarded as a species of commission for the exercise of certain essential prerogatives of the Crown. The work done by the Board of Trade and the Judicial Committee is delegated to them by and from the Privy Council; while, until quite recently, the business of the Education Department was transacted by a committee of the Privy Council, and even now its head-quarters are under the same roof. The Board of Trade remains nominally under the direction of a committee of the Privy Council, composed of a President, with certain *ex-officio* members, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Secretaries of State, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and some others. But, as a matter of fact, the office is entirely departmental, and when the Board of Trade is spoken of, it means for all practical purposes, not the committee of the Privy Council subject to which it performs its duties, but the President, supplemented by his secretaries and official staff. Thus both in fact and in name it is a distinct branch of the Government.

The duties of the Board of Trade Office are both multifarious and interesting. Railways, the mercantile marine of the country, weights and measures, the collection of all those statistics which concern, not merely the Home Government, but the administration of imperial affairs, belong to the Board of Trade. Much of the departmental work of the office involves a knowledge on the part of those by whom it is done of science and law. Thus it comes frequently within the province of this department to decide on the best form of railway brakes, on the structure of ships and lighthouses, to say nothing of the exceedingly complicated question of signalling at sea. Again, since it is our maritime power which brings us into contact at the largest number of points with the laws of other countries, and since the Board of Trade is practically charged with the supervision of our maritime affairs, it follows that various questions of international law are perpetually presenting themselves for settlement in this depart-

ment. The Board of Trade may be said to take charge of a ship from the cradle to the grave. It keeps a record of all new ships, it can trace their voyages, and has a list of the passengers and crews whom they have upon any occasion carried. Hence the offices of the Board of Trade witness much that is touching, and contain the record of much that is noble. It is here that those who are interested in the lives of sailors go to hear something, if they can, of the fate of ships which are supposed to have been lost at sea. Here, too, is it that the claim is made for having saved life at sea. Nor are the duties of the office in reference to railways less considerable. When a new railway is opened, the Board of Trade sends down an inspector to see that everything is in a proper state for the commencement of traffic.

The Privy Council Office may be spoken of as that department of State in which the prerogatives of the Crown are brought into immediate contact with the persons of its ministers. It is the office which forms a common meeting ground for much of the business of other public departments. It constitutes, in fact, a kind of imperial clearing-house. Whatever can be the subject of an Order in Council naturally comes to the Privy Council Office, and is there put into a shape in which it may be conveniently considered by the Sovereign, when the next meeting of the Privy Council is held. Orders in Council relate to such subjects as the ratification of measures passed by the colonial parliaments, royal proclamations, documents concerning the assemblage, prorogation and dissolution of the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. Other Orders in Council are forms which give effect to treaties, extend the terms of patents, grant charters of incorporation to boroughs and to companies, proclaim ports and fairs, decide causes in appeal, create ecclesiastical districts, concede exemptions from the law of mortmain. There is thus an immense amount of clerkly business to be transacted in the Privy Council Office.

Her Majesty presides at about a dozen meetings of the Privy Council in the course of the year. On the day before the meeting all the papers to be discussed are sent to the Queen, and if she finds anything which she does not exactly understand, she will desire the attendance of the minister to whose department it relates. No Privy Councillor attends the Council unless he has been specially summoned. The business is naturally routine work, and is generally despatched in less than an hour. The presence of three Privy Councillors constitutes a quorum, and the chair is always taken by the Sovereign. Again, the Privy Council is, since every Cabinet minister must first be admitted a Privy Councillor—the theory being that the Cabinet is an inner Council of the Privy Council—a connecting link between Parliament and the Crown. The Cabinet represents the declared will of the constituencies, and the chief of the Cabinet, the Prime Minister, is the embodiment of the Cabinet in the sight of the Crown. In its relation

to the Sovereign the Cabinet is an indivisible and absolute unity, nor can a Premier be guilty of an act more reprehensible in itself and in its tendency than when he informs the Sovereign of the specific causes of difficulty which he may encounter with his colleagues. "The Premier," writes Mr. Gladstone, in "Kin Beyond Sea," "reports to the Sovereign the proceedings of the Cabinet, has many audiences of the august occupant of the throne," but "is bound in these reports and audiences not to undermine the position of any of his colleagues in the royal favour. If he departs in any degree from strict adherence to these rules, and uses his great opportunities to increase his own influence and pursue aims not shared by his colleagues, then, unless he is prepared to advise them, he not only departs from rule, but commits an act of treachery and baseness. As the Cabinet stands between the Sovereign and the Parliament, and is bound to be loyal to both, so he (the Premier) stands between his colleagues and the Sovereign, and is bound to be loyal to both."

The relations between the Secretary of State, as the head of a department, and the Sovereign, as supreme over the State itself, are illustrated by the form with which, until early in the century, this minister commenced his answer to all correspondence brought before him, namely, "I have it in command from the Sovereign to acquaint you," etc. This mode of expression has now been dropped. None the less are the relations maintained between such offices as the India Office, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, and the Sovereign of the most direct and intimate character. In the case of each of these departments, not merely is there the frequent, or the occasional, despatch of official papers to her Majesty, but it is part of the recognised duties of the Secretary of State to keep her Majesty duly informed of the general tenor and drift of his administration, and of any important transactions between the office in London and the dependency or state in some other quarter of the world. These memoranda are never written by any member of a department except the minister at its head. There is a stereotyped style in which they all begin, to this effect—"Lord Leatherhead presents his humble duty to your Majesty." Two obviously proper rules are observed in these momentous communications, and in all documents submitted to the Sovereign —one is that they shall contain no erasure, the second, that the paper on which they are written shall not be folded. Considering that the drafts of important despatches are sent to the Sovereign before they leave the office of the Secretary of State, and that, in addition to this, her Majesty receives daily the above-mentioned reports of all matters of great importance pending, it may be readily understood that the time of royalty is tolerably well occupied.

No authentic account of the manner in which the ministers of the Crown transact their business in Cabinet has ever yet been given to

the world, and the secret has been as religiously and successfully preserved as that of Freemasonry. It may, however, be reasonably conjectured that the mode in which business is conducted is conversational and easy; it is probable that divisions formally taken are exceedingly rare, that, as a rule, ministers speak sitting, and that there is a general understanding between them as to the amount of business which shall be taken on a particular day, and with respect to the limit of time which is not to be exceeded. The actual work of legislation is prefaced by two or three natural preliminary processes. Supposing that the Cabinet has come to the conclusion that a particular subject is ripe for legislation, the first step taken in the direction of legislation would be for the minister within whose department it came to draw up the heads of a Bill on the subject. Copies of this memorandum would be sent round to each of the ministers in one of the circulating boxes opened by a key in the possession of each member of the Cabinet, who, having taken a copy of the document from that receptacle, would draw a line through his name, inscribed on a slip of paper projecting from under the lid of the box. The heads of the proposed measure would be discussed at the next meeting of the Cabinet, and the decision arrived at might probably be that a Bill on the subject should be drafted in due form; the same process would then be gone through again in the matter of the draft measure, and thus, after having been first discussed and then re-discussed, it would ultimately come before Parliament.

The life of a State official, be he Cabinet minister or Under-Secretary, is one of incessant strain, endless anxiety, continuous toil. Scant leisure, holidays marred by the perpetual interruption of despatches, telegrams, and other documents, are all that the parliamentary vacation brings. While Parliament is sitting—that is, during nearly six months of the year—he is condemned systematically to burn the candle at both ends. Happy is he if he be fairly asleep by two in the morning; by noon he will be at his office in Whitehall, Downing Street, or Pall Mall, busy with the reports of his private secretaries, his letters, and much amorphous material which, if the fates be propitious, will some day or other be reduced to order in blue books, or perhaps be embodied in some measure introduced into Parliament, and, it may be, specially commended in the speech from the throne. The chances are that our Secretary or Under-Secretary has been already up since eight or nine, after barely five hours of feverish sleep. He has been, in all probability, as a sequel to a hasty and unsubstantial breakfast, endeavouring to brace himself for the toils of the day by a canter in Rotten Row. But just as that equestrian promenade begins to grow populous and gay with many riders and loungers, our official, consulting his watch, or admonished by the chimes of Big Ben, turns his horse's head, and makes his way towards Westminster.

Let those who sometimes complain of the inaccessibility of the gentlemen responsible for Her Majesty's Government reflect how closely packed are the occupations of the official days, how short the time for the performance of innumerable tasks. There is a deputation to be received which will absorb at least an hour; there is the daily conference between the Secretary of State and the Under-Secretary; there are business interviews with other members of the Government. In addition to this, there is the preparation for the night's work in Parliament. Notice has been given of questions, and the materials for reply have to be diligently searched out. A debate is expected, which will draw special attention to the department, and the honourable or right honourable gentleman who represents it must, by dint of much official cramming, furnish himself with all the facts and figures requisite for a complete exposition of the case. A Bill which the Government is bent on "carrying," and which is being opposed at every clause, is making its way through committee, and our statesman, to whom it is chiefly entrusted, must prove himself an encyclopædia of practical arguments, each one of which is a conclusive refutation of censure and criticism. Four o'clock comes, and the minister has to be in the House. Who shall blame him if he has economised to the utmost the four preceding hours, or who would remove the mysterious inaccessibility with which he endeavours to hedge himself around?

Apart from the papers which come before him in the conduct of the regular business of his department, a Minister of State is burdened with an immense variety of general correspondence. There are letters from the chiefs of the Opposition, proposing some plan for the conduct of a debate; or suggesting some compromise on a particular Bill which may happen to be in committee; or showing how, if the right honourable gentleman would but adopt such-and-such a course, he might disarm some of his most formidable critics, and count at the same time upon satisfying all his more reasonable and moderate partisans. Happily, the strife of the "ins" and the "outs" is conducted with an amenity in England unknown elsewhere, and this portion of the ministerial correspondence conclusively proves the fact. Indeed, our imaginary First Lord, or typical Secretary of State, very often finds that the communications of his professed friends are more troublesome than those of his professed foes. A follower who is an inveterate crotcheteer is a more awkward customer than a factious antagonist. As the statesman to whom it has pleased Her Majesty to give her confidence looks at his letters, there are certain handwritings which he contemplates with profound weariness. He recognises at a glance the envelopes which he knows contain absolutely impracticable hints and recommendations, utterly groundless protests, and quite impossible requests from his most loyal but most importunate supporters.

That little sheaf of letters which he puts on one side is a collection of communications, the several authors of which express a hope that the right honourable gentleman will so arrange that they shall have a day for introducing a Bill much desired by themselves or their constituents; or deferentially point out that if a ministerial measure be marked by the presence or the absence of a certain clause, some great industry will be menaced, or some powerful interest injured; or assure the minister that it will be extremely desirable if, for the purpose of reassuring the more weak-kneed of his followers, he will take an early opportunity of declaring what points or principles of it are indispensable. What does the minister do? Some he answers in a few lines at once; others he puts aside for consideration—all have his attention. He will consult his department on some; on some he will communicate with the whip of the party, the patronage secretary of the Treasury, as he is officially called, and will ascertain from that functionary whether the discontent to which such letters point can be said to contain any of the elements of danger.

Putting aside the mass of correspondence which the minister receives from his brother members of the elective House, we may glance at some of the most salient characteristics of that countless multitude of epistles, written by members of the extra-parliamentary public, which daily discharges itself into Downing Street. Many there are of precisely the same character as might be found on the breakfast-table of any private or non-official senator: applications from friends and constituents for berths in Government offices; letters particularly drawing attention to the neglect of local welfare by the Imperial Parliament; appeals to charity, and expostulations, varying in tone from the cringing entreaty to the peremptory demand, on the subject of projected legislation, which will be seriously detrimental to the commerce of particular boroughs, or the traditional rights of counties; letters applying for additional salaries from officers who are in the employment of the Government, and who are often a greater source of trouble to an Administration than difficult colleagues or importunately burning questions. A Cabinet minister is, of course, assailed with applications from old personal friends, on behalf of their sons, or other members of their families, for whom they wish to secure nominations to offices in the Civil Service. There are, also, lengthy communications from the accredited agents of the party in the provinces, despatched, in the first instance, to the head whip, and by him laid before his chief. Some of these are troublesome enough. The minister hears that the great tin-tack interest is united as one man against the measure which the Government has introduced for regulating afresh that particular industry; or that an agitation, which may become formidable, is being organised for the remission of the present imposts on velveteens and smock-frocks. Others are written

with reference to a vacancy, actual or impending, in a parliamentary seat, which has been hitherto occupied by a supporter of the Administration, or which it is hoped to wrest from the Opposition. These are documents which require the closest attention of the ministerial mind. Composed with great skill and local knowledge, they place before the official eye precisely the qualifications which are required in the forthcoming candidate. If no person has already paramount and irresistible claims to represent the party, then comes the exercise of the official choice. The local agent waits with anxiety to know what the selection is. The gentleman on whom the lot has fallen may be a perfect stranger to him, or known only by distant rumour. But as soon as the aspirant member for the borough has set foot within the town, and has been closeted with one or two of its leading inhabitants, so soon does that astute agent know whether the politician despatched by the "party" is or is not the right man for the right place.

Even as the Imperial Parliament sitting at Westminster is, in a manner, a national High Court of Grievances, so is every Cabinet minister stationed at his desk in his office the daily recipient of epistles complaining of wrongs inflicted and injustices sustained, either by an accidental hitch in the machinery of government, or by the operation of some law vicious in principle and mistaken in practice. The number of letters of this kind varies in the different departments of State. Possibly the most ponderous pile of all is that which is deposited within handy reach of the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for War. Are not the Services chartered and inveterate grumblers? But what shall be said of the countless wails, pitched in every key of discontent, from that of the supplicating and expectant widow to that of the veteran who has grown bald and bronzed in his country's service under a tropical sky, which that other right honourable gentleman or nobleman, the Secretary of State for our Oriental Empire, is condemned to receive? Sometimes these documents contain threats of an action at law; sometimes they are piteous protests against the rate of exchange and the depreciation of the rupee; sometimes they are entreaties from a mother, whose husband has died a hero's death, that a berth of some sort may be found for her son. The outside communications chiefly received by the head of the Colonial Office are of a different character. Colonists being their own masters, and carrying with them wherever they go the representative institutions of the mother-country, have for the most part no troubles for which they seek redress at the capital of the empire. Yet they are not uncommunicative, and sometimes their communicativeness lapses into importunate garrulity. They have much information to give, and they give it freely without being solicited, on the character and wants of the various parts of the colonial dominions.

Much more often than might be supposed, the correspondents of the Colonial Secretary suggest fresh annexations of territory; there are even cases in which unemployed gentlemen, their hearts burning for adventure, apply for a charter for a filibustering expedition, the object of which is that the British standard may float over realms now held by the noble savage; while applications for concessions from companies and individuals are of course exceedingly common.

Let our inquiries once more range into a very august sphere. We are in the sanctum of the First Lord of the Treasury, the Prime Minister for the time being, no matter who he may be. The great man looks, with as much of a smile as his features can wear, over a sheet of post letter-paper, written in a large clear hand, or listens while his secretary tells him something of the contents of an epistle much interlined and underscored. What is the purport of the document? Let it be understood that all the eccentric letter-writers of the United Kingdom seem to select Downing Street as the point at which to discharge their missives. That the head of Her Majesty's Government should receive applications from some two or three gentlemen a week, who are anxious to edit his speeches, with possibly a brief introductory memoir; that he should be assailed by mysterious correspondents, who assure him that they have intelligence of the most vital moment to the realm, which they would communicate to him personally, since they fear to entrust it to paper; that he should be pestered by prayers for small places from obscure partisans and ecclesiastical preferment from hungry divines; that a considerable portion of the contents of his letter-bag should be the impudent petitions of pure mendicity, is reasonable, for in all these cases the statesman shares the common lot of exceptional eminence.

Of all Her Majesty's principal ministers of State, none are so much solicited by requests to receive deputations, and by general correspondence of an indescribably miscellaneous character, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary for the Home Department. Among those letters are some of the most useful and suggestive received in Downing Street. The departments and legislation of which these two ministers have charge render it desirable and necessary that they should have the minutest acquaintance with special demands and local requirements. A comparatively trivial alteration in the incidence of a tax may make all the difference between the imposition and the removal of a burden of discontent. Is it a licensing bill on which the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Home Department is engaged? Of course, the most exhaustive inquiry which official machinery can command into the wants and wishes of the people has been made before the measure was drafted. But the official eye is sure to overlook something. There are certain facts, certain exceptional conditions prevailing in particular districts,

which have somehow been ignored. These are formally communicated to the department which takes cognisance of them, are duly investigated, and very frequently have the effect of considerably modifying the ministerial measure. On the other hand, neither at the Home Office nor at the Treasury are the letters of impracticable crotcheteers and pragmatical hobbyists unknown. If preposterous proposals and impossible plans could have contributed to such a result, an efficient alternative to capital punishment would long ago have been discovered—nay, crime itself would have probably become extinct in the realm.

That which forms the most romantic portion of the ministerial letter-bag has still to be noticed. Diplomacy, as it is conventionally represented to us, is a darkly mysterious science, and not a few of the letters which find their way to the head-quarters of British diplomacy are of a corresponding character. If the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs were to believe all that his correspondents tell him, we should have had him living for a quarter of a century past on the brink of a volcano, whose eruption would have long since desolated the kingdom with the burning torrents of revolution let loose by foreign hands. But self-seeking adventurers and applicants for employment are among the most copious contributors to the Foreign Office letter-bag. Not merely at a time of European unrest, but in the midst of profound peace, there are scores and hundreds of ladies, as well as gentlemen, who profess themselves ready and able to reveal the clandestine designs of foreign governments, and to act as secret agents generally, for a modest honorarium. There is a conspiracy brewing in some obscure portion of the world which must, sooner or later, assume disastrous dimensions, and of which only the particular applicant can, by proceeding to the spot, at the public charge, give accurate intelligence; or it is highly desirable that the Government should send, *sub rosâ*, the writer on a mission to Bithynia; or their correspondent, A, B, or C, has had experience and possesses linguistic attainments which would make him invaluable in the employment of the Crown. In the diplomatic service and at the Foreign Office, the close system of nomination is exchanged for one of limited competition. The revolution, now nearly twenty years old, which threw open to free competition nineteen-twentieths of the civil appointments of the Crown, has in a measure served to diminish the public estimation of the prestige or mystery surrounding the official position. But the diplomatic service is still aristocratic, and the Foreign Office is still fashionable; and, as to the suitors for places and nominations who approach the Foreign Secretary with every kind of letter, is not their name legion?

CHAPTER XXII.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Prevalence of Parliamentary Ambition—Sensibly mitigated by Counter Attraction of Literature, Journalism, &c.—The Value of a Seat in Parliament—The Work which it entails—Inconveniences attending it—General Relations between M.P.'s and Constituents—Small and Large Constituencies—The House of Commons the "Manufactory of Statute Law"—On the Eve of a Great Debate—Characteristic Scenes in Passages and Lobbies—Scene in the House itself—Presentations of Petitions—How Notices of Motion are given—Balloting for Days—General Description of House—General Aspect of Members—Questions Answered—Business Begins—Preliminary and Personal—The Debate itself—The Orator—The Dinner Hour—Hostilities renewed—The Whip—The Division—Prevailing Excitement—The Prose of Legislation—Progress of a Bill from Introduction to Royal Assent—Qualities shown by Honourable Members in Committee—The Speaker: Functions and Position—Some Rules and Practices of the House—Motions—The House of Commons Clerks—Select Committees—House of Commons Oratory—Is it declining?—Excellences of House of Commons—Tastes of House and *Nuances*.

Every Englishman, Mr. John Morley has remarked in his work on "Compromise," is either actually or potentially a parliamentary candidate, and the political instinct is certainly still vigorous in the British breast. Whether, however, the desire on the part of English citizens to win a seat in the House of Commons is or is not on the decline, whether the House of Commons itself may not be suffering from other competing opportunities of political activity, are questions on which more than one opinion may be held. Five-and-twenty years ago a political career in England was necessarily a parliamentary career. If a man wished systematically to influence contemporary opinion on public affairs, he at once directed all his efforts to getting into the House of Commons. The pamphlet had already lost its power, political journalism was an imperfectly developed force, and the aspiring statesman, eager to address himself to the world, could only do so through the medium of the morning newspaper which reported his speeches. The position has now been materially modified. There are not only more political journals and more political writers; the writers in these journals are taken from a class to which they never before belonged. Journalism may not have yet completely lost, to the sense of the more fastidious, all disreputable associations, but the reproach against it is gradually dying out, and the stigma becoming fainter. The journalist has long since left his garret in Grub Street; he is not neces-

sarily educated for his vocation in squalor and poverty; he is the friend of influential personages, and is very possibly, quite apart from his pen, an influential personage himself. Then, if at the present day the pamphlet is an anachronism, some half-dozen collections of a dozen pamphlets each appear every month. The old quarterlies of party have been succeeded by the new monthly periodicals of culture. The review, instead of being the organ of a section, is a platform for the individual. To contest constituency after constituency is disagreeable and costly work. After many struggles success may not be attainable; and even when the House has been secured, political eminence and influence do not always follow. There are the whims and tempers of our six hundred kings to be studied; there is the risk of the hell of failure to be run. It is much easier, much less costly, much more satisfactory, to serve in the army of paper politicians.

Some notoriety and a small measure of capacity will secure for the aspirant to literature a place in one of the influential monthly organs of select opinion, in whose pages he may find himself elbowing a former Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, jostling against a group of lay and clerical disputants, or sitting next to an illustrious doctor of physical science. If the attention paid by some honourable gentlemen, when they address the House of Commons, to the reporters' gallery can be described as the homage of oratory to literature, the spectacle of well-known statesmen fighting grave political issues in the monthly magazines suggests and symbolises the triumph of the pen over Parliament. It is impossible to doubt that the multiplied opportunities which are placed at the disposal of the thoughtful statesman by editors and publishers, must have the effect of preventing many men who might otherwise be moved to do so from issuing their addresses at the forthcoming general election. The paper politicians, as we have called them, are a growing and a respectable class: the periodical invented for their wants gives them all the publicity they could desire, or they can at least afford to postpone their entry into the House of Commons till they have educated that assemblage up to their own professorial level.

But there are other and more generally cogent reasons which will probably tend to reduce the array of possible candidates for the House of Commons. The number of persons who think they have a political mission is strictly limited, and many men who go into, or who are ambitious of going into, the House of Commons, are animated by two motives—desire of social promotion, or of extended personal power. Now it is beginning to be very questionable whether the degree and kind of social promotion which a seat in Parliament brings with it are sufficient to compensate its possessor for the expenditure and worry which it entails. No senator and no senator's family were ever advanced to the rank of social sovereignty by the magic influence of the

letters M.P. The social aspirant who goes into the House of Commons very soon finds that the social accessories of St. Stephens are to a great extent an illusion. He may receive more invitations, and when he is being entertained by certain hosts may have the gratification of knowing that he secures greater attention; but he seldom succeeds in entirely changing his social level. His social position, in fact, is not so much enabled as emphasised. What holds good of the elective legislator himself is yet more strictly applicable to his family. If his wife and daughters were not in the way before of meeting peers, diplomatists, attachés, young men of birth and fashion and wealth, neither will they be in the way of meeting them now; if, on the other hand, they were, they will find their previous opportunities multiplied.

But the personal importance and the professional or commercial value of a seat in the House of Commons are unquestionable. To these must be added the essentially interesting nature of the occupation. The House of Commons is at once a mirror and a concentration of the national life. There is no rumour of any sort, social, commercial, diplomatic, or political which does not make its way into the lobby of the House, although it may not indeed reach the ears of all who throng that octagonal chamber. "Before the House," writes Mr. Palgrave,* "passes yearly every national anxiety. Whatever occupies the attention of this great empire makes its appearance there, be the subject trivial or important, be it the state of Ireland Bow or the conduct of a war. A parliamentary discussion also is sure to turn a subject inside out, and to disclose its precise nature. To hear this well done is no sorry amusement: intellectually it is a great gain. Moreover, the gossip of the house is of first-rate quality. To tell or to hear some new thing is the best place possible, nor are the new things repeated in Parliament only gossip. Passing events do not merely furnish talk to the House; they are a part of the history of our land." Here, then, we have a list of attractions sufficiently numerous to account for the popularity of the House of Commons, and to justify a certain limited acceptance of Mr. Morley's rather sweeping dictum. Hence it is that there is no lack of candidates to spend upon a parliamentary election an amount of money and trouble which, if placed in a sound commercial enterprise, would give the investor a competence for life. For these reasons are the abnormal hours and the severe labours which constituencies demand tolerated with equanimity for six months of the year. A member of Parliament who is desirous of doing his duty will often commence work a little before noon, only to leave off two or three hours after midnight. At twelve o'clock he will take his place in a committee-room, and sit there with a few interruptions until four. Then he is due at the House, and there he remains until long after the chimes announce

* "The House of Commons," by Reginald F. D. Palgrave, p. 45.

that a new day has begun. Add to this that before a member of Parliament can have learned the rudiments of his business, he must have mastered the contents of Sir Erskine May's "Parliamentary Practice"—about 800 pages in length and full of figures and facts—that if he wishes not to let the work of the session fall hopelessly into arrear, he must make the acquaintance of a pile of papers and blue books, some notion of the bulk of which may be formed from the fact that they average an annual total of eighty volumes; that there are also constantly coming before the House great commercial enterprises, affecting large private and public interests, such as the supply of water to towns and the making of railways; bear all this in mind, and it will be seen that during the session a member of Parliament who does his duty can have very little time which he may call really his own.

Besides his purely parliamentary labours, there are those which his private relations with his constituents involve. No mistress was ever more intolerably jealous and exacting of her lover than the ordinary constituency of its representative. The member of Parliament is never certain for six months or six weeks together of the loyal affection of his electors. The last time he was among them they received him with the most cordial and effusive of welcomes. Since then he has had letters from, or interviews in the lobby with some of the more influential of his supporters, from which he gathers that he has contrived to offend a sensitive but important section; he has forgotten that his borough is a place in which urban and county interests meet, and farmers and tradesmen both accuse him of having been indifferent to matters which are of vital importance to them. He has trimmed upon the Burials Bill. It seems very much as if he had ratted upon the County Suffrage; or he has not taken sufficient notice of the mayor of the town when that local potentate came up to London a few months ago.

On the other hand, the legislator who has won the confidence and affection of a smaller constituency is not required to pledge himself to the support of any very definite programme or any specific nostrums, as is the representative of an important borough, fully conscious of its own merits and power. So long as he generally attends to the local interests and business of the borough he will be allowed to do pretty much what he likes; but he must take care that he does not become a mere political abstraction to his electors. He may do what he will with his principles, but though his constituents are devotedly attached to the small borough member, even their fidelity is not proof against all temptation. If he leaves them alone too much he knows that he will have only himself to blame if things go wrong. And it is no laughing matter, in the thick of the session and the season, to be called upon once a fortnight to travel a hundred and

fifty miles to preside at a dinner of townsmen, or to take the chair at the annual feast of a friendly society.

But it is time that some idea should be given of the manner in which the business of the nation is transacted in the House of Commons. It is too early for the visitor to enter the popular Chamber of the Legislature, seeing that prayers, said daily by the chaplain, are not yet over. They are three in number, one for the Queen, another for the royal family, a third for the Commons, on behalf of whom it is supplicated that their deliberations may be conducted "without prejudice, favour, or partial affection." Then comes the collect beginning "Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings," and in less than ten minutes everything will be ready for work. If there is an important debate imminent, all the seats in the body of the House will have been occupied while the short religious service is in progress, for it is only by being present then that a member can take his place and establish a right to occupy it throughout the sitting. Before prayers, he may symbolise his appropriation of a seat by depositing in it his hat and gloves, or perhaps a bundle of papers. But it is only when prayers are over that he is permitted to place his card in the little brass frame in the back of the bench, and thus finally secure the seat for himself. The chaplain now leaves the House, walking backwards and bowing all the way. The Speaker takes the chair, and at the extremity of the table opposite him, the mace, which symbolises his presence and authority, is deposited by the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Meanwhile there is a busy scene to be witnessed, not merely in the House itself, but in those parts of the building which lead to it. The appearance of the Westminster lobbies may generally be taken as an accurate indication of the character of the debate impending or in actual progress; and the merest tyro may infer, from the composition of the crowds who throng the passages, whether it is Bible, or beer or Irish affairs which engage the attention of Her Majesty's "Faithful Commons" on any given afternoon or evening. If the first, he will see in the great Hall the passages and the ante-chambers populous with thronging groups of enthusiastic clergymen. If he made his way into the members' lobby, he would have seen the lay bishops of the House of Commons the centre of a demonstrative group of clerics. The scene on the occasion of any Bill which touches the licensing laws is equally typical. Perspiring publicans are seated at intervals along the line of approach to the senatorial sanctum. Some of these are chiefly anxious to gain an order for admittance: the majority are intent on more serious matters. On another occasion it is neither the public-house question nor the Church question which invites the attention of the elective legislature. We are to have an Irish evening, and the nationality of the imminent discussion is immediately shown in the composition of the knots of persons standing in and about the

members' lobby. Every variety of Hibernian accent is audible, from the thin, nipping brogue of Dublin to the rich broad roll of Cork. Some of these sons of the Emerald Isle are the correspondents of Irish newspapers, waiting, it may be, for any intelligence which they can pick up, or perhaps to receive from one of their compatriots who is going to enlighten the House that evening with his oratory, a full and correct report of the as yet undelivered speech. Others are possessed by a spirit of feverish anxiety to know whether certain petitions have been presented.

In the lobby of the House itself may be seen our elective legislators, in little knots of three or four, discussing with each other, or with friends and constituents, the events and the rumours of the hour; newspaper editors, who have the entrée of the place, button-holing some great man with a view of learning State secrets, and very frequently some occupant of the reporters' gallery, who is also a correspondent of a provincial journal, engaged in much the same process. The doors of the House are constantly swinging backwards and forwards. White-haired janitors guard the portal on either side; the air is full of the buzz of conversation, and all is motion and life. The spectacle visible inside the House itself is not one of less animation. Each successive foot of the green leather-covered benches is being occupied by gentlemen who have already left there the emblem of rightful possession, and who stream in one by one, and two by two, while private business is going on. This is the name given to all measures promoted by railway companies, gas companies, water companies, municipal corporations, or private persons. Everything that passes with reference to these Bills in the House of Commons is, with scarcely an exception, purely formal. The private Bill, after having been read a first and second time, the reading simply consisting of a motion that it shall be so read, is referred to a select committee, who pass the measure, send it back to the Commons for the third reading, from whom it goes to the Lords. Not much attention is therefore paid to the earlier proceedings of the parliamentary sitting. In about half an hour the public business, which is the real business of the evening, begins. The House of Commons is a great national court of grievance, and to these grievances its attention is drawn by petitions. On each side of the table hang bags in which the document in question is dropped. As a rule the presentation of a petition resolves itself into the inscription of its subject and its origin on two pieces of paper, which are sent to the reporters' gallery. A member of Parliament, however, has the right to declare, *vivâ voce*, who the petitioners are, and what their aim is. Further, he may insist that the whole document shall be read aloud, but not audibly, by one of the clerks at the table. The next stage in the proceedings is the giving of notices of motions. These notices may relate either to

questions, to resolutions, or to bills. As regards the first, notice of question is generally given by the member to the Minister, and this is for the most part done by the interrogant writing his question on a piece of paper, and handing it to the clerk at the table. As there are always many more members anxious to obtain a day for their motions than there are days available, it is necessary to resort to the process of deciding by ballot how these days shall be allotted. On the table of the House there lies a notice paper with a row of printed figures at the side; on this list members write their names. In a box before the clerk at the table are small bits of paper twisted up, bearing figures which correspond to those on the sheet. When, therefore, notices of motions are called, the clerk draws one of these pieces from the box and reads aloud its number, while the Speaker looking at the list in his hands, calls on the member whose name is written opposite the lucky figure. Hence it is a mere accident whether a private member obtains an opportunity for bringing forward a motion or not. There are only two days, Tuesday and Friday, in the week open for this purpose. Monday and Thursday are Government nights. On Wednesday, which like Tuesday and Friday is open to the private member, but for bills only, not motions, the discussion on any subject closes at a quarter to six o'clock.

Before the actual business of the evening commences, we may cast a glance round the House. We are now entering, let the reader suppose, through the door which opens immediately out of the lobby. Above us is the clock, and on either side, raised a little from the level of the floor, are rows of seats allotted to the secretaries of Ministers and other privileged persons. As the visitor looks straight in front of him—he is now advancing to that invisible line which runs from the capacious chair in which the Sergeant-at-Arms is enseonced to the seat opposite, called the bar, to which all persons, printers, writers, and others guilty of contumacy are summoned for breach of privilege—he will see rows of benches, covered with green leather, rising tier on tier on either side, while immediately opposite is the Speaker's chair, on a small daïs. Immediately beneath the Speaker are the three clerks at the table, who wear, by virtue of their office, whether they are or are not barristers, wigs and gowns. The benches on the Speaker's right hand are occupied by the Ministers and their supporters, those on the left by the Opposition—the members of the late Government being seated on the front Opposition bench, as the members of the present Government are on the front bench facing them. This row of seats is divided by a small interspace to admit of the passage to and fro of members, known as the gangway, and below the gangway sit the independent English members, and below them, as well as mingled with them, the Irish Home Rule members. Once more facing about, so as to be exactly opposite Mr. Speaker, we ele-

vate our eyes and see in the gallery—beneath which enter those members who wish to attract little notice, and which rises immediately above Mr. Speaker's throne—the representatives of the press, seated in two rows. Those who occupy the front boxes are the actual reporters, busy with their stenographic symbols; those seated behind them are either reporters waiting their turn, or leader-writers for the different newspapers listening to the debate. If you cast your eye still further up, in the direction of the roof, you will perceive an iron grating in the wall, whence there look out the faces of ladies. This, indeed, is the ladies 'gallery, better known as "the cage," and although many proposals have been made to do away with the railing which obscures their view, the step has always been resisted on the ground that it would tend to distract the attention of the members from their parliamentary duties.

Now let the reader suppose that he has ascended to that gallery in which are congregated the "gentlemen of the press." He is on a level with the two galleries in which members sit and watch the debates. Opposite him, and still on the same level, are a succession of galleries which require explanation. The first of these, that which directly overlooks the area of the House, is devoted to peers and ambassadors and other distinguished personages. Just behind this there are seats which the boys of Westminster School are allowed to occupy, and to which members of Parliament may sometimes introduce upon special occasions the more eminent of their friends. Behind this is the Speaker's gallery—two long rows of seats, closely packed, one may be sure, if a debate of any importance is expected; and behind this, again, is the strangers' gallery. Behind this there is a small compartment, fenced off by an iron railing—another ladies' cage—the Sergeant's gallery; the gallery of the Speaker's wife, for ladies, being the right-hand compartment of the cage looking towards the Speaker's gallery.

Already it is possible to form some notion of the personal appearance of the members of whom the House consists. They enter one after another, in all kinds of costumes, and with every sort of manner. The first thing which it is natural to remark is that the operation of the ballot has caused but little change in the aspect of the House of Commons. The parliamentary visitor will see sitting on either side of the Speaker's chair the same array of broad-acred squires and of successful merchants as he has observed any time during the last twenty years. The squires are not quite so numerous as they were. The barristers are more numerous. There are not, perhaps, quite so many young men as formerly. In the House of Commons elected in 1874 there were only a hundred members under forty years of age, of whom one-half were under thirty-five, while only sixteen were under thirty. Of the former of these—those under thirty-five—twenty were sons of

peers, whose election was mainly attributable to family influence. Among the Irish Home Rulers the proportion of young men was unusually large.

At the general election of 1880 about a hundred and twenty-five members under forty years of age were returned, of whom between seventy and eighty were under thirty-five, and eight-and-twenty were under thirty. Of those under thirty-five years of age nearly twenty were the sons of peers or the heirs-presumptive to peerages, and about a dozen were Home Rulers elected by constituencies in Ireland. Of those under thirty years of age eighteen were the sons of peers, one was the heir-presumptive to a peerage, and one was the son of the Prime Minister. Of the whole number of members under forty only about a fifth were Irish Home Rulers.

There are, indeed, men in the House of Commons who take to politics as a profession. They are the salt of the assemblage, and they alone will ultimately rise to the highest political distinction. But then these have abundant means of their own, and the fact remains that for the greater number the House of Commons is the glorified haven of men who have been successful in other pursuits. Not merely has the extension of the suffrage increased the polling-booths and the costlier parts of the electoral machinery, but in the lifetime of each Parliament members find themselves involuntarily compelled to spend more money in local charities and other institutions in the hope, if possible, of averting a contest. Again, even in the larger constituencies, where most of the expenses are paid by subscribers, there exists a distrust of youth, and the preference is given to the middle-aged gentlemen, especially if they happen to have been in the House of Commons before. The most costly seats of all are probably those for the metropolitan counties, in the case of which the object is to get a candidate who is a personage both in the City and in his suburban neighbourhood, or who is willing to pay for the possession of the continuation of the distinction which a seat for a metropolitan county confers.

The truth is that we see everywhere in politics what we have seen in society, the general substitution of the plutocratic principle for the aristocratic, although, as has been already pointed out, it is a plutocracy round which there have crystallised many of the prejudices and sentiments of aristocracy. Since the repeal of the Corn Laws the peerage has been increased by *more than eighty new creations*. Yet in the Houses elected in 1874 and 1880 there were not represented more than two-thirds of those peers who were represented in 1846. Here, then, is the evidence of the great change which has been accomplished. Whereas twenty years after the Reform Bill of 1832 there was scarcely any diminution in the total of peers' heirs in the Lower House, the diminution is now an accomplished fact. The conclusion

is, therefore, irresistible that the tendency will be more and more to regard titles without money as politically useless.

At the general election of 1874 five Irish peers, thirty-four eldest sons of peers, and forty-three younger sons of peers were returned. At the general election of 1880 three Irish peers, thirty-five eldest sons of peers, and forty-eight younger sons of peers were returned. Of these between forty and fifty sat in both Parliaments, and the majority of those who being still alive in 1880 were not re-elected had either succeeded to peerages or had been created peers themselves since 1874. About a couple of hundred of grandsons, nephews, and cousins, sons-in-law, brothers-in-law, and fathers-in-law, with other and more remote relations and connections of peers, were members of either Parliament at its commencement, a good many of them being baronets, of whom there are some seventy in the present, and were nearly the same number in the late, House of Commons.

The notices having been despatched, the time for the asking and answering of questions arrives. Most of these, it may be supposed, have neither urgency nor interest, but there are some from which it would seem from the replies given that an idea of the ministerial policy on matters of pressing moment may be formed. When we come to these, the murmur of talk is changed for comparative silence. The only sounds audible in succession are the voice of Mr. Speaker, who summons the questioner; of the questioner himself, of his ministerial respondent, of the crackling of paper as the gentlemen of the House of Commons turn over the leaves of the orders of the day, and of the deadened monotones of suppressed chatter in the distance. Supposing the answer to be one which clearly shows that her Majesty's Ministers have, or have not, decided to adopt a certain line of action in a matter of supreme national moment, there is sure to be a great demonstration of feeling. Very frequently, however, these interrogations relate to imaginary grievances and unfounded reports. There are many different ways of answering these—the circumlocutory, the evasive, the enigmatical, the humorous, the contemptuous, the solemn, the jocular, the courteous, the sarcastic. The questions over, the next thing is to pass to the order of the day. Let it be supposed that this order—the day being a Thursday, and consequently appropriated to ministers—is, that the House shall resolve itself into Committee of Supply, to which it is possible that an amendment has been proposed directly or indirectly raising the question of confidence in the Government. Now it is perfectly possible that before the gentleman who, having a night or two previously moved the adjournment of the House, has the right to open the debate has commenced to speak, another member may rise from his seat with an intimation that he wishes to bring before the Speaker, to whom every member does as a matter of form address himself, a question of order or privilege. This generally

portends that some purely personal episode is imminent. An honourable gentleman whose sentences are capitally constructed, and whose voice is clear and bitter, protests that he has been gratuitously vilified by a member outside or inside the House, and wishes to draw attention to the fact. After he has done, the incriminated senator explains what he said, why he said it, and what he meant. Then comes a wrangle of tongues, and sundry signs of tumult; first one member and then another bobs up his head, demanding silence and order. Tempers are becoming heated and patience exhausted. A politician who has an unpleasantly plain way of putting matters suggests that the real problem is whether A did or did not mean to insinuate that B ought to have his place in an unmentionable category of baseness. This brings things to a head: there are explanations, verbal refinements, compromises, and so without anything being really retracted or definitely denied, the matter drops, and, ruffled and agitated by the preliminary skirmish, the House addresses itself to the business of the night.

Calm and self-possessed amid a storm of cheers, mingled, it may be, with a few derisive sounds, the orator of the evening rises to his feet; his voice is low, his manner admirably collected. Before commencing his speech, he takes care to see that everything he may want in the course of its delivery—books of reference, sundry documents, and a tumbler of water—are within easy distance. All this he does as tranquilly as if he were about to sit down in the solitude of his study for a hard morning's work with his pen. Nothing can be more considerate than his opening language, nothing more reasonable or cogent than his earlier propositions. Presently something of a change comes over the spirit of his utterances. He has heard some side remark, he has been irritated by some ironical cheer, or by some aggressive "No, no." In a moment the speaker is transformed; the quiet and measured tones are exchanged for a vehement flow of rhetoric; protest follows protest, each clothed in language of new vigour and illustration is piled upon illustration. The display, which all admit is magnificent, comes to an end at last, and after the motion has been duly seconded by a political friend, there rises to answer from the ministerial bench a middle-aged gentleman of rather sleepy manner, who, however, gradually works himself into a state of artificial energy. In a statement which makes little pretence to rhetorical merit, and which, from beginning to end, is severely business-like, he endeavours to show that the statesman who opened the debate is wrong in his facts and untrustworthy in his conclusions. The speech of this gentleman, who is a Minister of State, possibly the leader of the House—though, as a rule, it is upon the leader of the House that the duty falls of replying on the whole discussion towards the small hours of the morning—occupies perhaps rather more than an hour.

It is now close upon half-past seven, and members commence to leave the House, intent upon dinner. Yet, though the benches are almost deserted, the tide of speech still rolls on. After an interval of about eighty minutes, the House gradually recovers from its condition of emptiness and languor. A brisk interchange of fire commences along the whole line of the two political armies. The sharpshooters stand forth, and in more or less animated harangues of twenty minutes endeavour to spread confusion among the ranks of their opponents, and the rest of the evening is occupied with a series of duels, in the conduct of which the chiefs of the two sets of combatants exercise their authority and give counsel.

All this time there have been busily moving in and out, never sitting down, and never absent from the House for many minutes together, four or five gentlemen, whose chief business, it seems, is to come in, look around, consult a piece of paper in their hands, make a memorandum, whisper a few words into the ear of some member, and then disappear, only to reappear and again to do precisely the same thing. These are the whips, three of whom are officials, while the other two act for the Opposition. It is the function of the whip to see that the members of his party are on the spot when a division is imminent, and that the debate is conducted according to the lines laid down. But he has other work than this to do. He must be imperturbable in his temper, unerring in his tact. If he can win a vote he must accept any number of snubs, and members generally are very fond of snubbing whips. He must observe everything and appear to observe nothing. He must be omniscient without being inquisitive. He will carry to the Prime Minister a faithful and particular report of all that he sees and hears, and the Prime Minister from that information will judge what he can or cannot achieve, and will regulate his policy accordingly. The Prime Minister may regard a Bill as the embodiment of a political principle; the whip looks at everything not in the light of a principle, but of a question.

The mere machinery by which a Treasury whip brings his men to the House is simple enough. At six o'clock he knows that an important division will be taken next day. He communicates with the person who acts as a kind of clerk to the Patronage Secretary of the Treasury, and who, be the Ministry Whig or Tory, preserves to each in turn on its accession to power a profound silence as to the tactics of its predecessor. This gentleman, on receiving his instructions, repairs to his office in King Street; the lithograph machines are set to work, and before the arrival of the post next morning the doubly, or trebly, or quadruply underscored notes are delivered with the parliamentary notices to honourable members. Having issued the whip, the great thing for the whip himself is to see that members do not slip through his fingers. Hence he may have to scour the clubs,

as well as to guard religiously the portals of the Senate. Further, while the model whip must be vigilant as Cerberus and as active as an acrobat, he must be careful not to seem the despot he really is. He must be absolutely incorruptible, and that in the midst of transactions which have a flavour of jobbery about them. He must exercise the same judgment in deciding who and what are the proper objects of assistance from the private funds of the party—a candidate, it may be, in the costly struggle of a contested election, or possibly a newspaper in the depths of chronic impecuniosity. Nor must the Treasury whip merely pay studious heed to the convenience and even the caprice of the ministerial flock. It is necessary that he should cultivate the good opinion of his opponents, and it is especially necessary that he should be in the confidence of the gentleman who, as his personal rival on the Opposition benches, is the candidate for the post which he himself holds.

But let us suppose that the hostilities are now practically concluded, and that the final issue is about to be decided. The Speaker has for the last time put the question. The cry, "Division! 'vision! 'vision!" has been rung out by the doorkeepers and police. The division bells have been set ringing from one end of the vast building to the other. Scouts have been despatched in swift hansoms to the clubs to collect laggards and deserters, and diners and smokers at the St. Stephen's Club, hard by, have been startled by the sudden sound of the electric alarum. They have mustered at last, and a closely packed phalanx has been collected under the Peers' gallery. The final order is given—ayes to the right and noes to the left. Slowly and quietly do they file out into their respective lobbies. The doorkeepers come in, see that no member is left behind, peer under the benches, and lock the doors. In the course of two or three minutes they begin to defile on their return journey through the re-opened portals. At last, in the space perhaps of a quarter of an hour, the House is completely re-filled. The four tellers, bowing at every step, march up to the Speaker's table, and the result is known. The Government have a majority of nearly two to one. It is an hour past midnight, an hour at which some latitude is to be expected and allowed. The spirit of the schoolboy lives in the breast of many a middle-aged M.P. Leaps are made from the floors to the benches, huzzas are heard. No one knows what representative government is till he has beheld, on an exciting issue, a division in the House of Commons.

But it is not to be supposed that the House always transacts its business at this point of high pressure, and if we wish to see what are its more normal condition and atmosphere we must visit it upon a less stirring occasion. The House of Commons is the manufactory of statute law, and its first business is to legislate. It will, therefore, be not amiss briefly to glance at the various stages in the progress of a

Bill through Parliament, from the moment of its introduction until it receives the royal assent. It has many vicissitudes to encounter and many risks to run. First comes the oral statement of the purport of the measure—technically known as the request for leave to introduce it—made by its promoter, who afterwards appears at the bar of the House and is summoned by the Speaker. Then follows the first reading; and though the measure might be opposed at this period, it is seldom, or never, that such opposition is forthcoming. The real contest begins when, probably in about three weeks from this date, the motion is made that the Bill be read a second time. The debate which arises on the second reading of any measure submitted to Parliament gathers round the principle of the proposed legislation, and if that legislation is not vetoed then, the project, though it may be materially modified in committee, is not likely to be ultimately rejected. Let it, then, be assumed that a Bill has passed the stage of its second reading—and if the measure is of great importance, the debate which will have attended this consummation will have been full of interest and excitement—and that the motion before the House at the present moment is that the assembled members resolve themselves into committee, or, as the Speaker puts it, that "I do now leave this chair." Here the opposition which was possible on, and even before, the first reading of the Bill, and which was very likely actively forthcoming on the second reading, may be renewed. Another long debate may ensue, amendments may be proposed which deny the expediency of any legislation at all, or insist that if legislation be forthcoming it shall assume a different shape. The babel of tongues is once more heard and the familiar scene of rhetorical controversy is repeated. At last the motion is carried, and the House of Commons has affirmed by a majority—though, of course, there need not have been any division on the subject at all—the proposal to go into committee, and to replace the Speaker for the time being by the Chairman of Ways and Means. There is little visible difference except the substitution of the latter for the former officer of the House, between the Commons in committee and in ordinary debate. The step taken is an historical survival of the old days of the Tudor and the Stuart despotism. "The exclusion of the king's emissary and spy—their Speaker—was the sole motive why the Commons elected to convert themselves into a conclave called a committee, that they might meet together as usual, but without his presence." *

Every clause of the measure now before the House is gone through; amendments are forthcoming, are accepted by the Government or by the authors of the Bill, or are rejected and divided on, as the case may be. Sometimes it happens that an amendment is passed in committee and is carried which affects a vital point in the measure and

* "The House of Commons," p. 11.

materially alters its character. In this case the member who is specially charged with the interests of the Bill will perhaps rise and propose to report progress—in other words, that the House shall resume—so that he may have an opportunity of consulting with his colleagues. Nothing can exceed the thoroughness, and occasionally the pertinacity, exhibited in committee of the whole House. Sometimes there are set speeches made, which were, perhaps, intended to be delivered on the occasion of the second reading of the measure, but for which the opportunity could not be found. For the most part, however, the discussion is conversational, members speaking not for effect, but simply with an eye to business. No student of the House of Commons on these occasions can fail to be struck by the ready amount of varied and practical knowledge which its members display. Honourable gentlemen whose voices are seldom or never heard in the course of great debates, rise up again and again—for when the House is in committee there is no limit to the number of times which a member may speak—and are found to have a minute acquaintance with and a grasp of the subject which were but little suspected. It may be lightly said of a particular House of Commons that it is the reverse of brilliant. But whether this reproach has or has not any truth, it may be affirmed with confidence that no House of Commons ever sits at Westminster which does not creditably reflect the intelligence of the nation, and the members of which, if they are not heaven-born statesmen, fail to display a singularly creditable aptitude for, and insight into, public affairs.

Our imaginary Bill is now so far advanced on the high road towards becoming an Act that it has emerged from committee modified, we may hope improved, but still substantially the same measure as when it was read a second time. The Speaker is once more in his chair, and the motion which he proposes to the House is, that the Bill, as amended in committee, shall be received. Here, again, the opportunity of opposition is renewed, nor is this the last chance that the more obstinate opponents of the measure may have of thwarting it. Having gone through the Commons, the Bill will be sent up to the Lords, and the Upper House will have precisely the same power of rejecting or modifying it that the Lower House has enjoyed. But the people's representatives do not surrender their right of veto upon any changes which may have been insisted on in the measure by the hereditary legislators. The Bill once more formally comes before them, and the Commons are invited to pronounce upon the Lords' amendments. Granted that even this further ordeal is over, and that nothing remains save the formal bestowal of the royal assent for the measure to become law, that will be given upon some future day. One afternoon while petitions are being presented in the House of Commons, a rumour suddenly runs round the benches that there is

a message from the Lords. In a moment the door of the House is closed, three loud knocks against it are heard, and it is known that Black Rod demands admittance. The doorkeeper, who has previously slammed the portal in the face of this august official, now opens a wicket, like that of a Freemasons' lodge, peers out at Black Rod through it, next unlocks the door, and proclaims in a loud voice to the assembled Commons, "Message from the Lords." Then the door opens to admit a gentleman with a cocked hat in one hand, and a sceptre in the other, habited in black breeches, who walks with a bow at every step up the House, till he finds himself opposite the Speaker, the Speaker himself rising to receive him and returning the reverential salute. He then informs "this Honourable House" that the Lords desire its presence to hear the royal assent given to some Bills. After having delivered his message he retires, walking backwards from the Commons' Chamber, bowing all the way, a feat not to be accomplished without considerable practice, as well as natural aptitude. The next thing is for the Sergeant-at-Arms to lift the mace from the table, and to lead the way to the bar of the Peers' Chamber, followed by the Speaker, who is the representative in his own person of the collective assemblage over which he presides. Now may be witnessed in the body of the Peers' Chamber a curious and interesting sight. On the woolsack is seated the Lord Chancellor, as the chief of the commissioners to whom the Queen has delegated that attribute which makes her supreme over the national legislature. The keeper of Her Majesty's conscience wears a triangular cocked hat on his wig; the other peers composing the commission wear those cocked hats which are best known as fore-and-aft, and are also clad in their scarlet robes. Presently there advance from the table two clerks, one of whom reads the commission, in which it is declared that the Sovereign entrusts her royal prerogative, upon the present occasion, to these her well-beloved Lords, and as each peer's name is recited, he raises his hat. Then, last of all, the formula is uttered with the traditional pronunciation which is not exactly that of Parisian French, "La reyne le veult." If the measure happens to be a money Bill, the phrase used is, "La reyne remercie ses bons sujets, accepte leur benevolence, et ainsi le veult."

The Speaker cannot leave the chair of the House of Commons until the adjournment is formally moved; and there is a story told, which is perfectly true, of a distressing, or rather humourous contretemps, which once occurred towards the close of a sitting of the House. It was long past midnight, the House was deserted, except by the Speaker himself. He, however, sat on, and seemed likely to continue to sit on, for no member had formally moved the adjournment; nor could he be released from this durance until a senator, recalled from his homeward course, had brought forward the necessary motion in

the appropriate phraseology. Mr. Speaker Denison, writes Mr. Palgrave on this incident, was, "during those minutes of detention, doing penance for the misdeeds of his predecessors, because Speaker Finch, or Speaker Seymour, obliging their royal master, and disobeying the wish of the House, had often abruptly stopped debate by hurriedly 'pattering down' from their chair, and away out of the chamber; practices which, centuries ago, compelled the Commons to establish as a rigid rule, that come what may, their adjournment must ever be upon a motion put from the Chair, with every consequent formality." Instead of their being any jealousy of the Speaker now as the representative and custodian of kingly power, there exists an immense respect for his office. In magnifying his authority, the Commons are indeed magnifying their own. Disrespect to him is disrespect to the House. He is the depositary of the collective dignities, rights, and privileges of members. Hence his ruling is seldom if ever demurred to; and the member who did not comport himself deferentially to the Chair would be held to have sinned against the unwritten law of the House. Advised by counsel, it is necessary that he should be an authority on matters of constitutional law, and that he should be infallible on all matters of parliamentary procedure. In this last task he is much assisted by the Chief Clerk at the table. He has authority over the wording of all motions, and of all questions put or proposed to be put by members to the Government; and it is his duty to see that no debatable matter, and nothing which can be construed as directly involving an argument or an inference, is imported into them. The powers which the Speaker possesses, and the willingness of the House to support him in their exercise, were strikingly exemplified in the session of 1881. What ordinarily occurs when the sitting of the House has come to an end is, that the Speaker, rising from his chair, bows, not, as might have been supposed, to the leader of the House, but to the Secretary of the Treasury, who acts as his adjutant, and who returns the obeisance. Immediately after this is audible the cry, "Who goes home?"—a relic of those times when members used to make up parties for the homeward journey to protect themselves against the attacks of highwaymen. The police in the lobbies, however, do not echo this shout, but simply announce "House is up."

Something must be said about a few of the chief rules and practices of the House of Commons. Except when making a personal explanation or on a question of privilege, no member can address the House unless there is before it a substantive motion. If, therefore, he wished to direct its attention to a particular matter formerly, if he desired generally to attack the conduct of the Government, and had had no opportunity for doing so in the course of regular debate, he put himself in order by rising after the questions had been asked, and

announcing at the commencement of his remarks that he would conclude with a motion. This motion was one for the adjournment of the House, and it was theoretically open to members to bring it forward whenever they thought fit. But inasmuch as it involved a considerable loss of time, there was always the strongest feeling against resorting to the expedient, save upon the most pressing urgency; and unless the occasion was extremely grave, or the reputation and popularity of the member moving the adjournment such that they could submit to a very considerable strain, the experiment was made amid a storm of angry and disapproving shouts. Of late years, however, it has been found necessary to adopt stricter and more formal measures for the prevention of obstruction and the restraint of refractory members. Under certain standing orders, passed in a session specially convened for their settlement in the autumn of 1882, no motion for adjournment can now be made until all the questions on the notice paper have been disposed of, or before the orders of the day or notices of motion have been entered on, except by the leave of the House, or unless "a member rising in his place shall propose to move the adjournment for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of public importance, and not less than forty members shall thereupon rise in their places to support the motion." And if fewer than forty but not fewer than ten members shall so rise, the House "shall on a division upon question put, forthwith determine whether such motion shall be made." Moreover, when a motion is made for the adjournment of the House or of a debate, or that the chairman of the House in Committee do leave the chair or report progress, the discussion thereupon "shall be confined to the matter of such motion, and no member having moved or seconded any such motion shall be entitled to move or second any such motion during the same debate." It is also competent to the Speaker or chairman of the House in Committee, if he is of opinion that any such motion is an abuse of the rules of the House, to put the question at once and thus immediately to end all controversy concerning it. But the House almost always adjourns if news suddenly reaches it of any very touching or terrible event. It did so when the news of the murder of President Lincoln arrived, and much more recently, when it was announced that one of its members had just expired in the Library.

The Speaker has, among many other duties, three particular functions to discharge. In the first place, he has to see that the debate does not stray hopelessly from its original subject; in the second, that none of the laws of parliamentary courtesy or business are infringed; in the third, it rests with him very much to arrange the plan of a debate. As regards the first, it has been recently illustrated in a case spoken of by Mr. Palgrave, when the subject of the discussion was the silk duty. A member seized on the occasion for the purpose

of delivering an harangue denouncing the love of money and its deteriorating effects on the national character. The Speaker then interposed, and endeavoured to guide the discussion back to its proper channel; a second diversion took place when another member drew attention to the taxes imposed on corks, and the Speaker interfered again; a third time, the discussion rambled off from silk to the state of commerce generally, and once more the Speaker mildly protested. As regards the primary duty of the Speaker, he has been comparatively seldom, until the year 1881, called upon to exercise his authority. As regards the third of his attributes, the management of debates, it is one in which impartiality is absolutely essential, and usually it is a matter of arrangement and co-operation with the whips on both sides. The theory, of course, is that a member wishing to speak has only to catch the Speaker's eye, and to receive his nod; but, as a matter of fact, it is pretty well known and settled beforehand whom the Speaker will contrive to see. The member in question has either intimated directly to the Speaker his wish to take part at a particular stage in a particular debate, and has received his consent, or else, having mentioned the matter to the whip of his party, has secured for himself a place on the list of speakers, which is suggested to the occupant of the chair. Every member, when speaking, is obliged to stand with his head uncovered, unless, indeed, he happens to draw attention to something connected with the division while the division is actually in progress, in which case he speaks sitting and covered. Private members have, as has been already said, the right to bring forward their motions on those nights on which the order is Supply. Now Supply can only be granted in committee; therefore, the first thing to be done is for the Speaker to put the question, when the words Supply Committee are read by the clerk at the table, "That I now leave the chair." Upon this the member who has precedence with the motion of which he has given notice rises up and bows. The Speaker then puts to the House, as an amendment to the question, "That I now leave the chair," the proposal to insert after the word "that" the motion to be brought forward by the particular member, instead of the words, "I now leave the chair." The Speaker continues in his place, and the motion of the private member is accepted or rejected, as the case may be. Supposing that there are other motions on the paper, and that there is time to discuss them, it is one of the rules of the House that they should not be divided on, the explanation being that the House has already decided that the question shall be put, that the Speaker shall leave the chair, that it cannot reconsider the decision, and this being impossible, that there is no way of moving an amendment, which is the form technically assumed by every motion on Supply.

As the Speaker is the great leviathan of the House of Commons,

the incarnation and the tutelary governor of its dignities, rights, and privileges, so the Sergeant-at-Arms is the officer who guards his personal majesty—and therefore that of the House—while the clerks, at whom we glanced in our hurried bird's-eye view of the chamber, are his agents and deputies. Though there are only three clerks actually sitting at the table of the House of Commons, the staff of House of Commons clerks includes a great many more. There are indeed no fewer than four distinct offices in the House, each furnished with a clerkly staff numbering some six or seven. Of these the first is the Public Bill Office, which receives and examines public Bills, is responsible for correct printing, and the insertion of all amendments; the Journal Office sees that the diary of the House is properly drawn up from the votes, and also by keeping an account of these votes acts as a check on the Treasury; the Committee Office keeps the Minutes, and sends clerks to the Committees. The record of the business of the House of Commons actually despatched is known by the name of Minutes, while the Order Book relates to the impending business; both are in the hands of the clerks. As regards the private Bill procedure, it is the duty of the Private Bill Office to see that these measures are in proper form, and the Speaker's counsel looks through them to ascertain that there is no informality. In addition to the subjects already mentioned, all questions relating to naturalisation and devolution of estates comes within its jurisdiction. In addition to the Committee on Petitions, there are several other committees which meet periodically during the session. Of these the most popular and the best attended is the Committee on Kitchen and Refreshments, the only one at which members are allowed to smoke, and which meets on Wednesday afternoons, when the House of Commons is sitting, though its proceedings only become of any great interest or importance when discussions of an exceptionally stormy character are expected. With the exception of this committee, these bodies generally assemble on Monday or Thursday, Tuesday or Friday. The nomination of members of Parliament to sit on them practically belongs to the under-whips on the two sides. Altogether there will probably be sitting at the height of the session from fifteen to twenty committees, many of them being, of course, select committees to which Bills are referred, and whose deliberations immensely assist the progress of parliamentary business. Under the standing orders of 1882 two grand committees have been appointed during each of the last three sessions, for the consideration of Bills relating to law, the courts of justice, and legal procedure, and to trade, shipping, and manufactures. They consist of not less than sixty or more than eighty members, who are nominated not by the House, but by the Committee of Selection, and who are chosen on account of their supposed familiarity with the subjects which are to be referred to them.

The mode of conducting business in the grand committees is partly that of select committees, and partly that of committees of the whole House. It cannot be said that they have altogether fulfilled public expectation as a means either of saving time or of enlisting the services of experts in the work of special legislation. But in both respects it may be conceded that they have accomplished much, although they have not achieved all they at first appeared capable of achieving, and it is at least certain that such measures as the new Bankruptcy Act and the new Patent Act could scarcely have been passed in a single session without their assistance.

Canning was called by John Wilson ("Christopher North") "the last of the rhetoricians," and often, since his death, the complaint has been heard that the art of parliamentary eloquence is extinct. It has been said that "there are long speeches, sarcastic speeches, and crack speeches; but they are not such speeches as fell from the lips of Burke, Pitt, and Fox, or, more recently still, from Canning and Brougham." The truth of this remark may be frankly admitted; let us endeavour to explain the conditions which may be held to account for the fact. In the first place, it is as unreasonable to expect the oratory of Burke, Pitt and Fox, or of Canning and Brougham, in a Parliament elected under household suffrage, as it would be to expect their policy. The policy of an Administration depends upon the character of the House of Commons for the time being; so, too, must the standard of parliamentary oratory. "The grand debate, the popular harangue," which we look for and find in the Georgian era of parliamentary eloquence, existed under a condition of things which cannot be recalled at will. Instead of the real opposition between Whig and Tory, at a time when they differed on fundamental principles, and were perpetually challenging each other on momentous issues that struck at the root of government, we seem to have little more now than the antagonism between the ins and the outs. From the Exclusion Bill to 1714, Whigs and Tories were separated by the disputed succession of a Popish sovereign. Later on, in the days of Lord Melbourne even, there was the controversy between the country gentlemen and the commercial class—the former complaining that the corruption exercised by the latter upon the Government was fatal to the best interests of the realm. From the days of George III. to William IV. Whigs and Tories were mutually distinguished by different views of the royal prerogative. Moreover, the time was eminently calculated to inspire patriots and politicians with great thoughts, and with noble language in which to express them. The existence of England as a nation was menaced, and even domestic policy was debated from an imperial standpoint. The situation was full of dignity and danger. Men rose to it unconsciously, and the entire atmosphere was ennobling. When the thirty tyrants at Athens wished to check the flood

of Attic eloquence, they reversed the *bema* on the Pnyx, so that the speaker should no longer catch his inspiration from the prospect of the sea, the scene of the greatest Athenian triumphs. The simple historic circumstance remains for all ages the symbol of the influence which national spirit must exercise over national eloquence. Year after year the tendency asserts itself more and more with the constituencies to send to Parliament as their representatives men who are rather specialists than statesmen. The favoured candidate is he who has made a particular study of some particular branch of political or social knowledge; who is master of the whole question of local taxation; who is versed in all the mysteries of poor-law administration; who is conversant with Bank Currency and Consolidated Funds; with drains and sewers; with School Boards and the new Educational Code. And this is inevitable. The British elector, in showing himself more or less a believer in the philosophy of Mr. Gradgrind, is true to the practical spirit of his very practical age. There is little or no scope for the exercise of imagination or the display of taste in the arena of political discussion. What the House of Commons has for the most part to consider, are not so much broad questions of policy, or great problems which lie at the root of society and government, as technical points of political economy, and dry and minute details of commercial and industrial arrangement. The machine of government has grown terribly complex; its movement is necessarily less rapid. It would be unreasonable to expect from those who regulate it the rush and vigour of the age of Pitt and Fox.

Again, the House of Commons is necessarily, in a sense, the educational mirror of the nation, and its speakers naturally reflect the dominant intellectual influences of their day. The present age is one of educational transition. The literary and, above all, the classical lines of the past are being deserted. The expulsion of the Muses from the national curriculum is rapidly becoming an accomplished fact, and the goddess Scientia is being enthroned in their place. The chief cause of the richness and elegance of the general standard of debate which formerly existed in the Commons was the education which its members received. The groundwork of that education was literary; the intellectual influences, to which they were from the first subjected, were classical. Eloquence and oratory are essentially Greek and Roman arts, and our first statesmen have without exception learned them from the Greek and Roman models. The entire atmosphere of the House was suffused, as it were, with a classical aroma. The ablest metaphors, the happiest repartees were drawn from the classical storehouse.

But if we have seen the last of the school of literary and classical speakers, there is no reason whatever to anticipate a decline in the

debating power of the popular chamber of the legislature. There may be less of art or artifice, but there is no diminution of vigour, nor is there any slackness of appreciation on the part of the people's representatives of really good speaking. The House of Commons is always profoundly impressed by anything which strikes it as unlaboured and natural. Hence the great success of Mr. Bright's speeches in Parliament as elsewhere; they are instinct with genuine pathos, a pathos which is dependent not merely on the wonderful simplicity of the language itself, but on the tone and manner of the speaker. On the other hand, there is nothing which the House of Commons objects to more than the assumption of infallibility on the part of any of its members. The House is in this, as in many other things, a reflection of the most strongly pronounced traits in our national character. The feelings which dominate the public school, the regiment, the college, the profession, and any other society of Englishmen of whatever age, are also those which are represented in the House of Commons. Simplicity, directness, business-like despatch —all these are qualities eminently valuable in the eyes of members of Parliament. There is no reproach greater than that of exaggerated self-sufficiency to be brought against one of the representatives of the people. Just as the House dislikes above everything the man who shows that he is free from every kind of doubt or scruple upon every subject, so also does it show the sentiment of its dislike in an unmistakable manner. The stubborn member who will not yield to its collective will when indubitably expressed, the member who speaks with the affectation of dogmatic certainty on all subjects, the member who is under the influence of strong animosities, the member who has a bad temper, or who is without the gift of concealing it, usually fails in parliamentary life. It must always be recollected that English politics are free from that acerbity which infuses the venom of bitterness into the political life of France, and that political differences do not operate as any bar to personal good will.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Reasons for treating the House of Lords after the House of Commons—Reasons why the Proceedings of the Peers have latterly increased in Interest and Importance—Class of Questions in which the House of Lords from its Composition is specially competent to instruct the Public—General Relations between the Two Houses—Legislative Activity of the Lords—Difficulties of Young Peers—The House of Lords in Action—Inside the House—Points of Difference from Commons—The Whips—Questions—Progress of Debate—General Conduct of Business—Questions of Possible Reforms—Future of Parliament.

If considerations of dignity and of fidelity to the letter of the Constitution had influenced us, we should not have given priority of treatment to the House of Commons over the House of Lords. But our purpose is to show the British Constitution actually at work, not to analyse its component parts in a state of quiescence. The practical business of Parliament is to maintain the government and to legislate. Neither can be done apart from the House of Commons; and if that House has made up its mind as to the way in which either the one or the other task is to be accomplished, it may be predicted with certainty that the House of Lords will eventually shape its course accordingly. But to say this is not to imply that in its own particular sphere the House of Lords is subordinated to the House of Commons. As a matter of fact, during the last ten years an unusually large number of national measures have originated in the chamber of our hereditary legislators; it has been the scene of many debates of great moment and of rare excellence; it has witnessed the rise and development of one or two parliamentary reputations on a more striking scale than the House of Commons has known. The statesmanship, the oratory, the wisdom, and the debating power of the Peers will compare favourably with the best standard of the Commons. It was Sir Robert Peel's opinion that the statesman primarily responsible for the conduct of her Majesty's Government could not possibly discharge all the duties of his position in the House of Commons; and in an address which he delivered at Aylesbury just before he was raised to the peerage, Lord Beaconsfield may be said to have endorsed and emphasised this judgment of his ancient foe. Further, there is the noticeable fact that half of the Select Committee known as the Cabinet, which initiates the

legislation of the country, and on whose conduct the fate of the Government and parties depends, have seats in the House of Lords.

Again, the character of the debates in which the House of Lords has been principally engaged has been favourable to the display of those peculiar qualities which secure a strong influence for the Peers over public opinion. Knowledge is power; and where knowledge is, authority is sure to drift. To address the House of Lords on certain questions is to address a jury of experts. Not only is there represented in that House all the matured wisdom and ripe experience of the Commons, added to all that is most characteristic of the traditions, pride, and prejudice of the peerage: but among those who take their place in the ranks of our hereditary legislators are men who have controlled important dependencies of the Empire, and who have acquired an insight, by long residence in foreign capitals, into the diplomatic secrets of European Cabinets, and into the hidden tendencies of the popular will—former and future ambassadors, the governors of great colonies, generals who have held the highest military commands, viceroys who have administered our Indian possessions, in comparison with which the British Isles are but as a speck in the ocean; these, to say nothing of men who have been steeped in the atmosphere of statesmanship and office from their infancy, are prominent in the House of Lords in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Hence, seeing that in the past few years foreign policy has been a conspicuous theme in parliamentary debate, the proceedings of that assembly have acquired a new interest and importance. Granting that the average of rhetorical skill in both Houses is pretty nearly equal, the average of superior merit is higher in the Lords than in the Commons. Further, the speeches made in the former have not only been often better than those made in the latter, they have often been better reported; first, because, as a rule, they are shorter; secondly, because they are, as a rule, delivered much earlier. Only on three occasions previous to the conflict which has been witnessed this year, has there been since the Reform Bill of 1832 any appearance or danger of a collision between the two Houses of Parliament. The first of these was in 1860. On May 21st, the House of Lords had thrown out the Bill for the remission of the paper duty by a majority of 89. The Opposition was successfully led by the venerable Lord Lyndhurst, who, on his eighty-first birthday, spoke with all the eloquence and acumen which had made him famous half a century before. The question was whether the Peers had a right to reject a money Bill. It was admitted that they had no right so to amend a money Bill as to change the amount or incidents of taxation in any degree. On the other hand, it was shown by Lord Lyndhurst that the right now claimed by the Peers of rejection had been exercised before, and was logically implied in the discussion by the House of Lords of such measures.

These arguments were not replies to the contention that it was inexpedient to assert the right, and as is generally the case when a consideration of technical legality arises, the controversy was ultimately decided, not by the division in the House of Lords, but on the broad grounds of constitutional policy and prudence. The matter was first relegated to a committee, and then settled by Lord Palmerston's resolutions of July 5th, 1860. It is only necessary to mention by name the second and third instances in which differences between the Houses of Lords and Commons have menaced a parliamentary deadlock. Of these one occurred when the Bill for the disestablishment of the Irish Church was going through Parliament in 1868, and the Peers ultimately giving way. The other took place three years later, when their lordships rejected the Bill for the abolition of purchase in the army. Since then, until the present year, there has been no really serious hitch in the amicable relations of the two Houses.

It is to be observed also that the recent debates in the House of Lords have not only been in many cases of a high order of excellence, but that they have introduced to public attention a larger proportion of capable candidates for political eminence comparatively, if not absolutely, than has been seen in the House of Commons of late years. This is the more remarkable, seeing that the number of those who habitually take part in parliamentary debate is much smaller in the House of Lords than in the House of Commons. In the latter the total may perhaps, roughly speaking, be fifty, in the former it is probably not more than fifteen. Further, difficult as it may be for a young and untried man to get the ear of the House of Commons, that difficulty is very much greater in the House of Lords. The young peer rises full of suppressed fire and enthusiasm, to meet with as chilling a reception as a well-bred audience can give. He is ignored; he is silenced by a general undertone of conversation; or he finds that he is defeated by the peculiar acoustic qualities of the chamber in which he essays to speak. It is a different thing if he belongs to a family traditionally famous in parliamentary annals. If he is a Duke of Richmond, a Marquis of Salisbury, an Earl of Derby, Carnarvon, or Clarendon, or the representative of any other great political house, he will be sure of attention. But at all times the sphere of active statesmanship in the House of Lords has conformed to the conditions of a close borough, and unknown aspirants to parliamentary fame have not been encouraged, and have proclaimed their ambition only to insure collapse. To a great extent this is due to the fact that the House of Lords is always more or less under the domination of one or two peers of exceptional eminence and force of character, although nothing like the dictatorship which, in times past, Lord Thurlow, Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Lyndhurst exercised can now be found. There is undoubtedly a growing tendency among

their lordships to give the rising talent of their House a chance, and this tendency has already had the happiest results.

For the purpose of acquiring a general view of the House of Lords, its chief members, and the manner in which business is conducted therein, let the reader accompany us thither in imagination on any afternoon during the session. It is essential that the weather should be fine, for the Chamber of Peers is dependent upon the beams of the sun for its picturesqueness of effect. It is five o'clock, and in another place—the House of Commons—work has been going on for three-quarters of an hour. Most of the gentlemen strolling through St. James's Park in the direction of Palace Yard, or dismounting from carriage and horse there or at the entrance to St. Stephen's from the side of Poets' Corner, are peers, and from their number it may be inferred that an interesting or an important debate is expected. The House is beginning gradually to fill as the visitor takes his seat, not behind the bar, nor in front of the House—positions the best for the purpose of hearing, but the worst for purposes of vision—but in the front row of the strangers' gallery. The afternoon sun pours in through the painted windows, illuminating the gilding of the decorations and bathing in lustre the blue carpet with its prince's feathers of gold, and the crimson morocco of the benches. If there is something barbaric in the hues and patterns, there is some effect of historic dignity in the statues of the famous founders of noble houses which adorn the niches in the wall, and under which are inscribed names immortal in our national history. On each side of the chamber, save the side allotted to reporters, is the Peeresses' gallery—that structure against which Lord Redesdale so emphatically protested, on the ground that it would make the House of Lords like a casino. If gay dresses can produce this result there is certainly some danger of Lord Redesdale's apprehension being fulfilled. Given only fine weather and an attractive debate, and the Peeresses' gallery will be a *parterre* of elaborate and multi-coloured toilettes, rivalling in their resplendent variety the innumerable tints which the decorative taste of Barry has impressed upon the architecture of the fabric.

It is not only in these respects—sumptuous ornamentation, and the presence of ladies full in the sight of assembled legislators—that the interior of the House of Lords presents such a contrast to the House of Commons. There is an air of agreeable abandon in the mien and deportment of their lordships. The countenances of the members of the House of Commons have for the most part a look of anxiety or preoccupation. They enter their chamber like men oppressed with the consciousness of responsibility, burdened by a despotism of immutable laws and rigid etiquette. There is nothing of the sort in the House of Lords—no painful evidence of the thraldom of ceremonial rules or customs, or of the ruthless sacrifice of pleasure to duty. The

whole atmosphere is redolent of well-bred *nonchalance* and aristocratic repose. For instance, there is in theory a Speaker of the House of Lords, called, though he always is, the Chancellor, just as there is a Speaker of the House of Commons. But the functions of the two are separated by a gulf which is conclusive as to the difference of their relative positions, and also as to the spirit in which the business of the two Houses is conducted. The Speaker of the House of Commons is something more than *primus inter pares*. For the time being he is regarded as of a nature different from and superior to the members by whom he is surrounded. Though there is nothing which the House of Commons likes better than a personal encounter, or a vituperative duel between any two members, there is nothing approaching to disrespect to the "first commoner of England"—the custodian and embodiment of its privileges—that it will tolerate. The Speaker is, in fact, the Commissioner-in-Chief of the privileges and prerogatives of the House of Commons—whom the House has agreed to make the depositary of its ceremonial interests. To the Lord Chancellor no such trust has been delivered: the Peers are a self-governed body, the preservers of their own "order," and the protectors of their own privileges. Though the keeper of the Queen's conscience may sit enthroned in majesty on the woolsack, he is not fenced round by a divinity sufficient to deter noble lords from lounging indolently at half-length upon its well-padded sides. Save for the dignity of his garb, the Lord Chancellor might be nothing more than the usher of the court; unlike the Speaker, his lordship does not decide who shall have priority. When more than one peer rises, their lordships keep order for themselves; the Lord Chancellor has not even a casting-vote when the numbers in a division are equal, and his only strictly presidential duty is to put the question, and read the titles of measures. On the other hand, he is the direct representative of royalty on all occasions when the sovereign communicates with Parliament, and he is the representative official mouthpiece of the Peers when they hold intercourse with public bodies or individuals outside. It is rare to find more than a third of the seats in the House of Lords occupied, and hence there is no need for members, as in the House of Commons, to come down a couple of hours before the business of the day begins, and bespeak a place for themselves by affixing a card.

All is calm; there is no hurry, no rude competition, no unceremonious jostling. It is five minutes past five, and the Lord Chancellor has taken his seat on the woolsack. The proceedings of their lordships begin with what, to the spectator from the gallery, is merely dumb show. The Lord Chancellor rises, repeats a cabalistic formula, which is in effect the titles of the measures that are not opposed—private Bills, and so forth—and after having murmured, in

tones audible to few but himself, some twenty times, that the "contents have it," sits down, and waits for his colleagues on the ministerial bench, or his noble opponents on the Opposition bench, to commence. Independently of the condition of the galleries, and the space before the throne and in front of the bar, and behind the iron benches at the opposite end of the House, there are other signs which will acquaint the visitor whether a keen debate or important division is expected. If it is he will notice that the parliamentary clerk, who stands a little in front and to the right of the entrance on the left side of the throne, is particularly busy in writing down on a tablet which he carries in his hands the name of every peer whom he can see. He will also notice that a gentleman of pleasant appearance and polished address is particularly active in saluting noble lords as they come into the chamber, or after they have taken their seat. Presently the same gentleman hurriedly commits a number of names to paper, under the heading C. and N. C., but not before he has first conferred, for the purpose of verifying his catalogue, with the above-named parliamentary clerk, who stands a little aloof, smoothing with his hand, at intervals, his flowing beard. At last his task is over. He completes his calculation with a smile of satisfaction, and walks leisurely up to the Government leader in the House of Lords to whisper a few words in his ear. The Government leader is for the time the President of the Council, and his friend and colleague is the most popular and assiduous ministerial "whip" ever known in their lordships' House. Meanwhile ministers are answering the comparatively few questions to which in the House of Lords they are called upon to respond. The curious point in the collective life of the House of Lords at the present moment is that no one seems to care what his neighbour is doing or saying. The Lord Chancellor is writing a note on his knee. The Primate is talking to an archdeacon whom he has introduced into the House on the left of the Episcopal Bench. The Lord President of the Council is strolling into the lobby. The leader of the Opposition is chatting to a noble duke who sits immediately behind him. But after a while the preliminaries come to an end, and then, if there is to be a real debate, and not merely a discursive conversation, the debate begins.

It is not to be supposed that the debate itself will be wanting either in interest or excitement. The speeches, whatever the subject may be, which are most successful and which elicit the greatest manifestations of applause, are to all intents and purposes House of Commons speeches. Yet the interest attaching to the discussion is of a kind entirely different from that attaching to debates in the Lower Chamber. There is no widely diffused sense of the collective wisdom of the assemblage; the object is not to know what the House will say, but what particular mberems of the House will say. The attrac-

tion is found rather in the individuals than in the institution, whereas just the reverse of this holds true in the case of the House of Commons. It may, indeed, almost be said that the fame of a few illustrious peers eclipses the prestige of the assembly in which they sit; and though the House of Lords owes much of its power and influence to the fact that its members have their seats there by right of birth, it is not, and it never has been, a house where the most influential members are the greatest noblemen. Here there is at work, as elsewhere in our constitution, that subtly democratising tendency which is yet such a guarantee of the stability of our aristocratic system. The vote and speech of the biggest duke do not, because of the accident of the ducal dignity, carry more weight than that of the viscount or the baron. It is true that, as has been already said, there is in the House of Lords a sort of *imperium in imperio*, and that the rank and file of the members do not as a rule actively take part in the proceedings. But when once the critic comes to the charmed circle he will find that its most important members are those of the highest political aptitude.

All this time the reader has been kept waiting on the threshold of the actual discussion. Under the strangers' gallery, immediately opposite the semicircular space where the throne is, and which is reserved for Privy Councillors and the sons of peers, is an oblong enclosure, also railed off, which is known as the bar. Hither presses a mixed throng of members of the House of Commons and visitors from outside, for an important discussion is expected, and it may even be that their lordships will stoop to personalities. The debate begins with dignity, and save for the voice of the speaker, with silence. There are few cries of "hear, hear," there are fewer cheers. Whoever the orator may be, his audience succeed in presenting an appearance of comparative indifference. One noble lord transacts as much as he can of his private and official correspondence, leaning forward to the table ever and anon to dip his pen in the ink; another beats time to an imaginary melody with his fingers on his knees; a third lapses into seeming somnolence; a fourth, and he, perhaps, the most keenly interested of all, folds his arms and sits unmoved and immovable, to all outward seeming, as granite. This state of things lasts for some little time, until, indeed, either the present or some subsequent speaker touches upon a theme which at once lets loose the bitter waters of party or personal strife. Some imputation has been made, and an explanation is demanded; it is given, it is not satisfactory, and thus the wrangle continues. But these effervescences are of very exceptional occurrence, and, indeed, it is rare when any debate takes place which is not concluded before the dinner-hour. More than one proposal has been made that the House of Lords should meet earlier and rise later, and there are signs of a growing appetite for work at the present time among the Peers. Momentous questions

of foreign policy will perhaps never be the subject of general debate, but it is pointed out that there are a host of matters connected with army reform, local government, railway business, and a variety of matters connected with domestic administration, on which many noblemen who are now systematically silent might make themselves periodically heard, and might, by speaking on them, acquire a valuable parliamentary training. As matters are, it is part of the duty of lords-in-waiting to do regular work in a Government office during the tenure of their posts, and consequently these officials are no longer the mere ornaments of a Court they once were. Why, it has been asked, should not the number of these appointments, with their corresponding obligations, be increased, and if that step prove impracticable, why should not some sort of occupation be found? It must, however, be remembered that their lordships accomplish a great deal more work than meets the public eye. The House of Lords, too, has, like the House of Commons, its own elaborate system of private Bill legislation, and attendance at select committees is quite as much the duty of the hereditary as of the elective legislator. Whenever any of the proposals which have been made above are suggested, the answer is that great difficulty is already experienced in ensuring an adequate attendance of members on these select committees. The powers which may be exercised by the Chairman of Committees in the House of Lords are so large and even absolute that no comparison in this respect between the two assemblies is possible. The present holder of the office in the Peers—Lord Redesdale—may be almost described as a sort of constitution in himself. There is a more specific difference between the procedure of the select committees of the House of Commons and select committees of the House of Lords, in that whereas in the former case the public are, as a rule, admitted, in the latter they are, with few exceptions, excluded.

Between the rules and the routine of the two Chambers of the legislature there is a general resemblance, although the quorum of the Upper House is not forty, but three. At the table of the House are seated the three clerks, as in the case of the House of Commons, who take down minutes of the proceedings and receive all notices of motion. Much greater laxity prevails as to the rules regulating the asking of questions in the Lords than in the Commons. Questions are very often asked by members of the Opposition of the Government, or by one peer of another, with a notice that would be deemed inadequate in the Commons, or, possibly, without any notice at all. Nor, although it is prohibited to mention any peer by name in the course of a debate, has that rule been as rigidly adhered to in the Lords during the last few years as in the Commons. Here, as in the Commons, all proposals submitted to the House resolve themselves into questions asked of the Speaker, which have to be answered in

the negative or affirmative. But in the House of Lords the "ayes" are spoken of as the "contents," and the "noes" as the "non-contents." The manner of taking a division resembles, since effect was given to certain changes made on the motion of the late Lord Stanhope, that adopted in the Commons. The lobbies on the right and left of the House, after having been cleared of strangers, are guarded with locked doors; two tellers are appointed for each party, the contents going into the right lobby and the non-contents into the left, and as they return into the House the votes are counted and are announced to the Lord Chancellor or to the Speaker of the House, who is, of course, the Chairman of Committees, if the division has taken place in committee.

In this general review of the House of Lords, as it at present exists, two or three facts prominently stand forth. In the first place, while the House of Lords is an assembly representative of great interests, high intellectual excellence, success, and prosperity, and all the qualities which command success and prosperity, it retains its aristocratic prestige unimpaired. Secondly, valuable as its discussions always are on critical and complicated themes of imperial policy, mature and finished as is the quality of its statesmanship, there is a definite promise of more legislative activity and influence among its rising members. Hence, in a democratic age, it is gaining rather than losing power; and although the traditions and habits of dependence on the aristocracy have disappeared, it is felt that an aristocratic hereditary legislature, which does its work well, stands on unassailable ground. The very fact that the functions of the House of Lords are critical rather than constructive, while it gives their lordships less opportunity of national display, increases their capacities for national usefulness. It is also to the House of Lords, rather than to the House of Commons, that we must look to preserve the standard of English statesmanship and English parliamentary speaking. Incompetent speakers there doubtless are among the peers, but they perhaps break silence less often than in the House of Commons. As for the best of the regular speakers, their utterances are seldom without two merits—lucidity and compression. If only as a corrective to the diffuseness and obscurity which are the bane of the House of Commons rhetoricians, the speeches in the House of Lords would be of extreme value.

A few words remain to be said on the relation in which the House of Lords stands to the two great parties in the State. Whereas there are few respects in which the staunch Liberal would advocate reform in our second Chamber, the Conservative would not deny that their lordships' House might submit to several modifications with advantage. Thus there are many Conservatives in favour of the creation of life-peers; but, with two exceptions, it is exceedingly doubtful how

far the representative Liberal would be in favour of any reform at all in their lordships' body. These exceptions are the disqualification of bishops to sit in the House, and the introduction of the Minority Vote into the election of Scotch and Irish representative peers; the former would be hailed by Liberalism as a step towards, and as involving the principle of, the disestablishment of the English Church; the second, as a guarantee that the representative peers of Ireland and Scotland would be, in some cases, Liberals. For the rest, the Liberal politician would oppose reform of the House of Lords for the same reasons that the Conservative would advocate it; such a measure, the former would contend, must strengthen and not weaken the influence of a second Chamber, whereas a certain phase of Liberalism is pretty generally opposed to the existence of any second Chamber at all. The House of Lords, argues the Liberal, is quite strong enough as matters are, and exercises a sufficiently sinister force upon the course of legislation.

That the influence of the House of Lords upon the deliberations and the conduct of Parliament is, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a very real thing, there can be no doubt. But it is not exercised in the old way, nor is it exercised in the only way which some persons may imagine to be possible. Such collisions between the two Houses as those which took place over the Reform Bill in 1832, or in the matter of the repeal of the paper duty, are happily not of frequent occurrence. So far as the course of legislation is concerned, when once it has commenced, the authority of the Lords is in the majority of instances rather seen, as has been said, in the revision of the edicts of the Commons than in the thwarting of them. But there is a great deal of authority wielded by them which does not come before the public at all. They prevent certain measures from being introduced quite as much as they control them when they have been introduced. Whatever may be the case with the country, the Conservative party are always sure to have an overwhelming majority among the peers. Hence, it is always constitutionally possible for the Upper House to reject any measure passed by the Lower House which may offend the prejudices of Conservatism. A Liberal Cabinet, we may suppose, meditates the introduction of a Bill which is considered fatally to affect some great Conservative interest; their lordships get wind of the proposal, and politely, but firmly, hint that it will not do. What is, or, at least, what may be the consequence? The measure is either shelved or else so watered down that its drastic powers altogether disappear.

Further, it must always be remembered that the solid and substantial interests of a majority of the Whig aristocracy are, in their essence, identical with those of the Tory peers. The peerage exists upon a basis of landed property. Nothing which does not strike at these exclusive territorial privileges can seriously impair the posi-

tion of the Conservative peer; nothing which does so strike at them can be acceptable to the Whigs. Again, there are certain constitutional rights, the collective possession of the House of Lords, in the preservation of which Whigs and Tories are equally interested. A few years ago, when it was proposed to rob their lordships of their judicial powers, a great Tory nobleman, who was in the habit of holding weekly a lodge at his private house—the gentlemen attending which made it their special business to watch current or expected legislation in the interests of Conservatism—rallied round him at the critical moment the support not only of the peers of his own party, but of many who on ordinary occasions were opposed to him. So strong was this combination of noblemen, taking their stand upon the common ground of the privileges of nobility, that the Lord Chancellor of the day was compelled to surrender those clauses of the measure to which they objected.

The Lords and Commons may still look at matters from a different point of view, but only under exceptional circumstances do they parade their quarrels as was formerly their custom. Their disputes have generally speaking ceased to take place in public, and all that the public knows of the dispute is the result born of diplomatic negotiation and compromise. Now, compromise beyond a certain point is the one thing of which the thoroughgoing Liberal disapproves, and hence his natural dislike to a House of Lords, or to any second Chamber at all. In the natural antagonism, sometimes suppressed, at others openly asserted, between the principles of Liberalism and the House of Lords, may be seen the reason why all Liberal administrations are likely to be less long-lived than Conservative administrations. Between a Conservative Government and a House of Lords there is an open and durable alliance; between a Liberal Government and a House of Lords there is constantly present the probability of feud. Sooner or later the elements of strife assert themselves, the water begins to be troubled, and the foundering of the ship is imminent.

So far as the political and constitutional future of England is concerned, there are two prophecies which may be made without incurring the charge of rashness proverbially attendant on prediction. It can scarcely be doubted that when household suffrage is given to county voters the entire aspect of party politics will be materially altered. For the first time in the parliamentary history of England it is possible that even in the representation of counties—those strongholds of Toryism—the Liberals will command an absolute majority. This majority would enable Liberal statesmanship to proceed in a more daring spirit, and to attempt to realise bolder and more sweeping conceptions than it has yet ventured to do. What actual use would be made of this opportunity, what practical result the possibility would yield,

must be matter of opinion. There are those who hold that the latent revolutionary instincts of the English people would display themselves without disguise, and that we should at once enter upon a new order of subversive legislative enterprise. On the other hand, there will be those who, giving their due weight to the facts and illustrations which have been produced elsewhere in this work, and recollecting that the political life of Englishmen is not distinct from their social life; that the influences which leaven the masses are not democratic but aristocratic, or as aristocratic as the plutocratic agencies at work will allow; that there is no impassable gulf fixed between one class and another, and that admiration for rank almost seems innate in the English breast—there are those who, bearing these circumstances in mind, will hold that household suffrage in counties will bring us no nearer to revolution than did the first Reform Act, which, it was ominously predicted at the time by alarmist prophets, would be quickly followed by a reign of terror.

These are questions which the reader must decide for himself. One other point there is on which a definite opinion may be expressed. It is conceivable that in years to come events may occur tending in the direction of a grave strife, between the privileged classes and the multitude, on property in land. But imagine the most disastrous contingency that can possibly be realised, a strife that should practically culminate in civil war. How would this affect the tenure of the Crown? The Crown would certainly have nothing to gain by flinging its influence into the scale of the aristocracy, and it would certainly have much to lose if the aristocracy were beaten. Probably there is no practical politician living who holds that any political conjuncture at home is likely to present itself which can seriously menace the existence of the monarchy. If a Nero or a Caligula were to come to the throne, possibly there would be more than danger—there might be certainty of overthrow. But these are not the monsters which the atmosphere of royalty in the nineteenth century develops. Follies and extravagances we indeed may have, and it is perhaps more reasonable to anticipate the theatrical wantonness of a Louis of Bavaria than the portentous eccentricities of the most debased of the Cæsars, or even the attempted personal government of the third of the Hanoverian kings. It is not possible to conceive of the English monarchy as perishing, except amid a universal cataclysm.* A colossal European war, followed by grinding taxation, the total loss of our carrying trade at the hands of privateers scouring the high seas, the deprivation of industry and a livelihood to thousands of our population which

* A distinguished statesman writes to me as follows on the opinion expressed in the text:—"This is, I admit, a fair and reasonable view; but I can easily conceive another alternative, and one quite as probable. The ordinary progress of modern democracy might silently and gradually absorb the monarchy into a presidency without cataclysm or even struggle."

this loss would imply, the blocking up of the channels of emigration, attended perhaps by the secession or the conquest of some of our most important colonies, a population overgrown, starving and desperate, pent up within the narrow limits of the United Kingdom—this is a combination of calamities which might indeed provoke a movement fatal to the monarchy. But before that went everything else would have gone. The Crown would not perish singly, and on the day that it ceased to exist as an institution the structure of English society would be in danger of falling to pieces. It is only upon the fulfilment of some such hypothesis as this, and not as a consequence of any national fit of political discontent, however deep or long, that the destruction of the monarchy can present itself as a contingency that need be reckoned with.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LAW COURTS.

The Policeman—Police Courts—Committal—Quarter Sessions—Grand Jury—Trial of Indictment—Court of Crown Cases—High Court—Writ—Sheriff's Court—Pleadings—Law and Equity—Judges' Chambers—Interrogatories—Trial of Action—Divisional Court—Court of Appeal—Supreme Court—House of Lords—County Courts—Judgment Summonses—Appeal from County Courts—Courts Spiritual—The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

To a vast number of law-abiding and law-protected English men and English women the only visible embodiment of the law under which they live is the police constable. He is the outermost wheel in the great and complicated mechanism which is charged with the duty of maintaining the broad outline of social relations. Fortunately, he is in himself a very simple legal unit, being little more than one of the people put into a blue uniform, his figure improved by drill, and his intelligence sharpened by experience in applying on emergencies a few plain rules. In England he is not, as in other countries, much under the control of the central Government, being appointed and regulated by county justices, or the local authority of a borough. He is, in fact the servant of the people and of the law. Stationed in a country village, he is looked up to as an oracle; and in the crowded courts and alleys of a town, where, from want of elbow-room, much friction of the social machine occurs, he is often the needful arbitrator and peacemaker. In this character he may be considered a legal tribunal of the very first instance.

Apart from the visible presence of the police constable, the law is hardly realised until it is broken. Like the air, it is always above and around us, but is not fully valued until withdrawn. *Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator;* but everybody who carries about him what is worth stealing is constantly in need of the protection of the law. Viator may pass half a lifetime without knowing anything of the actual working of his omnipresent protector, yet one day he may be looking into a shop-window and feel a tug at his watch. The instinct of self-protection makes him seize the man standing near, who, he believes, has it. Then he remembers the police constable, and at once the law becomes to him a real existence. A policeman arrives, and the first thing he does after hearing what has happened is to ask, "Do you

give him in charge?" Viator thinks he cannot be mistaken; there was only one other person before the shop-window besides himself and the man in question, and that person has disappeared. On the other hand, the captive is loud in his protestations. He is an honest man, one Latro, a French-polisher, who lives in Furcifer Street. He is as innocent as the babe unborn. Let them search him, and if he has the gentleman's watch, he will say no more. This flood of eloquence rather puzzles Viator, but it seems to have little effect on the constable, and Latro is given in charge. The law has now been fairly set in motion, and we shall see what happens next.

The constable and Latro start together to the police-station, and Viator is desired to follow. Here they find an inspector of police, who enters the charge in the station records. Latro is searched and no watch is found on him, but meanwhile a constable has gone round to Furcifer Street, and no Latro is known at the address, nor any French-polisher. Prosecutor, constable, and prisoner thereupon proceed to the police-court, and we now first find ourselves in a court of law. The magistrate is seated, without official dress, at a desk placed in front of a small library of law books. He is one of the class called stipendiary magistrates, who in places where the magisterial work is arduous are commonly substituted for the Petty Sessions. In districts where the business is lighter the Petty Sessions consist of two or more country gentlemen, or it may be aldermen, who, without salary, exercise the same jurisdiction as the stipendiary. Opposite to the magistrate, and at the end of a table at which there are seats for the lawyers, is the dock, enclosed with an iron rail; and at the other end of the table, under the magistrate, sits the clerk of the court, whose duty it is to take notes of the evidence. The magistrate is just finishing his list of "night charges," and the latest claimants for justice must wait their turn. Cases of drunkenness are visited with a fine of some shillings, or in the alternative a few days' imprisonment. Then there are cases of assault. A husband has been beating his wife, and the wife, having given him into custody, now begs earnestly for his release. In another case the assault is very grievous, and the husband has drawn so often on the wife's forbearance that the fund is exhausted. The magistrate orders a separation, under a statute passed in the year 1878, so that the wife is acquitted of her matrimonial misadventure, although to allow her to marry again is beyond magisterial power. After these charges there is a prisoner who has been caught in the act of attempted robbery during the day. His offence, being the first, is sufficiently punished by four months' imprisonment. It was but an hour ago that the law was broken, and its vindication has been speedy. At length Latro is put into the dock, and is for the first time a little abashed by the scrutinising glance of the gaoler in court. Viator is

sworn as a witness, and details his mishap. The policeman is sworn also, and the address given by the prisoner is proved to be false. But the evidence, although suspicious, is not sufficient, as Viator did not see his watch taken, and no watch has been found. Then the magistrate asks, "Is anything known of the man?" and the gaoler replies that he thinks he is known; whereupon a remand is ordered, and Latro is locked up.

Interested in what are to him novel proceedings, Viator remains a short time in court. He hears an affiliation order made for the payment of five shillings a week by the father of the child; and a summons against a licensed victualler for Sunday trading dismissed, on the ground that the person served was a *bonâ-fide* traveller and therefore legitimately thirsty. There are besides cross-summonses with most conflicting evidence for assaults, and a case of burglary depending entirely on circumstantial evidence, adjourned from a previous sitting. Finally Viator goes away, leaving the magistrate painfully unravelling a charge of commercial fraud.

A day or two later Viator is required to attend again at the station to see whether he can identify the man who decamped when his watch was stolen, as the police think they have found him. He is taken into the room where there are seven or eight men, and among them he recognises the runaway. A description of the watch had been inserted in the *Police Gazette*, and information had been obtained that the watch was offered in pawn by a woman who turned out to be the wife of the man now identified. The watch was found in his house, and both he and the man already in custody have been previously convicted of stealing. The evidence is now complete, and when all concerned go before the magistrate, both prisoners are committed to take their trial before a jury, as the magistrate has no power to dispose summarily of such repeated offenders. The offence was not committed within the district of the Central Criminal Court, so that the prisoners must be tried either at the Assizes when the judge comes round on circuit, or at the Quarter Sessions, which have power to try most criminal cases except burglary and murder. The sessions take place first, and accordingly the prisoners are committed for trial at that court.

On the Bench of the Quarter Sessions we find a county magnate by way of chairman, with another magistrate on each side of him. Neither of the three is a lawyer or has had any legal training, but they administer justice gratuitously, with the assistance of the Clerk of the Peace, who is a salaried lawyer, occupying no mean position in the county. The Quarter Sessions sat yesterday in a numerous body to administer the business of the county in respect of bridges, police, and the like, and to-day they meet for judicial purposes. The first thing is to charge the Grand Jury. They are gentlemen of the county and

respectable yeomen, although of a lower social rank than at the Assizes, where the Grand Jury is reinforced by men of the class who now sit on the Bench. It must consist of not less than twelve nor more than twenty-three jurors; but an uneven number are always sworn. The Grand Jurors stand in a gallery at one side of the court, and the Chairman proceeds to charge them by referring shortly to the cases in the calendar of criminals, and telling them that if they think there is sufficient evidence to make it proper for the case to be tried, they ought to find a true bill. The Grand Jury then retire to their room, for their sittings are held in private, and they are bound not to disclose their deliberations. In due course Viator and the other witnesses in his case are summoned into the Grand Jury room, and tell their story shortly to the Grand Jury, who after a time reappear in their gallery, the foreman carrying several pieces of parchment in his hand. These are handed down to the Clerk of the Peace. The Clerk of the Peace looks at the back of each document to see what the Grand Jurors have there certified under the hand of their foreman. "Gentlemen of the Grand Jury, you find a true bill against Latro and another for larceny from the person." The foreman bows, and thus the "bill," which had been prepared in legal form for the Grand Jury's authorisation, becomes the "indictment," or formal charge upon which the prisoners will be tried. It is some time before Viator's case comes on, and he wanders into the second court. This court is a duplicate of the other; but, as it has no Grand Jury to charge, it takes in hand some of the civil and appellate cases which come before the Quarter Sessions. Permission is given to one applicant to keep a lunatic asylum, to another to open a slaughter-house, to a third to divert a road passing over his property. Then a licensing appeal is heard. Mr. Boniface, through his counsel, complains that the magistrates who sat to grant licences have improperly declined to renew his. His house has been in existence for twenty years, and there have been no complaints. On the other hand, a rival to Boniface, who has taken up the case against him, emphatically declares that no more licences are required in his neighbourhood, and that Boniface has opened a tap at the side of his house in a fashionable thoroughfare, which is an annoyance to promenaders. The matter ends by Boniface promising to close the tap, and obtaining his licence. Next there is an appeal from a summary decision of the stipendiary whose acquaintance we have already made, convicting the appellant of an assault; witnesses are called, and the case is tried all over again. The Quarter Sessions confirm or quash the conviction, as justice in their opinion requires.

But Viator is called away, as his case is about to begin. The Clerk of the Peace then takes the plea of Latro, which is, as a matter of course, "Not Guilty." A similar ceremony is gone through with the

other prisoner. They have in legal phrase "put themselves on the country," and their country is rapidly represented, subject perhaps to the winnowing process of challenging the jurors, by twelve men in the jury-box, mostly farmers and tradesmen, who are sworn truly to try the issue between the Queen and the prisoners at the bar. The counsel for the prosecution first briefly details the facts of the case. He is a young barrister, for it is at Quarter Sessions that young barristers are trained to the work of their profession. He then calls the witnesses and elicits the facts from them by questions. The prisoners have no counsel to defend them, but Latro cross-examines the witnesses with some ingenuity. His companion in durance is stolidly silent all through. The prisoners call no witnesses, but Latro makes a voluble appeal to the jury, disclaiming any knowledge of the other man, and protesting that they cannot convict him simply because he happened to be standing by when the gentleman lost his watch. What surprises Viator is that all through the trial not a single reference is made to the previous conviction of both prisoners, facts in his opinion most significant. But the law is of opinion that facts like these, if known to the jury, would prejudice the fair trial of the existing charge, and it is not until the jury have found a verdict of "Guilty" that the prisoners are asked whether they have not been previously convicted of stealing a pair of boots. They both plead guilty to this fact, although Latro, amid laughter, says he did not take the boots all the same, and are sentenced to penal servitude —which has been defined by a Chief Justice as a condition of slavery —for seven years.

Most criminal trials end with the verdict and sentence, and in the case of a simple crime no difficult point of law is likely to arise to require consideration in a higher court. Still, even in an ordinary case of stealing there may be a question of law, such as whether a statement by the accused tending to show his guilt was admissible in evidence; for the English law has a constitutional horror of proving guilt from the mouth of the prisoner, and always rejects an approach to a confession if there is any appearance of its having been extorted either by fear of punishment or hope of escape. If the judge at the trial thinks there is a point of law in a criminal case, he states the facts in writing for the opinion of the Court for the Consideration of Crown Cases Reserved, where it is argued and determined. This court is as numerous in its composition as its name is long, being composed of all the three-and-twenty judges of the High Court of Justice. Ordinarily five judges only sit, but in the celebrated case of the *Franconia*, the German vessel which ran down an English ship within three miles of our shore, fourteen judges sat to decide whether the captain, who was a German, was criminally responsible in the English courts. Six judges thought he was, and seven thought

he was not, while the fourteenth died between the argument and the judgment, thus perhaps saving the court from being equally divided. Quantity rather than quality is not a satisfactory basis for a Court of Appeal, and the time may come when criminal appeals will be taken, like other appeals, to the House of Lords. To have but one Court of Appeal favours the expedition which is essential to the due punishment of crime; and when appeals are few, to take them to the highest source of law is not likely much to prejudice persons in the position of Viator.

If Viator only makes acquaintance with the law through the casual loss of his watch, law is to Dominus more or less a matter of business. Dominus has money invested in house property, and he must be a lucky man indeed if he does not every now and again find the law's assistance necessary to the management of his investments. Possessor is the tenant of one of his houses, with a lease for fourteen years, subject to a rent payable quarterly and the obligation to repair. The rent is in arrear for a whole year, the premises are grievously out of repair, and altogether Possessor is an unsatisfactory tenant. Dominus wishes to get rid of him, and consults his solicitor. The lease, as usual, contains a provision that if the rent is in arrear, and the premises out of repair, the remainder of the term is to be forfeited and the landlord may re-enter on his property. An action of ejectment is therefore advised to carry out this desirable purpose. Accordingly a writ is issued, say, in the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, claiming, according to the endorsement on the back, possession of the house, the rent due, and damages for failure to repair. It is just possible that Possessor may not care to defend his lease, and although the writ is served upon him, does not intimate his intention of disputing the claim by entering an appearance at the offices of the court. In this case Dominus may sign judgment upon the lapse of a specified time, and his damages for dilapidations will be assessed by a jury in the Sheriff's Court, where assessments of damages upon non-appearance to the writ usually take place. But Possessor is a much more accommodating tenant than is usual with his class if he takes this course. In all probability he will appear, and Dominus must prepare himself for a regular legal campaign.

He has first of all to extend his line in the form of a "Claim." This is the beginning of the so-called "pleadings," which are not pleadings in the popular sense at all, but a series of written attacks on the enemy made by each side alternately, for the purpose of reconnoitring one another's position, before actually engaging in open court. Formerly pleading was a mystery known to few but "special pleaders." These practitioners still exist; but the class is rapidly becoming absorbed into the ordinary ranks of lawyers, and the business of a special pleader is sadly curtailed by reason of the inroads

made of late years by common sense upon legal cobwebs, especially by the Common Law Procedure Act of 1852, and the Judicature Act of 1873. Dominus will find the "claim" in his case, although prepared by counsel learned in the law, to be moderately intelligible to lay capacity. It propounds the facts that he is owner of the property; that he granted the lease to Possessor, the defendant; that the lease contained covenants to pay rent and repair, and a clause of forfeiture upon breach of those covenants; that the covenants have been broken, and that accordingly Dominus wants his property back, together with his rent, and damages for not repairing. Possessor's turn now comes, and he retorts with his "Defence," in which he states that he pays into court the rent in arrear, together with interest, and denies that the premises are out of repair. All that Dominus can do in answer is to take his rent out of court, and in his "Reply," which is the next step in the pleadings, to "take issue" on the question of the repairs, which is the orthodox way of reiterating his view of the facts, and avowing his readiness to establish it by proof in court.

In order to understand the meaning of Possessor's manœuvre, something in the difference of the English system of jurisprudence between law and equity must be known. Law, as distinguished from equity, always keeps a man strictly to his bond. Whatever he undertakes to do, unless it is either illegal or physically impossible, he must do, or must suffer the consequences prescribed in his contract. Equity is less logical, and if the consequences are cruel, or altogether disproportionate to the offence, it releases the person under the obligation from the consequences of breaking it. For instance, according to the lease granted by Dominus, if the rent were in arrear for a fixed time the term granted was, according to the principles of law, at once forfeited, although the rent were tendered the day after the expiration of the time fixed. Accordingly, however, to a rule established in equity, if the tenant, on an attempt being made to evict him, paid the rent, together with interest and the costs incurred by the landlord, he might retain the lease. This is why Possessor paid the rent into court. As, however, he resisted giving up the property, he was bound to dispute that it was out of repair, because equity has declined to interfere with the strict principle of law in the case where a forfeiture occurs through not repairing. This inconsistency shows that equity, although originally founded on the attribute from which it takes its name, is as rigid in its rules as law itself. Previously to the reform lately carried by Lord Selborne and Lord Cairns, instead of pleading equity as a defence, it was necessary to go to the Court of Chancery to have one's opponent ordered not to press his rights in the other courts, which were courts of law only. There were, in fact, two jurisprudential establishments, each with no connection with its rival over the way, and in their early

days of rivalry cordially hating one another. The reform referred to, which rather late in the day adopted an established principle of business in legal administration, makes it possible to obtain all the law and equity requisite for one's case at the same store. It thus came about that Dominus and Possessor were at issue on the question of repairs.

Meanwhile, there has been some little skirmishing at "Judges' Chambers," where a judge sits to bring to book either side who, in the reconnoitring preliminary to trial, may have offended against the laws of war. If the pleading be worded vaguely or evasively, the offender is made to repent and amend. "Interrogatories" are another form of attack which have often to be regulated at Judges' Chambers. These are the only instruments of torture now known to the law by means of which a litigant may ask his antagonist on paper any questions material to the action, and have them answered in the same way. Possessor has asked Dominus some very troublesome questions, tending to show that Dominus condoned the forfeiture of the lease. Dominus appeals to the judge at chambers to say whether he is to submit to the impertinence. He has to submit, but finds when he swears his answer, as drawn up by his lawyers, that he has not after all given his adversary much information.

All the preliminaries having been settled, Dominus now gives his adversary notice that he is ready to try the case before a special jury of Middlesex—that is to say, a jury composed of merchants, bankers, and professional men, as distinguished from the rank and file of jurors. After the delay inseparable from law, Dominus sees the case of "Dominus *v.* Possessor" in the law notices of his morning's newspaper, and posts down to the Court. There was no reason for any great hurry, as there are several cases in front. The judge is sitting in the plain black robes always worn when a judge sits alone to try civil cases. There is a great display of bleached horsehair on the Bar benches. Those gentlemen in silk gowns in the front row are Queen's counsel. The gentlemen in stuff gowns on the back benches are junior counsel, not honoured with the complimentary retainer of the Crown. The difference between the two is substantial. Queen's counsel earn higher fees, but are not able to do routine work, such as devising those pleadings and answers to interrogatories before mentioned. Nominally the higher rank is conferred through the grace and favour of the Crown; but, in fact, any barrister of reputation, if there is room for a new Queen's counsel on his circuit, may "take silk" by asking the Chancellor. Many find the humbler "stuff" more remunerative. In the "well," a seat a step below that of the Queen's counsel, sit the solicitors, ready to give their counsel a reminder when needed. But the Associate, the official sitting under the judge, has sworn the jury, and a case has begun. It is an action brought by a

man who fell down a cellar in a public-house, and claims compensation. The next case is an action on a bill of exchange, in which the defendant contends that he was induced to give the bill by fraud. Then follows an action in which the plaintiff, a maiden lady, complains of a livery stable as a nuisance. The horses, she says, make a great noise, and keep her awake, and she asks for an injunction to the defendant to conduct his business with more consideration for her nerves. Then we have an action for the non-delivery of a cargo of wheat, and an action for breach of promise of marriage, in which the young lady creates the usual amount of interest, and the man has written the usual quantity of nonsense. Then comes an action for libel, which the jury seem to think is a case of the pot against the kettle, as they return as damages the farthing which has so often been given in the same circumstances, but from which so few take warning not to tempt their fate.

At last, and perhaps after a day or two of waiting, the case which interests us is called, and the jury are sworn. Each side is represented by a Queen's counsel and a junior. The junior counsel for the plaintiff begins by "opening the pleadings"—that is, informing the jury in a dozen words or so what are the names of the litigants, what the action is about, and what questions appear to be in dispute between them. His "leader" then rises and addresses the court and jury at length, telling the whole story of the difficulties of Dominus with his tenant, and asks the jury to end them by turning the tenant out. Dominus himself is then sworn, and is examined by his junior counsel. He is cross-examined by the defendant's Queen's counsel, and thirdly, a few questions are put to him by his own leading counsel, with a view to re-establish his evidence if at all damaged by the cross-examination. The same process is gone through in the case of the surveyor and the builder, who are next called. While these witnesses are examined, the judge inquires whether the jury are to be asked to assess the amount, if any, which Possessor ought to have spent on repairs. The counsel for Dominus thereupon suggests that the amount should be referred to an official referee, if the jury find that some repairs ought to have been done. The defendant's counsel agrees, and Dominus is content, because if he can turn Possessor out to make room for a better tenant, he does not care much for the repairs. The surveyor goes on to detail how the ceiling of the back parlour had fallen in, the boiler and water-pipes were out of order, the floor of the pantry was damaged, and so on. The defendant's senior counsel then takes up the parable, and declares that Dominus with his rent in his pocket, and his house in a tolerably good state of repair, is as well off as he deserves, without wanting to turn Possessor out into the street. As to the house, Dominus knew its state all along, and has taken rent from Possessor since it fell into its present

state, and therefore he cannot now claim the forfeiture of the lease on the allegation that it is out of repair. Witnesses are called to support this view of the matter, and Dominus, to his surprise, finds his own witnesses about the want of repairs flatly contradicted. The counsel for his opponent then "sums up" his evidence, and his own counsel replies on the whole case. The judge then proceeds to charge the jury, and tells them that they must first consider whether the house was substantially in want of repair, and if they, after weighing the evidence, think that it was, then, whether the plaintiff did receive rent knowing what the real state of the house was, and so waived or condoned the forfeiture. The jury, after retiring to consult, find as their verdict that the house was out of repair, and that, though the plaintiff knew of its state and took his rent, the tenement had again fallen into disrepair since. Both sides upon this claim the verdict, and the judge says that he cannot give his decision now, but must reserve the matter for further consideration.

Dominus now finds himself embarked in a considerable litigation. The judge after a week or two hears an argument on the question of law, and decides against Dominus. Thereupon he resorts to the Court of Appeal, but meanwhile Possessor, not to be outdone, applies to a Divisional Court for a new trial on the ground that the verdict was against the weight of the evidence with regard to the need of repairs, and that the judge did not rightly direct the jury in point of law. The law does not consider juries infallible, and sometimes sets their verdicts aside, if the judge who tried the case thinks that they were misled. In the Divisional Court Dominus finds two judges, one of whom happens to be the judge who tried his case. As it is a saint's day, they wear scarlet robes, and not the black ones ordinarily worn by them in winter, or the violet ones which they wear in summer. Possessor has obtained an order to show cause why there should not be a new trial, and Dominus's counsel have to show cause. Possessor's counsel are then heard in support of his contention, and the judges decide that there must be no new trial. The verdict therefore stands, and success for Dominus depends on his persuading the Court of Appeal that its effect is to entitle him to judgment.

The Court of Appeal is composed of three Lords Justices. The other three, making up the six permanent judges of the Court, are sitting in another chamber, hearing appeals which have more equity than law in them. The three judges in either chamber are sometimes supplemented by the Lord Chancellor himself, who ordinarily sits in the House of Lords; or by the Master of the Rolls, who is commonly to be found sitting by himself, hearing equity cases; or by the Chief Justice of England, who usually presides in a Divisional Court or takes jury cases. These supplementary judges of the Court of Appeal belong both to that court and the High Court, which together are

called the Supreme Court of Judicature. The Lords Justices wear their judicial wigs, but nothing more showy in the way of judicial costume than the black silk gown which is the least of the ceremonial costumes of the judges. Dominus wonders why an Appeal Court should be arrayed in less glory than the court below. But the fact is, the Court of Appeal took its origin from a court of consultation rather than of jurisdiction, and the black gown is the fatigue dress of judges. The mysteries of judicial millinery are indeed great, and can hardly be fathomed by anyone but the oldest "body clerk" among the attendants of the judges. On the first day of Michaelmas sittings the Lords Justices, when they march up the hall of the Palace of Justice, wear a black robe liberally sprinkled with gold lace; but when they go on circuit and try prisoners they become "red judges," so familiar to the eyes of the criminal classes. On solemn occasions, as in the Palace of Justice procession or in charging a Grand Jury, the judges always wear the full-bottomed wig—a head-dress which looks from behind like a straw beehive and in front gives them the appearance of Egyptian sphinxes—instead of the short uncurled wig now worn by the Lords Justices. For Court or personal mourning, both judges and Queen's counsel wear their bands with a stripe or fold down the middle, and lawn cuffs or "weepers" on their sleeves. Both the counsel of Dominus are heard in support of the appeal and Possessor's counsel are heard on the other side. A great deal is said about continuous breach and waiver, and other things which Dominus imperfectly understands, but the upshot is that the court reverses the decision of the judge, and enters judgment for Dominus.

But Possessor will not give up his judgment easily, and he appeals to the House of Lords, the court of last resort for Great Britain and Ireland. Here English cases find themselves in company with Irish appeals, which are similar in kind and decided according to the same legal principles, and Scotch appeals coming from an altogether distinct jurisprudence, with law terms strange and uncouth to the English lawyer, in whose eyes the law of Scotland is the law of a foreign country. The argument takes place in the gilded chamber where the Lords sit for legislation. The Queen's counsel are in their full-bottomed wigs; the Lord Chancellor is on the woolsack in his wig and robes; but the other members present, although lawyers, wear no official costume. They sit not as judges, nor as lawyers, but as peers; and it is only by a custom barely a hundred years old that lay peers do not take part in the decision of the legal questions submitted to their House. Of late years, under an Act of Parliament passed in 1876, peerages for life have been instituted for the purpose of conferring them on lawyers; and these life peers, together with the ex-Chancellors and other lawyers who may have been ennobled, are the

effective force of the House as a law court. Dominus observes that the atmosphere of the highest Court of Appeal in the country is serener than that of the courts below. The arguments proceed smoothly and with little interruption, and afterwards the Lords deliver their opinions one by one, in the form of arguments for the consideration of the House and not judgments. The opinion of the Lords is the same as that of the Court of Appeal, and Dominus is triumphant. All this time, however, Possessor has stuck to the house like a limpet, and the lease has become appreciably less since the writ was issued. Moreover, Dominus has incurred some heavy costs, which it does not seem clear that Possessor, although condemned in costs, will entirely defray; and his triumph is dashed with the reflection that going to law, however pleasing the excitement, is an expensive luxury.

The rooted horror of law, induced by fear of a lawyer's bill, accounts for much of the Englishman's want of acquaintance with legal procedure. He will generally pay any moderate claim made upon him, so long as it does not amount to extortion. If his wife hires a housemaid who turns out badly, the master gets rid of the servant, but pays the month's wages in lieu of notice, although if the servant is in the wrong she is not entitled to them. Sometimes, however, a principle is, or is supposed to be, involved, in which case the Englishman will do his duty in his family concerns, as he is expected to do it elsewhere. The cook, let us say, gives herself airs; one morning she takes it into her head not to come to family prayers, and when her mistress remonstrates with her, declares it to be her fixed intention not to attend prayers. She gives no reason for her resolve; perhaps she thinks the prayers too long, or too short, or devoid of earnestness, or too unctuous; perhaps she has a philosophical regard for the maxim that "labour is prayer," and prefers to make sure that the breakfast coffee is in good order. At any rate, she declines to come, and Paterfamilias resolves that if so she shall go altogether. Family prayers to his mind are not only a religious exercise, but a morning parade of the servants, which a reasonable regard for discipline requires. If the servants do not all attend, he may have one of them in his house for years without even knowing the fact. He thinks they ought to attend, down to the scullerymaid. Accordingly he dismisses the cook, and this time declines to give her the customary month's wages. A cook with such independent notions has, of course, friends and advisers outside, and a solicitor of the class ordinarily practising in County Courts is without difficulty found to take the matter up. Paterfamilias receives a polite letter from this solicitor asking on behalf of his client, Ancilla, the cook, that the month's wages may be paid, together with law charges, or that the writer may be referred to the solicitor of

Paterfamilias, who may accept service of a summons in the County Court. It is an odd example of the Englishman's almost superstitious respect for the law, that he will often not only give way on receipt of a lawyer's letter of this kind, but will also pay the lawyer's charges, which the lawyer has not the shadow of right to enforce, though he always asks for them. Paterfamilias, however, on the question of principle is of sterner stuff; he does not care to consult the family solicitor, who, he knows, never goes near a County Court, and he is a little curious to see how the matter will go if left to itself. He accordingly writes and asks that the summons may be sent to him, and in due course it arrives. This is how the action of "Ancilla *against* Paterfamilias" comes into existence.

Paterfamilias finds that he does not require to be much of a lawyer to carry his case through. In the County Court there is not, as in the High Court, any of the preliminary skirmishing of pleadings. He finds that the summons kindly tells him in very plain language what he is to do. If the defendant wishes to set up as a defence that she is a married woman, or infancy, or that the statute of limitation has run out, the summons says that notice must be given to the plaintiff. But Paterfamilias only wishes to set up that the cook would not come to prayers, so he leaves things alone, and awaits the day in the next month named for the hearing of the case.

Arrived at the court-house, he finds the officials ready enough to give him information. Under their guidance he first attends the Registrar's room, where he hears "Ancilla *against* Paterfamilias" called out among some hundred others, and is asked whether the claim is disputed. He says that it is, and is told that the case will be heard before the judge. As soon as the judge arrives, he plunges at once into the judgment summonses, which are a most important part of the jurisdiction of County Courts. Until recently the very principle of morality that a man ought to pay his debts was enforced by putting the defaulter into prison. If a man has money, he will generally spend it rather than go to prison; and if his friends have money, they will, until tired of so doing, come to his help rather than that he should be incarcerated. The power of imprisonment was thus a valuable ally of the creditor, and if the debtor had no money and no friends, the creditor had at least the satisfaction of having his debtor locked up. It was, however, thought that vengeance did not belong to the creditor, and that it was not right to put indirect pressure on the debtor's friends. Accordingly, in 1869, imprisonment for debt was abolished, unless it was proved that the debtor had means but would not pay. As the County Courts are the machinery for collecting a great number of debts which cannot be disputed, the judges are constantly called upon to say whether a

man has or has not the means of paying. Paterfamilias observes that many of the debtors whose cases are brought before the judge seem to be living very comfortably; but they always explain that they are living with their mother-in-law, or that a kind uncle supplies their necessities. Imprisonment, therefore, is seldom ordered, and on the whole Paterfamilias thinks that the burden of proof has been thrown on the wrong shoulders—that the debtor ought to prove that he has no means, and not the creditor that he has means. What generally happens in a County Court is that the judge breaks the blow of his judgment by allowing the defaulter to satisfy the claim in easy instalments.

The ordinary run of County Court cases follows. There are two little boxes, one on the judge's right and the other on his left, which are occupied respectively by the plaintiff and the defendant. They stand here after the manner of fighting-cocks held in check, and a torrent of vituperation is often exchanged across the table, especially when the litigants are women. A laundress sues for the amount of a washing-bill, and the defendant resists the claim on the ground that her collars and cuffs have been lost, and her husband's shirt-fronts spoiled by bad ironing. A Jew money-lender sues a clerk in a bank on a bill for £20, which includes interest at 60 per cent. The defendant declares that the Jew knew he was only surety for a fellow-clerk, and yet he allowed the other clerk to leave the country without suing him. A baker claims for bread supplied, and the customer affirms that his wife paid the baker's man. An old lady demands compensation for tumbling into a coal-hole left open in the street. The householder says it was not his fault, but the coal-merchant's, whose men left the coal-plate open. In most of these cases the judge manages to make up his mind quickly, being guided by the appearance and manner of the witnesses, as the evidence of the two sides is commonly in direct opposition. Sometimes a jury of five men, substituted in the County Court for the traditional twelve, is called to the judge's assistance, especially if the case, being too trifling for a superior court, has been sent down for trial to the lower; but Paterfamilias observes that jury trial hardly flourishes in the alien soil of the County Court. The judge is so accustomed to try the facts himself, that he tries them when it is not his but the jury's duty to do so. This is the sort of dialogue that Paterfamilias hears at the end of a jury-case. Judge: "Gentlemen of the jury, the evidence clearly points to a verdict for the Railway Company." Foreman: "The jury find for the plaintiff with £20 damages." Advocate: "I move, sir, for a new trial." Judge: "New trial granted."

The case of "Ancilla *against* Paterfamilias," when called on, does not take long to try. The cook's solicitor details the facts with as much of flourish as he can introduce. Paterfamilias admits them all,

and explains that the refusal of the cook to attend prayers was the ground of her dismissal. It would be hazardous to say what the decision of the County Court judge on so weighty a question of domestic government would or ought to be. Perhaps the judge is epigrammatic, and says that Ancilla was hired "to cook and not to pray," or perhaps he takes a broader view. If the judge is against Paterfamilias he may appeal, if he can make out that a question of law is involved. If there is an appeal, the case then gets into the hands of Paterfamilias' solicitor, and is heard before one of the Divisional Courts, which have already been described.

Whatever the condition of knowledge among the Queen's subjects of the working of the law temporal, it could hardly be expected that they should know much of the procedure of the spiritual courts. When lawyers meet clergymen, we may expect something of subtlety and obscurity. Still, the necessities of an era in the history of the Church of England have brought out many instruments of ecclesiastical procedure from their dusty receptacles, and precedents from dark corners of the law blink their eyes in the light of day. If it depended on individual persons to put ecclesiastical law in force, the dust and darkness would undoubtedly remain little disturbed. But the Church at that time was divided into High Church and Low Church camps, the one ranging itself under the Church Union, and the other under the Church Association, both being well-organised bodies, with funds and energy enough to carry through a suit. The accused in an ecclesiastical process might generally be assumed to have behind him the former, and the accuser the latter of these organisations.

The main outlines of ecclesiastical procedure are now to be found in the Public Worship Regulation Act, passed in 1874, with a view to simplify the difficulties of the law, which were considered to favour unduly those who, at the time, were described as introducing "the mass in masquerade" into the Church. Simplicius, let us assume, is an inhabitant of a parish of which Laticlavius has been appointed parson. Laticlavius belongs to the section of the High Church party generally called Ritualists. His church has more the appearance of a Roman Catholic than of an English church. He has a crucifix on the screen, and lighted candles on the altar, and the odour of incense pervades the building. He affects coloured stoles, wears vestments during the celebration of the Holy Communion, and turns his back on the people in breaking the bread and taking the cup. He mixes water with the wine and uses wafer bread. These things grate on the feelings of Simplicius and many other parishioners, who consider them to be inconsistent with the simplicity of worship which they prefer and to which they have hitherto been used, and suggestive of doctrines not recognised by the Church of England. Laticlavius is appealed to, but he is unable with any loyalty to his principles to

change his practice. Nothing remains but an appeal to the law, and the first step is to represent the grievance of the parishioners to the bishop of the diocese.

The representation is made in the name of Simplicius and two other parishioners, and is a formal document setting out the heads of complaint. Upon reading this representation it is open to the bishop tc determine that further proceedings shall not be taken, but he must give the grounds of his decision in writing to be solemnly filed in the diocesan registry. In the case in question he thinks that there is good ground for complaint, and he sends the representation to the accused clergyman, and proposes to him and also to the complainants a friendly arbitration. Neither party is prepared to agree to this course, and the matter is thereupon transmitted to the ecclesiastical judge, whose office was in the Public Worship Regulation Act constituted or rather re-constituted by Parliament. Laticlavius has time given him to answer the charges made against him in writing, and on the appointed day the judge hears the witnesses produced on either side, and the arguments of their counsel. He is of opinion that Laticlavius has infringed the law, and issues a monition to him to abstain for the future from the practices which he pronounces illegal. If Laticlavius should not submit to this decision, an order will be made upon him forbidding him to perform service in the church or to exercise the cure of souls for a term of not more than three months. This is by way of punishment for contumacy, and if before the end of the term Laticlavius should not submit in writing, the prohibition is continued indefinitely, and he will eventually lose his benefice.

But an appeal lies from the decision of the judge to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and Laticlavius takes advantage of this respite. Ecclesiastical appeals are part of the miscellaneous jurisdiction of this anomalous court of law. Simplicius will find it sitting, not at the Palace of Justice, but in a pleasant and luxurious room, not easily discovered, in the office of the Privy Council, just round the corner of Downing Street. There is a desk for the counsel who is arguing, some seats round a table for others who have business here, and very scanty accommodation for the outside public. The rest of the room, and by far its greater portion, is railed off for the judicial Privy Councillors, who sit scattered about it in comfortable chairs. The place has not the appearance of a court of law, and its ways are not the ways of the ordinary law courts. There is an air of officialism rather than of publicity about it. It is not, as is usual with law courts, open half an hour before the sitting begins, and the Privy Councillors do not enter the court like judges. But so soon as the Privy Councillors are seated, the doors are opened, and the lawyers and the public are admitted. When a case has been argued, the profane vulgar are turned out, to be recalled while one

of the Privy Councillors delivers their decision, which is not a judgment, but in the form of advice to the Queen. The members of the committee, from time to time, include the Lord Chancellor, the ex-Chancellors, the Chief Justice of England, the Master of the Rolls, the Lords Justices, and other judges who may have been made Privy Councillors, and certain permanent judges raised from the Bench, either of England or India; but they do not, as in their own courts, deliver each his own judgment; the judgment of the majority is delivered for all, an expression of dissent not being allowed.

Simplicius has the curiosity to attend the committee before his case is heard. Appeals from the courts of the Queen's dominions abroad are the staple of the business, varied by an occasional half judicial, half administrative case—such as an application for the extension of a patent beyond the usual term by an inventor who has not reaped so much advantage from it as he thinks he should have done. Near home, cases come from the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. From India, rajahs and zemindars, and Parsee merchants carry their disputes here, and find themselves litigants side by side with West Indian planters. The French civil code of Canada has to be interpreted, and a meaning given to the Roman-Dutch law of Ceylon and the Cape. Australia sends a supply of knotty commercial difficulties, and even the West Coast of Africa is not without a share in the arguments. Every quarter of the globe exports litigation to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

A day is specially appointed to hear the appeal of Laticlavius, because there must be ecclesiastical assessors. An archbishop and four bishops support the lay Privy Councillors. On the question of the vestments the difference between the Ritualists and their opponents seems to lie in a narrow compass. By the Act of Uniformity, passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, it is directed that "the ornaments of the Church, and the ministers thereof, shall be retained and be in use as were in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of King Edward VI., until other order shall be therein taken by the authority of the Queen's Majesty, with the advice of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, or of the metropolitan of this realm." Both sides admit that in the second year of King Edward VI. vestments were in use by authority of Parliament, but certain "advertisements," or admonitions, were issued by the Queen in 1556 with the advice required by the Act of Uniformity, which provide that "every minister saying public prayers, or ministering the sacraments or other rites of the Church, shall wear a comely surplice with sleeves." The Ritualists say that this direction is not an "other order" contemplated by the Act of Uniformity, because it forbids nothing, and only enjoins at least a "comely surplice with sleeves," to which they are entitled to add cope, alb, and chasuble.

The Judicial Committee, however, had previously disagreed with this view; they in this case maintain their previous decisions, so that the monition to Laticlavius is affirmed.

The law and the law courts, as may be partly gathered from the foregoing illustrations of legal administration, are constantly, like other institutions of the country, in a state of transition. The Judicature Acts concentrated into one Supreme Court the whole judicial staff, which up to that time had been scattered among distinct courts of equal rank, and it effected a fusion of the divergent principles which those courts acknowledged, but time was required to reap the full fruits of the reform. The relation between the Supreme Court and the County Courts is among the legal subjects which from time to time occupy the attention of the Legislature; the question being, whether the true policy is to strengthen the County Courts or to put a stop to the transfer of business to these lower tribunals, which has been on the increase year by year. Other subjects are canvassed from time to time. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in its colonial as well as in its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, has been, in regard to the mode of choosing the judges who are summoned to its deliberations and the conduct of its business, subjected to criticisms which are well enough deserved to portend a modification of some of its anomalies. It is thus evident that the law of England and the law courts are not behind the times, but adapt themselves with as much readiness as the necessarily conservative character of law and lawyers allows, to the requirements of the day. A capacity for change is, perhaps, the strongest evidence of vitality.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SERVICES.

Position of the British Navy compared with that of others—Present Importance of Superior Organisation and Instructed *Personnel*—Training of Boys and Seamen gunners—Royal Marines—Naval Artificers—Education of Officers—Young Officers of the Present Day—Higher Ranks and different Branches of the Service—Inner Life of a Man-of-War—Central Administration—Peculiar Independence of the Admiralty—The Army: Difficulty of organically changing it—Efforts at Reform—Why the General Outlines of the Army must always remain the same—Chief Changes described within these Outlines—The Abolition of Purchase and Change in the Prospects of Officers—Their Professional Improvements in Recent Years—Short Service—The Formation of the Soldier—Progress of the Recruit—Drill, Discipline, Crimes, Penalties, and Rewards—Insufficiency of Regular Army—Supplemented by Militia and Volunteers—Militia and Volunteers described.

The relations in which England, as the mistress of a powerful navy, stands to the other maritime Powers of the world are marked by certain peculiarities. Owing to the insular position of the United Kingdom, a fleet is naturally regarded as our first and most important line of defence. In Continental states, on the other hand, an army affords the best security against the aggression of hostile neighbours. A threat of war turns the thoughts of Englishmen to the condition of the navy, which an enemy must overcome before he can throw an expedition upon our shores. On the Continent it at once directs attention to the efficiency of the land forces to prevent or punish a violation of the territory. Most Continental nations will have a neutral state upon some division of their frontier, through which, in the present highly advanced condition of land communications, trade, though somewhat turned aside from its habitual channels, may still pass unmolested. The external trade of an island must, in the nature of things, be carried on by sea, and only a naval force can guarantee it against blockade. Where, as in our own case, the insular people are their own carriers, the necessity in war of protecting private property at sea at once increases the functions of the navy. If we add to this the consideration of the vast extent of our transmarine dominions, protected chiefly, if not solely, by the maritime power of the mother country, and the important fact that year by year we are becoming more dependent upon foreign imports for our food, it will be easy to perceive how much more extensive are the duties of our navy than those of the fleets of the other great European Powers.

Yet foreign nations have developed the strength of their navies during recent years, to a degree altogether out of proportion to the progress which has been made with our own. Thus England can show a displacement of only about 12,000 tons more than France, who, next to ourselves, is the strongest naval power in the world. Whilst, however, at this moment there can be no doubt as to the inefficiency of our navy—consequent in a great measure on the scattered nature of the empire which it is called upon to defend—it is equally certain that not only the public, but the Admiralty, recognize the desirability of building more armour-plated ships, as well as swift cruisers, especially designed for the protection of our commerce.

Progress in the arts and sciences, and the cosmopolitan character of modern commerce, have practically insured to all maritime states an equality in excellence of matériel. If the natural resources of a country do not suffice for, or the skill of its artificers prove unequal to, the production of the ships and equipment now requisite for an efficient fleet, recourse may be had to foreign factories and building-yards. If only the money can be provided, and as a rule it seems it can, any country with a coast may have at least the inanimate components of a navy. The chief superiority of our own country, therefore, lies in the nautical aptitude of the people; and, as might be expected, to develop this advantage to the fullest extent possible, by the careful organisation and systematic training of the *personnel*, is an essential element in the naval policy of the present day.

Maritime tastes prevail among all classes. To go to sea is, at one time or other, the desire of nearly every English boy. By a politic arrangement the State takes advantage of this wide-spread feeling. Recruits present themselves in greater numbers than are required; ships can be easily manned; habits of discipline and a knowledge of the duties which have to be performed are early instilled into the mind of the young sailor; and hundreds of lads are provided with the means of gaining an honourable livelihood. The advantages which a naval career offers to a boy are sufficiently great to attract to the service the sons of many parents considerably above the lowest class. The limits of age on entering the service—from fifteen to sixteen and a half—and the educational and physical tests, are sufficient indication that the boys, for the most part, must have been at decent schools and have been reared in comfort. The prohibition of the enrolment of youths from reformatories and industrial schools guard them in a great measure from association with crime and depravity, although in some instances this prohibition is in practice evaded. To their enrolment and their engagement to remain in the service for ten years after their eighteenth birthday the consent of their parents is necessary; while provision is made for a subsequent

change in the family fortunes by permitting the purchase of a discharge on not very onerous terms.

The first step in the boy's career is embarkation on board a stationary training-ship at Portsmouth, or some other southern port. His uniform—supplied at his own cost, but provided for to some extent out of a money grant subsequently awarded for the purpose—is ready for him in a few days, and he soon appears a small, but veritable, "blue-jacket." The course of instruction which he has to undergo is elaborate and exact. He begins by learning how to pay respect to his superiors, how to lash up his hammock, and how to fold up and put away his clothes in the sailor's only wardrobe—his bag. His day commences with washing the decks, and his hours of instruction with public prayers conducted by the chaplain. He is taught to wash his clothes, and to keep himself clean in person and neat in outward appearance. Half his time is devoted to regular school work—unless he be qualified for the "upper school," when the schoolmasters see less of him—and half to instruction in a sailor's duties. Rowing, reefing, furling, rigging, steering, sail-making, are taught him as soon as he has mastered the technical terms of the new language which he will have to speak. Drill with guns, with rifles, and with cutlasses goes on in the intervals between other lessons, and in summer every boy is taught to swim.

The whole course lasts a year, and at the end of it he becomes a "first-class boy," and is sent for a short cruise in the Channel in a training-brig, where he makes his earliest acquaintance with blue water. The schoolmaster and the instructor follow him here; but his time is chiefly and properly taken up in the practical work of his calling. At eighteen he ceases to be a boy, and is officially raised to the rank of a man by being "rated" ordinary seaman. His pay hitherto has been but sixpence or sevenpence a day, which has gone principally to supply clothing, and a small allowance of weekly pocket-money. The excellence of the diet in the training-ship frees him from the necessity of spending anything on food. As a man he receives higher pay, is allowed a ration of grog if he chooses, and may use tobacco at his pleasure. Every man in the navy is practically drilled and instructed until his last day afloat. But compulsory training in the technical sense diminishes considerably with manhood, and ends altogether with the final graduation as able seaman, or A.B.

The importance of excellence in the practice of naval gunnery in modern war-fleets is universally recognised, and has led to the introduction of gunnery-ships, on board of which the men who are to become seamen-gunners are carefully instructed. Those who join them do so voluntarily, attracted by an addition to their wages in accordance with the class of certificate gained, and other inducements, such as diminution in the period of service entitling them to a pension.

The course lasts several months, and includes drill with great guns, with cutlasses, in musketry firing, in the management of torpedoes, and in the evolutions of infantry and field-artillery. As a fact, all the seamen of the fleet are trained in these things, but the instruction is more thorough and extended in the case of seamen-gunners. A trained sailor may be reefing or furling sails on Monday, acting as a rifleman on Tuesday, manœuvring a field-gun on Wednesday, practising the "cuts and guards" on Thursday, and be working an eighteen-ton gun on Friday. A gunner must not only be conversant with the practical work of the various branches of naval gunnery, but must be competent to teach others as well. The most promising men are put through a more advanced course of instruction and become teachers themselves, with the official designation of Instructors. The A.B.—whether trained in a gunnery ship or not—can be advanced to higher grades as a petty officer. He may become coxswain of a boat, captain of a top, or boatswain's or gunner's mate, and thus obtain command over others, increased pay, and the right to wear a badge or symbol of rank upon his sleeve; or he may reach the highest position open to a 'fore-mast hand—the grade of boatswain or gunner.

The seamen proper form but a portion of the crew of a ship. There are many other classes "before the mast." Every vessel carries a considerable detachment of Royal Marines, made up of both artillerymen and infantry, the former being selected from the latter, and subjected to a special training. These men are enlisted on terms somewhat different from those which obtain in the army of the line. They enlist for long service, while the men of the army have superior advantages in the way of pay, pension, and promotion from the ranks. Though the requirements in height and chest measurement for the marines exceed those for army recruits, there is never any difficulty in obtaining men; in fact, it has been necessary upon several occasions to raise the standard in order to keep the force within the established strength. The marines are distributed in divisions at the principal naval ports. They supply the guards and sentries on board ship, and some few of them are permitted to act as servants to the officers. Together with the blue-jackets they man the guns, and in all duties—which do not require their presence aloft or at the oars—they share equally with the sailors. Their training, which, as they enter the service as grown men, is shorter than that of their shipmates, is conducted at their own head-quarters, and is so perfect and carefully supervised that, in spite of long absences from a parade-ground, their qualities as soldiers are second to those of none in the world. Their discipline is admirable, and their fidelity so well established as to have almost passed into a proverb. The position of the corps is not so good as its deserts; for, owing to long service

enlistment and the requirements of the authorities, they form a *corps d'élite*. Of late years, however, the sailor has been more and more trained and drilled as if it were intended that he should be able to perform the duties of a soldier. His military education naturally takes up a good deal of his time; and it is a common cause of complaint among officers of the marines, that their men are removed from their legitimate duties to perform others and subordinate ones rightly the work of seamen. Besides these, there are stokers for the work of the engine-room and stokehole, and endless varieties of artificers. Nor is a crew complete which has not on its lists carpenters, caulkers, shipwrights, blacksmiths, armourers, and painters, each with their separate grades; while in large ships are also to be found butchers, tinsmiths, coopers, and lamp-trimmers. Vessels of all classes carry stewards, cooks, sick-berth attendants, and servants.

The officers who have to command these men begin their career at an earlier age than the "'foremast hands." To become a naval cadet a boy must be more than twelve and less than thirteen years and a half old. Those who have succeeded in obtaining a nomination to compete for a cadetship have to pass an examination in school subjects, held twice a year, before they can be appointed to the officers' school-ship, the *Britannia*. It is also necessary to pass an examination in physical qualifications before a board of medical men. The duration of the schooling in the *Britannia* is two years, the cadet being instructed chiefly in the theoretical subjects with which he must become conversant before he can gain a correct knowledge of the duties of his profession. The education is to a great extent mathematical, and is almost purely scholastic, in order that the withdrawal of boys at so tender an age from the usual studies of persons of their class in life may be in some measure made up to them. At its conclusion they are sent to the larger of the regular sea-going ships of the fleet, and this is the real beginning of the young officer's naval life. His schooling, however, still continues; the naval instructor—an officer appointed specially for the purpose—claims him for a great part of the day, the desk being really the true scene of the modern midshipman's labours. Examinations are frequent, and future advancement in the service depends on success in them. It will therefore be readily understood that the "middies" of our time differ greatly from the "reefers" of the time of Marryat. They are schoolboys now rather than officers, purely academic tests being powerful to fix their position in the least academic of services. They still command boats and have charge of tops; but the former are too often steam launches, and in ironclads the latter are seldom practically used either to set or take in sail.

After some four years spent at sea, the passing of a series of examinations entitles the midshipman to his first commission as a sub-

lieutenant, and marks the end of the obligatory *status pupillaris*. He may, when promoted to the next rank—that of lieutenant—voluntarily undergo a course of study in naval gunnery, or in torpedo science; or he can, in any rank bearing a commission (up to that of captain), study at the college at Greenwich. But the end of his midshipman's term and its several "final" examinations terminate his schoolboy-days. Promotion to a lieutenancy goes practically by seniority, and should be attained about the twenty-fourth year; to commander, and afterwards to captain, it is by selection; to the various grades of flag-officers strictly by seniority. A man may be a commander by five-and-thirty or sooner, and a captain four or five years later. Large ships carry an officer of each of these ranks, while small vessels with less than about one hundred and fifty men are frequently in sole charge of a commander. Besides the great body of naval officers, there are in the service many branches, *e.g.*, the chaplains, the increasingly important engineers, the medical officers, the paymasters, and so on. At least one representative of every class is to be found aboard most men-of-war. Indeed, H.M.'s ships resemble little worlds in the completeness and variety of the callings represented by their crews.

It is when the officers and men, of whom so much has now been said, are brought together afloat, that the inner life on board ship may be seen, in the customs and manners which prevail throughout the navy. The early and thorough cleansing of every part of the ship, which begins the day; the polishing and beautifying all within and without which follows; the forenoons and afternoons given up to drill and instruction; the busy work of the carpenters, blacksmiths, sailmakers, and other artificers; the whirr of the lathe of the engineers—all these are reproduced throughout hundreds of ships in all parts of the world. At one time a row of men are standing ready for inspection before having leave or "liberty" to go on shore. At another, a less eager rank is drawn up before the commander or senior lieutenant (the second in command, by whom the internal economy is supervised), awaiting trial for small offences. Red-coated sentries pace to and fro; the captain quits or returns to the ship amid a shrill flourish of whistles; the doctors inspect their patients in the hospital or "sick-bay." The working hours may be said to end after the early supper of the men at half-past four is finished, when the long-wished-for pipe may be smoked. As the bells strike the hour the watch is called. The pipe of the boatswain's mate conveys orders given by the ever-present lieutenant of the watch. The whole busy scene of ship life is intended as a preparation for war; and the steady and continuous instruction given has provided the fleet of the country with a class of "trained cutlasses" to which even the "educated bayonets" of Prussia are not superior.

The central government of the naval service resides at the Admiralty, and is carried on by a Board called the Board of Admiralty, the members being styled "Lords Commissioners for Executing the Office of Lord High Admiral." There are five members of the Board: the First Lord, who is a member of the Cabinet, and four assistant Commissioners. To the First Lord is entrusted the general supervision, the control, in great measure, of the naval policy of the country, and the appointment of officers to high commands. His power over his colleagues is practically supreme, but in the division of labour among them these important matters as a rule fall to him. Next come three naval lords—known as the Senior Naval Lord, Third Lord, and Junior Naval Lord, of whom the first superintends the discipline of the fleet, the next attends to construction and the dockyards, and the last to victualling and transport. The fifth member of the Board is the Civil Lord, who attends to finance. Secretaries take other duties, and the Controller—the greatest officer of the navy who has not a seat at the Board—has care of the *matériel* and armament.

In the discharge of his important duties he has to approve of designs of ships, armoured and unarmoured—from the turret-ship carrying guns weighing eighty tons and armour twenty-four inches thick, to the gunboat not much bigger than a Cowes yacht. With his department rests the decision as to the weapons to be carried; the size and position of the guns, and of the new and important weapon—the torpedo. His relations with the dockyards—the vast establishments in which ships are built or repaired—are naturally intimate. The dockyards represent, to some extent, outlying branches of his great department, and have their offshoots at many places, thousands of miles off, in our colonial dependencies. In the same way the victualling-yards, or establishments for supplying the fleet with food and other necessaries, are distributed about the world. The Admiralty, as head of the navy, enjoys a curious constitutional independence; it can appoint officers independently of the Sovereign's sign-manual; its Mutiny Act—the Naval Discipline Act—does not require renewal. Another peculiarity is the method of voting the estimates. In the army the *number* of men and the charges for pay and maintenance are made the subject of votes. In the navy the *wages* only for so many men and boys are voted. In fact, though many of its privileges have been abolished or exchanged, the Admiralty still occupies a unique position among the great departments of the State.*

The British army of to-day may be compared to an old-fashioned house in one of the principal London streets, which has been re-

* The numbers provided for in the naval estimates for the current financial year are as follows: For the fleet—seamen, 30,633; boys, 4,950; marines afloat, 6,200; marines ashore, 6,200. For the coastguard—afloat (included with fleet); on shore, officers and men, 4,000. Indian service, 958. Total, 52,941. Ships and vessels of all sorts, efficient, 236.

fronted and re-decorated to meet the imperious needs of modern progress. Till the portals have been passed no one would recognise the dwelling. Outside, the architect, lavish with plate-glass, with stone mullions and crimson bricks, has worked wonders; but he has not been equally successful within. All his efforts to recast the interior of the dwelling and lay it out afresh have been at best half failures. He has thrown down partitions, altered levels, added here and rebuilt there; but his difficulties were too great to be completely surmounted, and everywhere the old character of the place crops up irrepressibly. Great structural changes have been impracticable; conflicting interests and vested rights, questions of free access, party-walls and light impeded, have tied his hands. He has been forbidden to increase the limits of the edifice, which must still be contained within its old four walls. Consequently, there are still low ceilings, narrow corridors leading to *culs-de-sac*, curious corners where the daylight cannot penetrate, and where the dust will still gather in spite of new brooms. Nothing better, indeed, could be done; at least until the advent of a general conflagration, an earthquake, or some abnormal cataclysm which, spreading ruin and desolation around, shall leave the site unencumbered for the erection of another mansion, new, from basement to roof-tree, and constructed from first to last on entirely different lines.

It is precisely the same with our army. The necessity for its thorough re-constitution and reform has long been admitted on every side, and statesmen, soldiers, officials, experts of every kind have had a hand in the job. The War Office has proved a sure avenue to the peerage for cabinet ministers, who, recognising the importance of the work, have strenuously put their shoulder to the wheel. A host of specialists, some merely outsiders, others in high place at the War Office and on the staff, have assisted in the work of revision, recommendation, and substitution; yet, in spite of the efforts of all, it is only upon the surface, only in its external aspect, not in its internal framework and principal lines, that the army has been changed.

There are, in fact, certain seemingly inalienable peculiarities which continually run counter to drastic reform. Complications crop up at every turn; grave constitutional and political questions are intimately connected with the whole subject. The responsibilities of the most extensive and most varied empire which the world ever knew intensify a thousandfold the difficulties of army administration and organisation. The usual formula, that liberty is in danger, is echoed on every side at the first hint of the possible necessity for universal service. While parliamentary government remains what it is, the exigencies of "party" strife will always override the manifest advantages of military efficiency and thorough readiness for war. The same principle of government carries with it the inevitable consequence that the supreme head of

the army must be a civilian. Even if there were not an invincible national repugnance to the mere name of "conscription," the multifarious character of the duties which our soldiers are called upon to perform, often in deadly climates, exiled and at a distance from home, would render compulsory service practically impossible with us. We alone among great European Powers must continue, therefore, to recruit our army by voluntary enlistment, accepting the pecuniary burden which it entails; a tax, however, which ends with the money spent, and does not, as in Germany and elsewhere, seriously sap the national prosperity and progress. Again, it is this unalterable rule of voluntary service which fixes the quality and status of the men who form the rank and file. These cannot, as in countries where all classes alike supply their quota, be drawn from more than one source of supply. This source, with us, must be the market for unskilled labour, in which alone Government competes against other employers for the thews and muscles it requires. Finally, the peculiar fascinations which the profession of arms seems to possess for the sons of the aristocracy and of well-to-do people of the upper and middle classes provide an inexhaustible contingent of candidates for commissions. There is an increase rather than a diminution in the supply, and this in spite of changes which might have been thought to reduce appreciably the attractions of the military career. Notwithstanding the abolition of purchase, the difficulties thrown in the way of exchanges from regiment to regiment to suit individual convenience, and the prospect of stagnation in promotion which can be relieved only at the cost of much hardship, the officers, as a body, are and will continue to be of the class of gentlemen bred and born.

But although the general outlines and principal conditions of military service remain much what they were a hundred years ago, it cannot be denied that there have been recently great changes and improvements in matters of detail. Of these the most remarkable are (1) the consolidation of the governing bodies, which has been effected through the removal of the Horse Guards' staff from Whitehall to the War Office; (2) the abolition of purchase among officers and the concurrent, but not necessarily, consequent increase of professional knowledge and acquirements among them; (3) the adoption of the principle of short enlistment for the rank and file; and (4) a general revision of the training, constitution, equipment, and weapons of the three arms.

Before the Crimean campaign there was practically no single great office charged with the administration of the army as a whole. A number of small independent jurisdictions controlled the several branches, working in harmony or not, according to the chances of the case, but imperfectly conscious of their true functions and the importance of maintaining the army itself in a high state of efficiency. The results

of this want of a unified system were plainly apparent in the terrible confusion which promptly supervened during our war with Russia, and one of the first efforts towards reform was in administration. The creation of a new Secretary of State especially appointed "for war" was followed by numerous alterations in names, officers, and business performed, yet all having the same purpose of concentrating authority under a single head. The edifice was not crowned until the commander-in-chief was forcibly moved from Whitehall. The Duke of Cambridge had always cheerfully recognised the power and superiority of the Secretary of State as the official really responsible to the Queen and Parliament. But this subordination continued to be in a measure misunderstood so long as the two remained under different roofs and, at least in appearance, independent of each other. Now the fusion is actual and complete. The Secretary of State for War stands next to the Sovereign, and holds by delegation the supreme authority and command. Upon his staff are three principal officers. Two of these are parliamentary officials having seats in Parliament, and are charged, severally, with the departments of supply of stores, and finance; the third is the Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief, who discharges purely military functions. The measures by which this consolidation was brought about did not at first find favour with all concerned. But the necessity was indisputable, and now that some years have passed, the system has been accepted and acquiesced in with the best grace in the world. The fact is, the introduction into the War Office of a large leaven of the military element has tended to increase the dignity and influence of the Commander-in-Chief. Clerkdom has in a measure succumbed: the soldiers, although nominally more subordinated, are really more powerful now when they are on the spot, and their voices can be quickly heard, than when they transacted their business from a distance by communications on paper, or by visits which were formal and rare.

The precise ends which the Government of the day had in view when it proposed to abolish the long-established practice of buying and selling commissions in the army will never perhaps be accurately known. The occasion was one of general excitement, and nothing less than some large scheme of military reorganisation and reform, or the semblance of it, would have satisfied the public mind. Purchase being theoretically quite indefensible, nothing was easier than to charge it with the flaws and failures of the whole system. It was said to impede and interfere with any arrangements for increasing the symmetry and efficiency of the service; the vested rights of the officers stood continually in the way. If a man had purchased his promotion, it was almost impossible to remove him, however incompetent, from regimental command. Merit was repeatedly over-

looked; promotion following not fitness, but the length of a man's purse. These and other reasons sufficiently justified the attack made upon an institution which, though it might be time-honoured, had on the face of it little to recommend it. But they did not easily overbear the opposition which the proposal encountered. There were many practical men who, while they admitted the disadvantages of purchase, upheld it on the ground of its economy and convenience. It was a system by which a large body of servants of the Crown provided their own pensions without costing the public exchequer a penny. It secured a reasonably rapid flow of promotion; and if, in theory, it bore hardly upon some deserving officers who had not the means to purchase, matters righted themselves in the long run, and, as a matter of fact, they often benefited more largely by the system than their comrades who paid. For the non-purchase officer who constantly gained promotion by seniority and other means, became entitled to precisely the same sums on retirement as the purchase officer; while the constant movement of men coming and going pushed him steadily to the top of the tree.

Nevertheless, although the contest was fierce and protracted, purchase was definitively swept away in 1871. In the years that have since elapsed there have been many opportunities of testing the wisdom of the change, although it would be premature to pronounce finally even as yet upon its failure or success. Certain consequences, however, which are directly traceable to it, have become plainly apparent. Chief among these is the unsatisfactory conclusion that the eight millions voted to "buy back our army" represented only a fraction of the total outlay involved; promotion almost immediately stagnated, and threatened soon to cease altogether unless some artificial means were devised to quicken it and keep it alive. This entailed an elaborate scheme of retirements with bonuses and pensions, which falls heavily on the public purse; while the provisions of the warrant prove in many cases a distinct hardship to officers themselves. The basis of existing arrangements is that all who, at a certain age, have not ascended above a certain grade shall be compelled to retire. In other words, a captain who is still a captain at forty, a major still a major at forty-seven, and so on through the various grades, must, although their retardation will probably have been their misfortune and not their fault, take their pensions and retire permanently from active employment. This rule may have been a logical necessity. It cannot be doubted that strong reasons existed why this stagnation should be relieved by application of the scheme to other than the very highest ranks. But the immediate results of the plan have caused great hardship to a number of officers, while the State was heavily taxed to provide pensions for men still full of health and eager to work. The evils of this

method of enforced retirements soon became plainly marked, and it has been considerably modified. Of late years strenuous efforts have been made to reduce compulsory retirement to a minimum. Promotion and the common upward movement have been stimulated by reducing the number of generals serving upon the active list. At the same time the regimental majors have been increased from two to four, so that there is and will be less stagnation in the lower grades.

How far the abolition of purchase can be credited with the distinct improvement in the professional efficiency of the body of officers is another point which cannot be exactly determined. No doubt, the knowledge that promotion can no longer be purchased, but may be secured by merit, has proved an incentive to exertion; although even now, it is no more certain that mere merit will insure advancement than that incompetence will be a disqualification for high commands. But other causes have also been at work. The present generation has seen a more widespread development of military science than any that has preceded it; and the same influences which brought about German triumphs and French disasters have been felt in England. The paramount necessity for progressive improvement has been impressed with irresistible force on an important section of our officers; and these have in their turn, authoritatively, or by the more effective suasion of precept and example, helped to introduce a new tone throughout the service and establish a new order of things. Under the present régime, military subjects are no longer tabooed, as they once were, among military men. Military literature finds a wide circle of military readers. Military games are played by the dandified guardsman or the once professionally illiterate dragoon. Schools, classes, lectures in London and the principal garrisons and camps, provide all ranks with abundant opportunities for self-improvement, of which numbers gladly avail themselves to the full. This marked and very general change in the ambitions and aptitudes of the officers is one of the most hopeful signs for the future of our military institutions. Although yielding to none in the world in gallantry and devotion in the hour of danger, it might once have been urged against them that their scientific acquirements were extremely limited; that, beyond the perfunctory discharge of routine duties, as quickly forgotten as the uniform coat was exchanged for mufti, they had no claim to be called soldiers in the modern sense of the term. But officers, as a body, are now rapidly escaping from any such reproach. From the moment the young cadet, released from Sandhurst, matriculates, so to speak at the *alma mater* of his corps, he is subjected to a system of progressive training which cannot fail to perfect him in the work he has or will have to do. He is still encouraged, as of old, to play games and patronise sport; to shoot, hunt, fish, and show

his prowess in those manly exercises which have in times past given English officers a peculiar advantage when sent into the field. He is still constantly reminded by the tone and spirit of those among whom he lives, and who soon become his life-long friends, that unfailing courtesy, a chivalrous bearing and pleasant address, frank manliness, and straightforward and honourable dealings with all the world, are the traits of "the officer and the gentleman." This composite expression appears to be in no immediate danger of alteration. It was thought at the time that the action of recent reforms would tend to lower appreciably the social status of English officers as a whole. But although the expression "Mr. Cardwell's young men" was for a short period often employed as a term of contempt, it never had real meaning or foundation. Now, from causes already indicated, the tendency is more than ever to fill our regiments with officers drawn exclusively from the wealthier classes. Armies will still be led, as of old, by the gentlemen of England. But they will be gentlemen who can rely on their professional knowledge, as well as on their personal qualities, to win the esteem and respect of their men.

Not less drastic than the measures adopted with regard to the officers were those which were taken about the same time for revising the conditions of service for the rank and file. The Enlistment Act of 1871 was a well-digested scheme for the consolidation of the whole of our military forces. The adoption of the principle of enlistment for short periods of service with the colours, followed by a longer time in a reserve presumably within easy reach, is only of recent date, but it has already modified considerably the aspect and intrinsic value of the army as a whole. Before 1870 there had been repeated changes in the terms and conditions of service. Men had been enlisted for life, for twenty-one, for twelve, and last of all for ten years. But none of these systems had aimed at doing more than fill the ranks. The recruit who joined under them served always at headquarters; it was not incumbent upon him, it was not even open to him, to pass into a reserve, except under conditions which were not sufficiently attractive to induce him thus to become bound for a further period. The Army Enlistment Act of 1871, which is now in force, was a new and logical attempt to alter this. Under its provisions the recruit could enlist for either long or short service. If he chose the former, the soldier engaged to serve twelve years with the colours, and had the option of re-engaging for another term of nine years at the end of the first period. For short service, he engaged to serve six years with the colours and six in the reserve. But at any time after three years he could be dismissed to the reserve with a retaining fee in the shape of a modicum of daily pay, to act as a lien upon him to return and complete the full term, should his services in any emergency be required. At present, however, practically all enlistments

are for short service, which is fixed at seven years with the colours and five years in the reserve. If the soldier is abroad when his term with the colours expires, another twelvemonth is added to it and deducted from his term in the reserve; that is, he serves eight years with the first and four years in the second. But only men in the Household Cavalry, the Band of the Royal Military College, and the Corps of Ordnance Artificers are now permitted to engage for long service or twelve years with the colours. No doubt the intentions of the authors of this change were excellent, and it is but fair to admit that so far as the formation of reserves, which could be promptly utilised and in considerable numbers, is concerned, their endeavours have been attended by a certain degree of success. The ease and rapidity with which, in spite of friction and small flaws in administrative machinery, these reserves were mobilised when war with Russia was imminent five years ago, sufficiently established the wisdom of the system in this particular respect. But there are, on the other hand, uncomfortable misgivings that the principle of short service has tended greatly to alter the physical character of the army as a whole and in a measure to reduce its soldierly efficiency. The reserves, it is to be feared, are kept up at the expense of the service battalions, which have become merely feed-pipes, so to speak, conveying a constant stream towards them. The service army is always in a fluid condition; it never crystallises and consolidates itself. The bronzed and bearded veterans, the old soldiers, full of the cunning of experience, the self-reliant full-grown men who won for Great Britain its records of imperishable fame, are absolutely wanting in our regiments of to-day. That the lads and striplings who have replaced them are animated by the same spirit is likely enough, but they cannot be equal to them in strength and physique, nor are they to be blamed if they exhibit unsteadiness or want of stamina when sorely tried. Six years ago, when our operations in Zululand caused a sudden demand to be made on our home establishment, it was discovered that no fewer than thirty-one of our line battalions had each on an average only a hundred and twenty-eight men who had completed two years' service. Of such men there were just forty-eight in one battalion and eighty-one in another. Our later experience in Afghanistan and the Transvaal afforded additional if not stronger evidence that some modification of the principle of short service was required in order to secure for every corps at least a leaven of older and more thoroughly trained men. It may be questioned, indeed, if the short service system—especially now that an extra year with the colours is exacted—is alone and in itself responsible for the general immaturity of our troops. Although the age at which recruits can be enlisted has been nominally raised from eighteen to nineteen, it is matter of common observation that many of them are considerably

younger. When the limit of age was eighteen it is notorious that numbers of youths of seventeen, and even sixteen, were accepted, and judging from the past it is pretty safe to conjecture that a year, or even two years, of deficiency is not at present regarded very frequently as an insurmountable obstacle to enlistment. Hence, since the period of greatest endurance is between twenty-three and thirty, it happens that owing to several concurrent causes, a large contingent of our soldiers scarcely enter on it while they are with the colours. It is true that the campaigns of last year and the year before in Egypt bore witness to an encouraging improvement in both the physical and moral qualities of our troops, and seemed to testify to a considerable advance in age and increase in discipline. But the men engaged in the Egyptian expeditions were more or less picked men, and besides had had the opportunity of reaping some of the advantages which the general although slight extension of army service, and the inducement, in the shape of a pension after twenty-one years with the colours, offered to efficient non-commissioned officers to re-enlist, were intended and calculated to insure. Beneficial, however, as the effects of these reforms, of which the credit is due to Mr. Childers, are, and are likely to be, it would be better still if some expedient could be introduced by which a certain proportion, say ten per cent., of the rank and file could be composed of old soldiers.

But if too many of our brave defenders are nowadays merely warriors in embryo, no pains are spared to carry their training as far as it can go, to improve their equipment, and generally to secure their comfort and well-being. The life of the recruit, from the moment he enlists until he is dismissed drill, fully proves this. Whether picked up by the recruiting sergeant in metropolitan purlieus, whether drawn from agricultural district or busy manufacturing town, or whether coming into barracks of his own free will, seeking employment after a run of bad luck in other callings, the recruit is carefully protected and looked after from the first. He must be sworn in and attested before a magistrate after a certain lapse of hours, to prove that he has not been inveigled into enlistment unawares. To secure his independence still further, he joins his depôt or the head-quarters of the corps by himself, and not, as in times past, under an escort. Arrived at the barracks, he undergoes a second medical examination, is bathed, clothed in fatigue dress, and handed over to his "company" sergeant to be lodged in a barrack-room, made one of a "mess," and within the day is included in a squad of others like himself about to be initiated into the mysteries of his profession. From the goose-step, the infantry recruit passes through the "extension motions" to club-drill, and so on, through slow marching, marching in quick and double time, to the use of his weapons, and then to more intricate movements in company and battalion drill, followed last of all by careful instruction in "loose

order" fighting, or independent skirmishing. The process is naturally more intricate and lengthened with the cavalry recruit, the artilleryman, and the engineer. The riding-school is the chief thing with the first named, and a source of no little discomfort to the yokel or city *vaurien*, who has never before been in a saddle. Cavalry exercises, again, are difficult to master, because the pupil must learn to handle not a rifle only, but a sword, carbine, pistol, and lance. The gunner's training is practically never completed; the horse-artilleryman must learn to ride as well as to work his guns, and the garrison gunner has an endless course of instruction in manipulating the multitudinous appliances and machinery of modern ordnance. The sapper or engineer begins with the knowledge of some handicraft or trade, which is an indispensable qualification for enlistment into that arm; but he also has an interminable course of instruction in the various processes which the modern scientific soldier has at command.

But the education of the young soldier is not entirely technical and mechanical. While thus undergoing that perpetual repetition of exercises which gradually makes their performance almost automatic, he is insensibly subjected to the influences of discipline, and almost impalpably assimilates those notions of perfect obedience to orders and implicit subordination of will which, when thoroughly understood, makes an army, as Locke has it, "a collection of armed men obliged to obey one man." According as he submits to the iron rule with a good will, grudgingly, or not at all, must his value as a soldier be measured. If he kicks against the pricks, and chafes at the petty despotism of a stripling sergeant or callow corporal, who but the day before was a recruit like himself, he may enter upon a career of misconduct which, commencing in trifling *laches*—such as short absences without leave, occasional resistance to authority—may culminate one day in defiant conduct and desertion of the colours. For each and all of the first named he will incur penalties—such as loss of pay and liberty, dull repetitions of drill, with possibly a short confinement to cells. If his insubordination goes to the length of actual violence, he will be tried by court-martial, and may find himself in prison for a long term, as he will assuredly do should his desertion end, as it very often but, unhappily, not always does, in detection and recapture. On the other hand, the well-conducted soldier, save and except for a more or less constant *ennui* born of the narrow and objectless life he leads, may pass his days in comparative comfort and freedom from care. He is relieved of all responsibilities of maintenance, is fed, lodged, clothed, with the most punctilious attention to his wants and requirements. Officers inspect his food and his barrack-rooms; doctors prescribe for him if his finger aches; he has "his rights," as he calls them, and may complain, whenever he feels aggrieved, to the highest authority. The sum of 2d. a day is placed to his credit under the

name of deferred pay, so that when he obtains his discharge he may not be without funds with which to start in his old trade, or on which he can subsist until he discovers some opening in civil life. But for occasional exile and the rather remote possibility of being called upon to risk his life for his country, the private soldier, in the society of congenial companions, and with just enough exercise to keep him in health, is perhaps more of a gentleman at large than any other member of the working community.

Were it not for their rawness and crudity, no grave fault could be found with the rank and file of by far the larger portion of our regular army. Our infantry soldiers are armed with an admirable breech-loader, which they are taught to handle with skill and effect. The cavalry are well mounted and fairly equipped, although there is still room for improvement in weapons and gear, in organisation and tactics, whether for man or horse. As for the artillery and engineers, they may compare with advantage with any in Europe. The intelligence of our officers and their good qualities have been already adverted to; while the action of those in authority and in the superior grades, in raising the level of excellence, is an exceedingly hopeful sign for times to come. Yet one serious defect remains, and is likely to remain unremedied until some almost irreparable disaster overtakes us. This is the insufficiency of our regular forces, all told, for the services they may be called upon to perform. What with the demands made by India, the Crown colonies, and occasional little wars in remote regions, our regular army is always broken up into fractions and distributed over the face of the earth. The balance available for service within the United Kingdom, as garrison and safeguard against foreign attack, is altogether inadequate in view of the mammoth armies which our neighbours control. Great doubts exist, moreover, as to the wisdom of the present system of organisation. Some twelve years ago the War Minister sought to consolidate our military forces by ordaining the more intimate amalgamation of regulars with auxiliaries. To accomplish this the principle of "localising" regiments was adopted. All regular regiments have long borne certain county or local designations, and the notion was to connect each more closely with the particular shire or place of which it bore the name. It was hoped that this would stimulate recruiting for each corps in its own district, and that, moreover, the militia and volunteers of the district would become more closely identified with the fighting line. But the depôt of the regiment only was so "localized," and the head-quarters, with its band and colours, and all the pomp and circumstance which gave it prestige, was never seen. The attempt to stir up provincial enthusiasm has more or less failed, and it is becoming nearly certain that localisation itself is an anachronism. People have long since ceased to be moved by local sentiment or bound by strong local

ties. Recruits as a matter of fact are nowadays obtained mainly at the great centres of life and activity, and not from the outlying districts. Nevertheless the military authorities are loth to admit this. They attribute the failure of localising regiments to the fact that the system has not been carried sufficiently far. Now every line regiment has lost its individual identity, and is incorporated with another and with two militia battalions into a newfangled body with an especially local or "territorial" name. The change was by no means popular, and many officers of rank and great experience protested against it in the strongest terms as tending to destroy that peculiar regimental feeling, so valuable and so keenly felt in our service, called *esprit de corps*. But a small band of ardent reformers, having the courage of their convictions, have given the fullest effect to their theories. What the consequences will ultimately be it is at present too early to foresee.

When discussing the inadequacy of our land forces it is usual to lay great stress upon our navy as our first and most effective line of defence. But that this powerful arm is not all sufficient for our safety, is proved by our consistent efforts to organise citizen forces to supplement our home army should occasion arise. Of these, the first, the militia, is an institution practically coeval with the nation, which bases its right to exist upon the claim the State has upon every citizen to serve in defence of his hearth and home; the second—the volunteers—is an admirable exponent of the spirit and martial enterprise of the nation at large.

The loyalty of the militia to the State rather than to the individual has always been marked, so much so that at one period of our history it was relied upon as the most effectual safeguard of the liberties of the people against the menace of a standing army. It was recruited by ballot, and although this method has now fallen into abeyance, the statutory power to enforce it still remains. It is, perhaps, needless to remark that any attempt to carry it into effect would, in the present state of public opinion, lead to determined resistance. Nevertheless, the ballot remains as a last resource in a time of national emergency. Time was when the militia as an element of military strength was somewhat under-estimated. For numbers of years it was never called out, and its existence was almost forgotten. Then after it had done good service, as during the Crimean war and Indian Mutiny, it was long subordinated to the volunteers. It has, however, regained its proper place in public esteem, and is now closely interwoven with the whole scheme of military organisation for purposes of recruiting; militia regiments being affiliated to certain line regiments, to which they act as supports and reserves. More careful supervision and a change in the system of officering, with longer trainings and more frequent practice in association with other troops, have in recent years considerably developed the efficiency of the whole force. As

for the volunteers, their wonderful vitality, in spite of snubs and sneers, accompanied not unfrequently by contemptuous distrustfulness as to their real value in time of need, still maintains their prestige. The volunteer movement was the natural outcome of the wave of military enthusiasm which swept over the land a quarter of a century ago. Many causes had been working upon the national spirit. The Crimean war and the Indian Mutiny had developed rather than diminished our offensive strength, but it was at the cost of our defensive resources. The militia had been called upon, and had responded well; but even of militia we had too few. It was at this juncture that the apparently aggressive policy of Napoleon III. led people to think once more of the proximity of France to our own shores, and gave rise to rumours, vague enough, but widely circulated and believed, that an invasion of England was not an impossible contingency. There is no doubt that the volunteers were very much in earnest; and as might have been predicted of the stubborn national character, the only effect of the ridicule and satire expended upon them was to intensify their perseverance and confirm their resolution. They are now excellent soldiers, in some points superior to regulars or militia; for one thing they are generally expert marksmen, and they exhibit a high degree of intelligence, being for the most part recruited from the educated classes. The defective arrangements for their equipment upon a war footing, and for practice in military exercises, are the great faults of the system. In the present state of our general military organisation, however, it is not quite clear whether, in case of invasion, the volunteers would be much worse off than the regular troops as far as mobilisation is concerned. In any case, it is a great point gained to have the men; and although, with regard to the status of the volunteer force anomalies at present exist which would not be tolerated in Continental armies, it forms an element in our defensive, and presumptively of our offensive, strength which no foreign critic attempts to ignore.

The Head-quarter Staff at the War Office superintends the whole business of the army. The General Staff is composed of men who have in most cases received a special training at the Staff College; but there are several exceptions to the rule, since good service in the field and recognised ability frequently open the door of promotion to it. In our military system, however, the organisation of the staff is somewhat complicated, and the staff officers are often employed in duties of mere routine, which in Continental armies would not be regarded as falling within their proper province. Attached to the General Staff there are at present 250 officers, 26 warrant officers, and 141 non-commissioned officers. Accordiug to the Army Estimates for the current financial year the regular army, exclusive of India, was to consist of 7,243 officers, 1,040 warrant officers, 14,952 non-com-

missioned officers, 3,656 drummers, trumpeters, and buglers, and 113,423 rank and file—in all 140,314. Of these, in round numbers, 12,400 are cavalry, 2,500 horse artillery, 19,000 field or garrison artillery, 5,200 engineers, 80,200 infantry, 2,500 colonial corps, and 5,250 departmental corps, to which must be added the general staff, the militia staff, the staff of the various military institutions, the Army Hospital Corps, the Army Service Corps, and the rest, making the total as we have already stated it. The British army in India numbers 61,591 men of all ranks; 2,487 officers, 129 warrant officers, 3,304 non-commissioned officers, 1,613 drummers, trumpeters, and buglers, and 54,658 rank and file. It comprises, in round numbers, 4,300 cavalry, 1,600 horse artillery, 6,500 field artillery and 3,000 garrison artillery, 400 engineers, and 45,600 infantry. The four classes of auxiliary troops include the Militia, 141,982; the Yeomanry, 14,404; the Volunteers, 249,412; and the Army Reserve—first class, 39,500, and second class, 7,750;—or 453,048 of all ranks and arms. The number at which the Army Reserve was ultimately to stand under the Army Regulation Act of 1870 was 60,000, and it has taken between fourteen or fifteen years to bring it up to 47,250, or nearly a quarter under its normal strength. We have thus in all parts of the world a nominal military force of 644,753, of which the numbers actually returned on paper at the beginning of the year were 555,548.

On the armament of the several branches of the service a few words may be said in conclusion. The infantry are armed with breech-loading rifles and bayonets. The range of the rifle for practical purposes was estimated at 900 yards, but experience has shown that long-range fire —that is, at much greater distances—will probably be utilised in future wars. Cavalry soldiers are armed with sword and breech-loading carbine, lancers with the lance. The naked weapon, or *arme blanche*, is the weapon of the mounted cavalry soldier. Dismounted, he can use his carbine with effect. The arm of the artillery is the gun: light field batteries and horse artillery batteries with muzzle-loading rifled field guns, 9-pounders; heavy field batteries with 16-pounder guns; mountain batteries with steel 7-pounder guns; batteries of position with 40-pounder guns. A proportion of the men are provided with carbines and swords for individual defence or for outpost and garrison purposes.

CHAPTER XXVI.

RELIGIOUS ENGLAND.

Various Religious Sects in England—General Spirit of Toleration—Two opposite Tendencies in most Creeds: (1) Towards Excessive Organisation, (2) Reaction from Dogmatic Spirit—General Survey of Activity of Church of England—Anglican Theology: its Chief Aspects—Contemporary Aspects contrasted with those of a Former Period—Importance of the Question, whether Theology is Progressive—On the Answer given to this Inquiry, Sectarian Differences depend—Some Tendencies of Broad Church Theology—Dr. Ince—Dean Stanley—Mr. Jowett—Mr. Matthew Arnold—Present Province of Theological Controversy—The High Church and Ritualistic Party: their Differences and Resemblances—The Ecclesiastical Party—Organisation of Church of England—Rectors; Vicars; Perpetual Curates—Great and Small Tithes—The Diocesan System: Bishops; Archdeacons; Deans; Rural Deans—Organisation of Protestant Nonconformists: Independents; Wesleyans—Organisation of the Roman Catholic Church in England—Religious and Social Organisation of the Jews—Common Meeting Ground of all Sects—Future of Religion in England.

If variety of religious sects were any test of the earnestness of a nation's religious life, nineteenth-century England might be esteemed in an enviable condition. The total number of separate denominations having one or more certified places of worship exceeds one hundred and thirty. These, of course, represent not merely divisions of the same parent faith, and subdivisions, but subdivisions minutely subdivided. In many cases, apparently, the distinction is not so much theological as social or political. Thus Christian Teetotallers are registered independently of the "Temperance Church," while the "Church of Progress" and the "Church of the People" are the titles of two other mutually separate communions. Scarcely less suggestive than this diversity of nomenclature is the multitude of announcements which are made in the London papers published on Saturday, under the heading "London Preachers for To-morrow." The Establishment itself comprehends a list representing many types of Christianity, churchmen, and preachers. If we look at the intimations which follow the words "Nonconformist Churches," there is no species of Latitudinarianism or Free Thought, of which the prophets are not announced to appear in pulpit or on platform. In these cases, not merely is the name of the particular communion given, but of the precise subject on which the speaker may be expected to hold forth. A very cursory glance at the long catalogue will give some notion of

the extent to which the practical assertion of the principle of individualism in religious matters has been carried. Some of these topics are colourless ethical abstractions. Others testify to different degrees of fanaticism, or fantasy, or anti-Christian and anti-religious malignity. Side by side with the announcement that one evangelist of Nonconformity will treat of the "Life and Times of the Prophet Jeremiah," we are told that an ingenious and speculative schismatic will favour his hearers with the result of his researches in the matter of "Lilith, Adam's first wife," or that another gentleman will lecture on "The Theatre and the People," or that a distinguished astronomer will discourse to an audience on "Meteorites and Shooting Stars," or that there will be a prelection in some secular conventicle at the East End of London apropos of the inquiry "Ought England to be a Republic?" or that a feminine preacher of the school which rejects all that there is in revelation and much that there is in morality, will candidly investigate "whether virtue is compatible with Christianity."

These announcements, which in each case have been taken literally from the newspapers of the day, the name of the preacher and of the chapel alone having been suppressed, will be regarded according to the temper of the critic, either as evidence of the multiplicity of error, or of the praiseworthy activity of the modern intellect in declining to take anything for granted, and in refusing to be deterred from the duty of original investigation of the loftiest subjects which can engage the human mind. The age has been variously spoken of as one of religious indifferentism and religious zeal, of generally extended belief and of wide-spread scepticism. It presents, no doubt, some of each of these more or less conflicting characteristics. Perhaps its two most real and distinctive features in all that appertains to affairs of spiritual faith are its activity and its toleration. Here, as everywhere in this last quarter of the nineteenth century, are perceptible the different influences of the spirit of transition and of organisation. At the very moment when men are quick to take sides, keen to identify themselves with some phase or other of the religious or irreligious development of the time, they are disposed to admit that theological truth may reside in an entirely different direction, that truth itself is not to be found in its integrity anywhere, and that scattered elements of truth may be discovered in every quarter. It is not, perhaps, an age in which men would go to the stake with an unshaken conviction that they were sacrificing life for an infallible faith. It is rather an age in which men write pamphlets and essays, promulgate manifestos, and, if necessary, incur lawsuits, with the loud-voiced and oft-repeated asseveration that they and those who hold with them are, and only can be, in the right. It is an age in which obstinacy is likely to be mistaken for conviction, and in which the passion for controversy may sometimes appear a heart-deep

devotion to fundamental principles; an age in which enthusiasm does not necessarily mean intensity, and in which fervour is often in an inverse proportion to noise; an age in which all religions are highly organised, but not on that account generally and profoundly believed in; an age of observance more than assurance, of worship in a greater degree than faith.

A short examination of the existing condition of the Church of England will suffice to explain and justify the views which have just been advanced. The Establishment, it may perhaps be objected, of the religion of a half, possibly of a bare majority, of the people of England, is no longer co-extensive with the kingdom, and is itself split up into sects many of them differing more widely from each other than they differ respectively from many Roman Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists outside its pale. Still, the Establishment is entitled to be regarded as fairly representative of the nation, while above and beyond this is the fact, that the Establishment is a Church, and, as such, subject to much the same influences, distracted by nearly the same internal differences and controversies, as other Churches. Thus the various parties that may be seen in the Anglican communion have their reflections and analogues in the parties which divide Roman Catholicism or Protestant Nonconformity—the difference in the case of Roman Catholicism being that the supreme perfection of its discipline dwarfs or suppresses much that might otherwise be fully developed in openly asserted schism. If the Church of England is tolerant and comprehensive, it is because comprehensiveness and tolerance are the notes of the times, and as is the tendency of the day such is certain to be the spirit of the administration of any particular Church. But concurrently with the general attitude of forbearance may be noticed that excessive addiction to organisation, of which mention has already been made. Let us place the two in juxtaposition, directing our attention first to the second.

How elaborate is the machinery for guaranteeing the due observance of the Anglican ritual may be judged from the following statistics. Out of, in round numbers, 850 churches within the metropolitan area there is a weekly celebration of the Holy Communion in 390, nearly one-half; daily Holy Communion in 40, one church in every 20; early Holy Communion in 450, more than one-half; choral celebration in 120, nearly one-seventh; evening Holy Communion in 240, more than one-fourth. There is service on saints' days in 415 churches, nearly one-half; daily service in 240, more than one-fourth; while in 138 cases, nearly one-sixth, there is no week-day service. The service is fully choral in 260 churches, nearly one-third, and partly choral in 240, or two-sevenths, thus giving 500 churches out of 850 where the Psalms are chanted. There is a surpliced choir in 350, more than two-fifths; the choir is paid or

partly paid in 220, more than one-fourth, and voluntary in 380, more than two-fifths. Gregorian tones are used wholly or partly in 115, nearly one-seventh. The seats are free and open in 250, more than one-fourth; and there is a weekly offertory in 450, more than one-half. The surplice is worn in preaching in 460, more than one-half. The eucharistic vestments are adopted in 35, or one church in every 24; incense is used in 14, and altar-lights are used in 58, one-ninth; while in 41 other churches there are candles on the altar, but they are not lighted. The eastward position is adopted by the celebrant at the Holy Communion in 180 churches, nearly one-fifth; 120, nearly one-seventh, are open daily for private prayer; floral decorations are introduced at 240, more than one-fourth; the feast of dedication is observed at 150, nearly one-sixth; the shortened form of daily service sanctioned by the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act is used at 88, nearly one-tenth; the Sunday services are separated at 49; the old lectionary is still used exclusively at 12 churches, and the old and new optionally at six.*

If to the above statement we add the total expenditure of energy, piety, and good works which the parochial system of the Church of England involves, if we further remember that larger benefactions are being perpetually made by private persons to the Establishment—that the wealth of the manufacturers of the north of the kingdom is often devoted to the building and the endowment of new churches in districts that are supposed to need them, it will be apparent that the zeal which Anglicanism can boast is at its disposal, is very remarkable, both as regards its kind and degree. It is significant, and it is only just, to place by the side of such facts as these some to which attention is less frequently or less publicly directed. The signs of external activity which the Church of England displays may be all that are admirable; what is to be said of the evidences of her internal spiritual life? A distinguished living theologian, the Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, has drawn attention, in an introductory lecture, to the vicissitudes which English theology has experienced. From the Reformation to the middle of the seventeenth century, Dr. Ince remarks, his own university was given up to the disputes between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, or between the Calvinists and the Arminians. From 1650 to 1750, theology was merged in politics, and the great texts of the pulpit were those which bore on the divine right of kings, and the duty of non-resistance. Then came the struggle about the evidences of Christianity, which was followed by the Tractarian movement. What are the issues now substituted for those which that movement raised? Whereas formerly, the questions discussed in the divinity schools at Oxford were five: "predestina-

* See Mackeson's "Guide to the Churches of London and its Suburbs," and in this matter London may be regarded as fairly representative of the rest of England.

tion, universal redemption, reprobation, irresistible grace, final perseverance," the vexed points now are—incenses, lights, vestments, eastward position, wafer bread, mixed chalice.

These, indeed, are not the only subjects which engage the attention of contemporary theologians. The discussion between the most eminent of our theological controversialists is not so much on the doctrines of the English Church as on the nature of the scriptural record. This, it may be urged, involves issues still more momentous than those which underlay the inquiries of an earlier period into the nature of predestination, and the other points enumerated above. For these doctrines can only be verified in the last degree by the testimony of the Bible, to which some would add the concurrent testimony of ecclesiastical tradition. The question which such theologians as Bishop Lightfoot, Professor Westcott, and Mr. Sanday are endeavouring to decide is, of what do the really inspired writings consist, and to what, exactly, does inspiration itself amount? Of course, there are other problems in addition to those mentioned—the eternity of punishment, and the final restoration of all things. But the tendency is for the more scientific, who in this case are the more practical of theologians, to lay stress upon such subjects, as admitting possibly of no scientific demonstration, and to weigh all the evidence for and against the alleged antiquity of certain writings, and the degree of authority which they may be regarded as carrying with them. This is the positive and historic method, and in some ways it indicates an immense advance within the pale of the Anglican Church since Dr. Hampden was almost excommunicated for remarking on the obsoleteness of the phraseology of the Athanasian Creed, or the authors of "Essays and Reviews" were condemned by Convocation for the production of a blasphemous and heretical book.

What has just been said will enable us to form a clearer conception of the exact position of the Broad Church party at the present day. It is scarcely too much to say that there is a single question the answer given to which would serve definitely to fix a man's place in relation to the several sects of Anglican Christianity. This question is: Can theology be called a progressive science? According to all the great leaders of the Broad Church party, it can. On this point, hear the late Dean Stanley. "What," he says, "has become of the belief once absolutely universal in Christendom, that unless by some altogether exceptional intervention, no human being could be saved who had not passed through the waters of baptism; that even innocent children, if not immersed in the font, were doomed to endless perdition? Or where are the interminable questions respecting the doctrine of predestination or the mode of justification which occupied the middle of the sixteenth century in Protestant churches? Into what limbo has passed the terrible conflict between the Burghers and the Anti-Burghers

amongst the now United Presbyterians? What do we now hear of the doctrine of the Double Procession, or of the light on Mount Tabor which, in the ninth century and in the fifteenth, filled the mind of Eastern Christendom? These questions for the time occupied in these several Churches the whole horizon of theological thought. They are dead and buried; and for us standing on their graves, it is idle to say that theology has not changed. It has changed. Religion has survived those changes; and this is the historical pledge that it may, that it will, survive a thousand more." * Of course, in one sense, this indicates a real progress, but progress whence and whither? Scarcely from a less belief in the letter of revealed religion to a greater. The dispute now, in fact, is not as it was once about the interpretation of the dogmatic tenets of religion, but about the nature of religion itself. Those who hold by the doctrine of the verbal inspiration of Scripture, and the unbroken tradition of the Church, cannot mean the same thing when they speak of religion, theology, or Christianity, as those who consider that religion is progressive in the sense already explained, and who admit, as Dr. Ince and others do, that many notions concerning the books of the Bible once deemed orthodox are erroneous. When men do not use the same words in the same sense, it is out of the question that any agreement shall ever be arrived at between them. Thus when Dean Stanley substituted for the phrase "the reconciliation of theology and science," "the recognition that so far as they meet, theology and science are one and indivisible," he scarcely signified by theology all that those who are persuaded that the text of the Bible, as we have it, is the precisely written word of Omnipotence signify; or by science, all that to Professor Huxley that word implies. Such expressions as "whatever enlarges our ideas of nature enlarges our ideas of God;" "whatever is bad theology is bad science;" "whatever is good science is good theology," are open to the same criticism. When, therefore, an analogy is drawn between the progressiveness of astronomy and theology it must be accepted with some reserve. The historical method, of which literary criticism is an integral part, has changed—euphemistically speaking—has enlarged our conception of certain central theological facts, has disposed, as Dean Stanley reminded us, of "untenable interpretations;" "wrong translations;" "mistaken punctuation." But what is the relation in which these instruments of progress stand to the miracles, and other great facts, belief in which is an essential part of Christianity, as Christianity has in time past been understood? Is it not much the same thing to say that there has been an advance in theology, as it would be to say that there has been an advance in astronomy, if a convenient compromise had been found possible between those who accepted and those who rejected the idea of the law of gravitation, or of the sphericity of the earth?

* "Sermons and Addresses," by the Dean of Westminster.

Dean Stanley was far from being an extreme exponent of this tendency. The religion of latitudinarianism is not a religion in the same sense as the religion of the High Church or of the Evangelical party. The truth is, that the doctors of the Broad Church school use the current terms of theology in an esoteric sense peculiar to themselves. Thus in one of his sermons Professor Jowett, the Master of Balliol, spoke of the divinity of Christ's life, but he did not mean that Christ was divine.* He spoke of the overshadowing providence of God, but he did not mean a personal God. He spoke of a Christian Trinity, but he defined its three elements to be a pantheistic conception of Godhead, all that is Godlike in human life and character, and all well-attested facts of science and history. This is scarcely the Trinity of the divinity schools. Or take the case of the most accomplished literary critic and almost the greatest poet of the day—Mr. Matthew Arnold. Mr. Arnold is, according to his own view, not only a poet and critic, but a theologian. He has written in defence of the Church of England, as a centre of religious sweetness, light, and culture, against the attacks of political Nonconformists. He holds that the Church is "a national society for the diffusion of goodness," and, holding this view, he claims to be a very good Churchman. The instruments to be employed by the Church in the attainment of the end of its existence are Christianity and the Bible. But in what sense can Mr. Arnold be said to accept either, when he interprets fundamental doctrines of Christianity in the following words: "Eternal life? Yes, the life in the higher and undying self of man. Judgment? Yes, the trying, in conscience, of the claims and instigations of the two lives, and the decision between them. Resurrection? Yes, the rising from bondage and transcience with the lower life to victory and permanence with the higher. The kingdom of God? Yes, the reign amongst mankind of the higher life. The Christ the Son of God? Yes, the bringer-in and founder of this reign of the higher life, this true kingdom of God."

Of course these views, or anything approaching to these views, would be conscientiously repudiated by many distinguished members of the Broad Church party. Nevertheless, it may be questioned whether this is not the tendency of all Broad Church theology, and whether the boldly-avowed opinions of Mr. Matthew Arnold do not represent the ultimate analysis of some of the cardinal ideas of ecclesiastical latitudinarianism. As it is the historical method which is chiefly characteristic of the Broad Church party, so, too, there is an historical aspect to the party which is at the opposite pole of contemporary ecclesiasticism—the Ritualists. The grounds on which the lengths resorted to by Ritualists in matters of posture, millinery, music, and decoration are defended is, that such extremes are historically justifiable, that they

* Preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, February 16, 1879.

are what the rubric of the Anglican Church enjoins, or that they are what the spiritual rulers of that Church have an historical claim to command. Eminently historical too were, in a sense, the influences which presided over the birth of the party that for practical purposes has become merged in the Ritualists. There came up to Oxford, between the years 1820 and 1840, a number of undergraduates, most of whom had been educated under evangelical influences, including John Henry Newman, Pusey, Keble, Gresley, Manning, Faber, Froude, Palmer, Perceval, Churton. The avowed object of these men was to withstand all changes, and to maintain pure doctrine and primitive practice. The profession of these views was followed by the study of history. The records of the third century were investigated, the ritual and creed of Rome examined. A sentiment of hostility to the Reformation developed itself. Opinions not held in the third century began to be entertained. Purgatory, prayers for the dead, the confessional, the saints, baptismal regeneration, were regarded with reverence.

The direct ecclesiastical descendants of these men, in that state of their belief before these views were carried to their logical results, there still are among us, but the undoubted tendency is to sink the High Church party in the Ritualists. There can be no greater contrast than that between the religious ceremonial of the first founders of the school and the cultus of contemporary Ritualism. The old type of High Church divine, a scholastic gentleman, well read in the Fathers, and well informed generally on subjects of architecture and archæology, betraying a quiet weakness for anthems and painted glass, a cultivated and agreeable companion, is seldom met with now. The later specimen is a more or less boisterous young divine, much given to the inarticulate mumbling of many services. He is, perhaps, less particular about the cleanliness of his surplice than his predecessor, but is very precise as to the fit of his coloured and embroidered stole. He is fond of speaking in his sermons about the Church, and *her* kindness to *her* ungrateful children. This phraseology is often confusing to the lower classes, and a ballad has been written, which has obtained much popularity, embodying the complaint of an old-fashioned villager at the new style. He used, he says, to understand when he heard of "Christ, our Lord," of "*His* work" and "*His* love;" now, he addresses his clergyman, "you only talk of she." The same person is represented as saying, that no doubt the painted glass windows may be very fine, but then he regrets the days when he could look through the panes upon the blue sky and the climbing roses. The Ritualist curate of the newly-fledged Ritualist rector betrays certain resemblances to those religious sects whom of all others they detest—the Protestant Dissenters—in their occasional disregard for scholarship and culture, and in their invectives against State tyranny.

The Ritualistic divine of this order, who has been known before now to engage the services of a sacristan, to drill his choir in the movements of the Sarum Mass, must be carefully distinguished from the Anglican parish priest, devoted to the spiritual and temporal welfare of his flock, who is to be found constantly at the village school, by the bedside of the sick and dying, in the cottages of the poor and the hovels of the afflicted. Nor while the ringing voice of Canon Liddon thrills through the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, and while that Cathedral, in its Dean, Dr. Church, possesses the scholarlike biographer of Archbishop Anselm, can it be said that the founders of the High Church party are without true and worthy representatives. Essentially anti-popular as the pretensions of Ritualism—or to speak of it by the name which is most convenient in this context, Anglican Sacerdotalism—are, there can be no doubt that it attracts an increasing number of adherents. It is immaterial to the multitude of those who flock to witness the ornate ceremonial of Ritualism that the theory of these services is that they are performed by the priest for the people, and that the priesthood thus performing them is a body divinely appointed, a caste by itself gifted with the power of the remission of sins. The exaltation of priestly authority to this point may be in its idea distasteful to the English people, but it is not with the idea that they are concerned. They are only conscious of the odours of incense, of the brilliance of many-coloured vestures, of melodious notes, of all the influences which can lull or excite the senses. It is a decorative age, and Ritualism is above all things ornamental. It is an emotional age, and Ritualism appeals pre-eminently to the emotions. Ritualism had supplied the want long felt of the æsthetic element in religion, and Ritualism had its beginnings in earnest and pious efforts to secure for the solemnisation of the services of the Church more of dignity and propriety, better fabrics, and better music.

While it is certain that the services of Ritualism attract many of both sexes who would otherwise have found their place in the Evangelical fold, and that every Ritualistic Church has among its congregation many of that class which would five-and-twenty years ago have crowded to Young Men's Christian Associations, the Evangelical party cannot be said to have ceased to exist. It possesses, on the contrary, all the conditions of vitality—deep religious fervour, an influential religious organisation, a great deal of valuable ecclesiastical patronage exercised through the Simeon Trustees, leaders of recognised ability. Yet of late years the Low Churchmen have lost much of their unction and much of their exclusiveness. Their influence remains, but it is often exercised quite as much outside as within the limits of their own sectarian pale. The great work with which the names of the Evangelical leaders will always be identified was the revival of personal religion; the task which the High Church party helped to accomplish

was the introduction of new principles of order and reverence into the services of the Church. There are many points on which clergymen, calling and considering themselves Evangelical, are absolutely at one with clergymen of the Broad Church school—such, for instance, as the right of the laity to a voice in the selection of services, and even the regulation and interpretation of dogmas; the necessity of preserving within certain limits the historical method; and other cognate matters. On the other hand, it is natural that there should be many Evangelical clergymen who, especially as they rise in their profession, are disposed to magnify their apostleship. Hence, in Evangelicalism at the present day there is a tendency, first, on the part of some, to gravitate towards Broad Churchism; secondly, on the part of others, to gravitate to what survives of the old constitutional High Church party.

First among the parochial clergy rank rectors, who alone are strictly entitled to the designation of parson, "the most legal, the most beneficial, and most honourable title," according to Blackstone, "that a parish priest can enjoy, because such an one as he only is said *vicem seu personam ecclesiæ gerere*." The chief distinction between a rector and vicar is that the former receives all the tithes, great and small, but the latter usually the small tithes only. It was in the thirteenth century that vicars came into existence, in consequence of the appropriation of tithes to spiritual corporations, whence at the period of the Reformation they passed, under grants by the Crown, into lay hands. To the great tithes there attaches the obligation of keeping the chancel in repair. Originally the small tithes were all the tithes, except those of corn, and sometimes of hay. Prior to 1835, no farmer could remove his corn from a field until it had remained there for three days, in order to give time for the rector's agents to take a tenth stalk, unless some special agreement between parishioner and rector had been entered into; and, of course, in many cases these agreements were made. Naturally under this system there were many inconveniences, and many disputes which urgently called for correction. In 1835 Lord John Russell passed an Act commuting the average value of the tithes received during the previous seven years into a corresponding annual payment, subject to variations according to the average prices of corn. The freehold of the church, churchyard, and glebe vests in the parson during his life.

Perpetual curates were one of the products of the Restoration, when the Sovereign sent a circular to the bishops and chapters of the different dioceses, pointing out the inadequacy of the provision for the cure of souls. This deficiency was supplied by the institution of perpetual curates, whose stipends were derived from an annual payment charged on the rectorial estates, in the fee simple of which the perpetual curate had, of course, no interest. In the last fifteen years the very name has well-nigh disappeared, and those who were perpetual

curates are by Act of Parliament constituted vicars. It is, however, to the poverty of this order that the Church of England is indebted for the institution of one of its funds—that known as Queen Anne's Bounty. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the stipends of the perpetual curates were so miserably low as to be a scandal to the Establishment. Queen Anne, consequently, was induced to suggest to Parliament the appropriation of certain sums, which would under ordinary circumstances have gone to the Crown, to the augmentation of the perpetual curates' stipend. This process has continued uninterruptedly to the present time, and the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty are frequently lending sums of money, to be returned by instalments, to assist clergymen to build and improve parsonage houses. About the same time that the Act was passed for the commutation of tithes, the Ecclesiastical Commission was appointed, which, among other things, has been the means of very generally increasing the incomes of Church livings, in cases where they fell below that sum, to £300 a year.

The archdeacons of a diocese are appointed by the bishop, and exercise within their archdeaconries a jurisdiction immediately subordinate to him. They wear shovel hats, similar to those worn by the episcopate, but without strings. Etiquette prescribes that the archidiaconal frock-coat should not be so short as a prelate's, and that the apron should only be worn in the evening and on state occasions. Like the bishop, the archdeacon has powers distinctly specified by law. Chief among these are the prerogative, in virtue of which he can by summoning the clergy create a court. On the occasion of his periodical visitation, the archdeacon is attended by a legal official, who stands to him in the same relation that the chancellor does to the bishop. The archdeacon—and if the diocese is large there will be more than one incumbent of the office—is above all things the business man of the diocese. As the bishop deals primarily and directly with the clergy, so is the archdeacon specially brought into contact with the churchwardens. The charge which he delivers to the clergy is quite as much intended for the custodians of the fabric of the church in every parish as for its spiritual officer, the rector, vicar, or curate. Generally, the archdeacon avoids touching in these charges, in any very pronounced manner, on questions of doctrine and dogma. The organisation of a parish and the conduct of services are both subjects specially appropriate to the archidiaconal addresses.

When the archdeacon is inspecting the external and the internal condition of the ecclesiastical building, he has as his companions the two churchwardens, of whom one is the representative of the congregation, as the other is of the clergyman. To these he points out any defects or imperfections in the edifice, suggests a remedy, and is empowered to give a written order requiring that this suggestion shall

be carried into effect. If this mandate is neglected, he can report the matter to the bishop, but he has himself no power to compel the action which he recommends. The service to the church which a discreetly vigilant and energetic churchwarden may render is great. The race of sleepy and obstinate clergymen and churchwardens is not extinct, and the archdeacon, having a right to inspect the church at all periods, may, by courteously but firmly impressing upon the minds of those responsible for its material order the necessity of improvement and care, prevent many abuses and scandals. Moreover, both on the occasions of his regular visitations, and at other times in a less formal manner, the archdeacon discharges distinctly educational duties; he makes it his business to explain to all with whom he is brought into contact what are the ecclesiastical requirements of the law, and how these are modified by successive acts of the legislature.

Nor do the functions of the archdeacon end here. Not only is he, as he is often called, "the eye of the bishop," superintending as the episcopal representative indeed, but, at the same time, as an independent authority, whose reports will not necessarily come before the bishop, the state of the ecclesiastical edifices, and reporting to the bishop on the fitness of churches for consecration, but he represents the preliminary tribunal which candidates for orders must pass. His sanction also is necessary to give legal validity to the nomination of those churchwardens with whom, as we have seen, he is mainly brought into contact. At the same time, though theoretically it is for the archdeacon to decide on the eligibility of any intending clergyman for the Anglican priesthood, this duty is, as a matter of fact, invariably delegated to the bishop's examining chaplain. As regards the churchwardens, the archdeacon formally admits them to their offices, and they are regularly sworn in before him.

The cathedral is the central or mother church of the diocese, and is administered by a dean and chapter of canons residentiary, whose number is usually four. The dean, who enjoys the title of "very reverend," and ranks next to the bishop, is appointed by the Crown, except indeed in the dioceses of Wales, where the appointment rests with the bishop. The canons, whose stalls are conferred upon them in theory—and in the present day it must be owned the theory is usually carried out—in recognition of distinguished services or acquirements, commonly take it in turn to reside, the ordinary period of residence being three months. They are appointed in some cases by the Crown, in others by the bishop, and their incomes, with one or two exceptions, vary from £500 to £1,000 a year. The stipend of a dean is seldom less than £1,000 or more than £2,000 a year. While the bishop has direct control over the clergy of his diocese, he has no authority over the dean and chapter of his cathedral, except as visitor under their statutes. There is indeed a special throne always reserved

for the bishop in the cathedral, and to this he, of course, has access; but he cannot occupy the pulpit except by invitation from the dean and chapter. Generally, the relations existing between the bishop and the dean, to compare them to secular officers, are not unlike those of the admiral and the captain in the navy; just as the captain is absolutely supreme in his own ship, and the admiral is only entrusted with general responsibility for the movements of the squadron, so the bishop is without the power of dictating to the dean in the management of his cathedral.

The rural dean has not, as the name might be thought to imply, anything in common with the dean of a cathedral. His office and his rights are of courtesy, rather than of law, and he is invested with neither more nor less power than the bishop may choose to give him. He convenes meetings of his clerical brethren for any diocesan work, but his summons carries no kind of compulsion with it. The rural dean will also, perhaps, occasionally report, though not according to any official form, to his bishop, generally through the archdeacon. While deans and archdeacons are, like the occupants of the episcopal bench, *ex officio* members of Convocation, rural deans have no such distinction. Their jurisdiction is purely local, each archdeaconry being divided into a certain number of rural deaneries, while of rural deaneries themselves there are altogether in England and Wales about six hundred.

Nominally, Convocation has a wide jurisdiction, but it is one rather of sentiment than effect. The Convocation of Canterbury is an ideal ecclesiastical parliament. The Upper House consists of the archbishops and bishops; the Lower House of deans, archdeacons, and the proctors of the clergy. But its power is a mere shadow. Nothing can be transacted without the sanction of the Crown. It may project measures, but these, to have effect, must pass through Parliament, and in so doing necessarily lose their ecclesiastical character. The reform of Convocation is a "burning" question of the day with the clergy of all shades of opinion. It is a question that involves some important considerations as to the future relations between Church and State.

For a brief account of the procedure in matters of ecclesiastical litigation, the reader may be referred to the chapter on the English Law Courts. It remains to say a few words on the subject of the appointment of the different dignitaries of the English Church to their ecclesiastical offices, and on the vexed question of patronage. An archbishop or bishop is nominally elected in most cases by the dean and chapter of the diocese in virtue of a license from the Crown, always accompanied by a royal letter missive, which contains the name of the person whom the Sovereign desires to be elected, and to which obedience is due under the penalties of a præmunire.

As regards patronage: the right of appointing the rector or vicar of a parish rests with the owner of the advowson, who is termed the patron of the living. The clerk in holy orders who is presented by the patron to a benefice has to obtain from the bishop of the diocese a formal institution, which the bishop is bound to grant, unless the nominee labours under any legal disqualification for the pastoral office. Advowsons are recognised by the law as property, and may be bought and sold like any other property. The next presentations to livings may also be purchased, provided the benefice be not vacant at the time, and that no condition as to resignation be a condition of the contract.

The two most numerous, influential, and generally important of Nonconformist denominations at the present day in England are undoubtedly the Independents and the Wesleyans, or, as they are frequently called, the Congregationalists and the Methodists. The Independents have many points in common, both as regards their religious creed and organisation, with a third very considerable sect, scarcely, indeed, inferior to either—the Baptists. The Presbyterians, an exceedingly powerful body in England as well as in Scotland, on the other hand, have more points in common with the followers of Wesley. There still exists at the present day an historical institution of Nonconformity known as the Three Denominations. These form a board whose origin is of some antiquity. The Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians sympathised in the revolution which placed William III. on the throne of England, and took an active part in that movement which led to the succession of the House of Hanover. In recognition of their services in connection with these two events, they were accorded the privileges common to bodies incorporated by Royal Charter, and were permitted access to the Sovereign upon the same conditions and occasions as other corporate institutions. Till within the last quarter of a century, there were no sectarian jealousies between the three, and the members of each were content to meet and act together. Then came a change in the Presbyterian community, most of them embracing the principles of Socinianism. The consequence was that the Independents and the Baptists objected officially to appear in company with Unitarians. Afterwards the Unitarians enlisted the services of Lord John Russell on their behalf, and received through him a renewal of the privilege they had before enjoyed as members of the Three Denominations in the matter of approaching the Sovereign.

The Independents are particularly strong in the great towns of England, and are as a body characterised perhaps by the display of more political activity than is usually the case with the Wesleyans or Baptists. Thus it is probable that the Disestablishment agitation has been promoted mainly among the Independent body—a proceed-

ing with which many prominent Dissenting clergymen decline to identify themselves. Mr. Dale, of Birmingham, and Mr. Rogers, of Clapham, may be regarded as among the chiefs of the anti-State Church movement. These gentlemen undoubtedly have great influence over the younger ministers and members of their denomination, and a new impetus is given by them to the programme of the Liberation Society. There are, of course, perhaps possibly in increasing number, strong supporters of Disestablishment both among the Wesleyans and the Baptists. But neither body is associated with political purposes of this kind to the same degree as the Independents. This is not the only characteristic which distinguishes the Independents. The fundamental principle of their religious creed—a principle which has given the name to the denomination—is that each congregation is complete in itself, is an entity to be controlled entirely by its own members, and is not to look for any discipline or government from outside. In this respect the Independents and Baptists resemble each other. There is thus far less of organisation possible among them than among the Wesleyans, the centre of whose system —whence come the orders that regulate all the parts—is the annually held Conference. The differences of the two bodies will, perhaps, best be understood if we give a brief account of the successive stages through which a candidate for the ministry in each sect severally has to pass.

A young man, we will suppose, born in the Independent body, or entering it in early life, feels that he is specially adapted for the ministry; what, in the natural course of things, are the steps that he would take completely to qualify himself for the office? He would probably, in the first instance, place himself in communication with the secretary of one of the colleges at which Independent ministers are educated. But he would not be received at this institution before he had satisfactorily answered questions put to him by its authorities, and had been personally examined by the members of the college council. Having satisfactorily submitted to this ordeal, he would be received on probation for a term of three months, after which he would be admitted as a regular student of a *curriculum* that would extend over four or five years. Of these the two first would, in some cases, be devoted to supplementing the defects of a somewhat imperfect education, and would be chiefly occupied with general studies, such as classics or mathematics. His earliest purely ministerial training would consist of a course of sermon-writing, the discourses thus composed being read before a class, and criticised by a teacher of homiletics. The last three years would be given to the study of theological dogmas, and of the state of religious opinion generally, both in past and present times. Then his ministerial career would actively begin. Having gone through his college course, and satis-

fied his instructors, he would be considered eligible to accept as a probationer any opportunity of clerical ministrations which might present itself. Should the congregation like him, he will receive an offer of a permanent engagement. He is, in fact, chosen to the pulpit by a plebiscite taken among his flock. No more purely democratic system of ecclesiastical polity can be imagined. Now that he has secured the favour of a congregation, there will follow his formal ordination, a ceremony which may be profoundly impressive or entirely the reverse, according to the power and eloquence of the ministers engaged in its celebration. The flock of the future pastor is assembled together, and one minister, specially chosen for the occasion, gives a statement of the general ecclesiastical principles of the body. Then the candidate for orders is expected, in reply to certain questions, to give a full and clear account, first, of the reasons which make him wish to enter the ministry; secondly, of his preference for the Independent form of Protestant Nonconformity. The actual rite of ordination is of extreme simplicity. One of the officiating ministers offers a prayer, during which he and his colleagues place their hands on the head of the candidate. This process is technically known as the laying on of hands by the presbytery, and is maintained by some clergymen of the Church of England, notably by the late Dean Stanley, to be the true mode of performing the function. In some cases this part of the ceremony is waived. A charge delivered to the new minister follows, in which his duties are pointed out, and the solemn responsibility under which he lies for their proper discharge is impressed upon him. In a second address the members of his flock are reminded that they have duties, neither less definite nor sacred. Very much the same ceremony is gone through in the case of Baptist and Presbyterian ministers, and if the officiating ministers on the occasion are men of considerable gifts, the effect produced is extremely striking.

Once the minister has been ordained and appointed to his congregation, it is solely and exclusively with his congregation that he is concerned. Where harmony exists between a minister and his Church the moral influence he has over them is very great. He will rise or fall, succeed or fail, in proportion as he does or does not happen to satisfy his people. It is thus apparent that the whole success of the Independent system is contingent on a good understanding between pastor and flock, and it works well or ill, according as the two parties to the contract display both temper and judgment. It does not, however, follow that an Independent congregation will always be able to dismiss its pastor at will. In the case of some chapels there are trust-deeds which specifically secure this power of dismissal to the congregation, in others there may be legal difficulties in the way of ejection. The tendency of things in the Independent body seems to be

in the direction of more concentrated action. There are several eminent Independents who advocate closer bonds of connection between the churches of the denomination; and though this claim is steadily resisted by many staunch members of the society, who believe that without the absolute autonomy of each congregation the Independent system would come to nothing, there is a gradually increasing number of those who hold that more general organisation is wanted, and who advocate particularly a general sustentation fund to be controlled by a presiding representative body. As it is, the Independents have many county associations, from which the Congregational Union, which is the combined society of these associations, is chosen. This Union holds two great meetings every year, one in London, the other in some provincial city of importance. Under the existing régime the Congregational Union is a purely consultative and deliberative body. It carries with it no legislative power, and it is, therefore, quite as impotent to change the practice of Congregationalism, except by purely moral influences, as Convocation is to revolutionise the laws of the Church. There is some disposition, however, to bestow more power upon the Congregational Union, and its exercise may come as the results of its agency in connection with the management of the new sustentation fund.

Nor is it to be supposed that the Independents, or, for the matter of that, the members of any Nonconformist sect, are entirely undistracted by internal differences and controversies, though they differ from those which agitate the Church of England. Thus, it is a moot point what is the exact position of deacons in an Independent congregation. As matters are, generally, they have no strictly spiritual duties to perform; their great business is to attend to the pecuniary affairs of a congregation and to the care of the poor. There are, too, slight differences in the forms of worship, and in the mode of admitting communicants. The circumstance that there is in the nature of things a stronger tie between the Independent pastor and his flock than between the English clergyman and his congregation may perhaps tend to minimise such controversies; probably, for instance, there would never be witnessed the spectacle of an Independent minister who deliberately opposed himself to the ascertained wishes and convictions of his congregation. At the same time there are divergences of view as to the limit within which the decorative element is permissible. But these divergences do not involve the same differences of fundamental principle as differences of ritual do in the Church of England, because all Independents repudiate the idea of sacerdotalism.

When we come to the Wesleyans we have to deal with a Nonconformist body which differs in many important ways from the Independents. The great point in the system is a central organisation

invested with a power, not indeed absolutely supreme, but final on appeal; in other words, supreme just as a board of trustees is supreme for the specific provisions of their trust. The name given to this central body is the Conference, whose powers are exercised in (1) jurisdiction over its own members, (2) appointment of ministers, (3) occupancy of chapels by ministers in connection with them, and (4) the preservation of sound doctrine. Here it is not merely the tradition of Wesley which discovers itself, but the letter of Wesley's injunctions which is followed. That gifted man who, to his spiritual eminence, added a decided assumption of autocratic power, confided plenary authority over the sect which he had founded, in the duties just named, to one hundred ministers. These one hundred form the Conference in law, but the whole body of ministers, or as many of them as are gathered in the annual session, are the Conference in fact—the legal Conference never annulling their acts, and only confirming them to render them legal. Thus far of purely ecclesiastical matters. In matters economical, financial, and generally administrative, a representative number of ministers and an equal number of laymen constitute the Conference. Hence, the five score are a sort of Upper House for the ratification of decisions arrived at in common sessions with a large number of their brethren. It is an error to suppose, as is sometimes stated, that the Conference initiates policy. It rarely initiates anything. Under the general laws by which the whole Conference is governed, there is, first, the circuit, or separate pastorate, in which the chief court is the quarterly meeting, composed of the pastors and a large number, from twenty to sixty, according to the size and influence of the circuit, of lay members. This court manages all circuit funds, pays the minister's stipend, and provides generally for the carrying on of efficient and orderly service within the circuit bounds. Secondly, there is the district meeting, or synod, which is composed of the ministers within a given geographical area, for purposes connected with ecclesiastical and pastoral administration, and of two lay representatives from each circuit, when financial and economical questions are under consideration. Lastly, there is the Conference, whose constitution has been already described. The Conference—as a Conference—has neither funds, nor the control of funds. All the pew-rents are under the direction of the trustees of the various chapels, and are by them appropriated—sometimes by grant to the circuit funds, from which the ministers receive their stipends, though not always, and occasionally in other ways. In reference to connexional funds—that is, funds raised for foreign missions, home missions, schools, and the rest—these are disbursed under the direction of managing committees. Ministers composing the Conference are elected by the entire body of ministers, who, in the first instance, make their power felt in the district, and after the district in the synod, which comprehends a group of dis-

tricts. But no final action in any grave measure, whatever the congregation it affects, can be taken without the approval of the Conference.

The second great feature in the organisation of Wesleyanism is the itinerant system, in virtue of which no minister is permitted to stay more than three years in the same neighbourhood. There are both manifest advantages and disadvantages bound up with this system. While the limitations imposed by the laws of the society on the possible tenure by the minister of a district certainly prevent any congregation from what has been called "immersion in the stagnant pool of a single mind," there is the obvious disadvantage that the minister does not form many pastoral attachments. Though the fact that every congregation is encouraged to issue invitations to ministers is a guarantee of the interest which congregations are likely to take in their purely spiritual affairs, the relation thus developed between teacher and taught necessarily lacks certain elements of intimacy, of which absence is recognised by some Wesleyans themselves as an inherent defect in the system.

The unit of government among the Wesleyans is the circuit, as represented on the occasion of its quarterly meetings, every circuit consisting of a certain number of congregations grouped together, both on geographical considerations and also according to number. No candidate can even so far take active steps to enter the Wesleyan ministry as to go to one of the colleges of the body without having been duly recommended by the quarterly meeting of that circuit within which his own congregation comes. At this meeting not only are the local ministers convened, but representatives of the laity, as well as lay helpers and class-leaders, who are *ex officio* members of the periodically held assembly. Again, before a young man can arrive at the stage of candidature, he must have had some practice as a local preacher, and the common voice of his neighbourhood must have decided that he possesses certain indisputable rhetorical gifts. Here we may see, what we have already seen in the case of the Independents, the recognition of the principle that the qualifications of a minister must either be decided directly by his flock, or indirectly by their immediate representatives; we may also notice that this arrangement does furnish, what the Church of England does not, some guarantee that the future minister has, in a measure at least, the gift of speech.

The candidate for the Wesleyan ministry has no sooner satisfied the requirements of the quarterly meeting of the circuit than he comes before a judicial tribunal composed of the representatives of the aggregate of several circuits, in other words, the district meeting. Before these judges he has again to preach and to answer a variety of questions. If he satisfies the conditions of this test he is sent before a Conference, whether that body may happen to be holding its sitting in

London or in a provincial town. Should the verdict of the Conference be favourable, the candidate will proceed in due course to the college of the community at Didsbury, or Headingley, or Richmond. At one of these institutions, at which his first three months are probationary, he will probably spend three years, and he will leave it only after he has been pronounced, as the result of a searching examination, to be a fit and proper person for the ministry. Nor is the probationary period of his career yet at an end. Every man remains in the ministry for four years on trial, the third year of college residence which has been already completed counting as one year, while the ordination ceremony, which is practically the same as in the case of the Independents, performed before that period is not considered complete. It is not to be supposed that either among the Independents or the Wesleyans this somewhat elaborate process is always exactly followed. There is nothing to prevent any member of an Independent community who can get a congregation to listen to him or her, to stand as a minister; while among the Wesleyans the deficiency of college accommodation frequently compels the Conference to accept as qualified candidates for orders those who have not gone through the whole of the prescribed routine. It thus follows that the future ministers of both orders have scarcely ever lived purely student lives. They have almost always learnt the mysteries of some handicraft, and are, in the majority of instances, capable of supporting themselves independently of their spiritual profession. Among a few Wesleyan societies there exists a fund for common purposes; all the pew-rents and voluntary subscriptions within the limits of any circuit are paid into the hands of a steward, who accounts to the trustees for their disbursement. In addition to this, there is a district fund which contributes to the support of circuits in neighbourhoods which are not able to support ministers of their own.

The missionary organisation of the Church of Rome, which is the only organisation of that Church existing in the British Empire, is to be carefully distinguished from that known in countries where the whole of the decrees of the Council of Trent are in force. This—the missionary system—is dependent directly on the sacred congregation of the Propaganda, presided over by a Cardinal Prefect, to which all matters *in partibus infidelium* are in the last instance referred, and which may be described as a board of control, with jurisdiction over the missionary domains of the Catholic Church.

Previous to 1850 the Papal authority was exercised through vicars apostolic. That year witnessed the establishment of a regular hierarchy in England, and hence the ill-starred Ecclesiastical Titles' Act. At the present moment England is divided into thirteen dioceses, one of which—that of Westminster—is the arch diocese, while the others are suffragan dioceses. Every bishop has his own chapter of canons, who

are his privy councillors, and possesses the right to convoke his own synod. This canonical body is presided over in England by a provost, and its two chief members are the Canon Theologic and the Canon Penitentiary. These canons constitute a quasi-corporate body, electing a certain proportion of their own members, while some are the nominees of the bishop, and others of the Pope, according to the month in which, by the death of a canon, a vacancy occurs. They are also liable to be consulted by the bishop, who, though in some cases bound to seek, does not necessarily follow their advice. Moreover, when a vacancy in a bishopric occurs, the canons name three persons as suitable candidates, the final selection being usually made at Rome. If any of the inferior clergy appeal against the order of their bishop, it is to Rome that that appeal goes. Monsignori are persons belonging to the Papal Court, the more important class of them being the Pope's domestic prelates.

Over and above this regular organisation of the Roman Catholic Church in non-Catholic countries, there are the religious orders, such as Dominicans, Franciscans, Benedictines, Carmelites, Cistercians, and Jesuits. Each of these is in the possession of special and accumulated privileges. Directly subjected to generals or other heads at Rome, they are all of them to a great extent free from the internal ecclesiastical government of the countries in which they may be placed. Each of these orders has a provincial and local superior, who is invested with ample powers. The Oratorians are not so much an ecclesiastical order as a congregation of secular priests—every priest, it will be understood, being a secular one, if he does not belong to some order —who have organised themselves into a religious community.

As regards the numbers and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in England, it will be found that so far as the former is concerned, its figures have remained almost the same for many years. Numerically, Roman Catholics have not increased in proportion to the population, to which they stand now in the relation of one-tenth. But while the Church of Rome in England has only managed just to hold its own, it has not retrograded in power. Probably it has as little now of influence as ever over the English middle classes, but it has been recruited in a marked degree from the higher classes of the community; at the same time, too, its organisation has improved. It has more schools and better schools, but in the direction of education much has yet to be done, and the staunchest Roman Catholics will be the first to admit that, always excepting the primary schools, the machinery of Roman Catholic education is at the present moment sadly deficient. The attempted establishment and collapse of a "Catholic University" College in Kensington furnished a test of the reality of the demand for a higher education among the Catholic youth of England. As the future of the secondary and higher educa-

tion of Roman Catholics in England is full of great possibilities, so its present is felt to be far from satisfactory.

The Jews are a body of far too much importance in England, as elsewhere, to render it possible to dispense with some notice of their religious organisation in this chapter. The Hebrew race, which in the Russian Empire and in Poland numbers five millions, in the Austrian Empire from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and eighty thousand, in New York alone more than a hundred thousand, has in the British Empire from eighty to ninety thousand, of whom upwards of sixty-five thousand are within the metropolitan radius of London. On the influence that this extraordinary people exercises, in England as elsewhere, and of which its numerical strength is only a faint indication, it is not necessary to dwell. The questions here to consider are the religious organisation of the Jews in the United Kingdom, and closely allied with this, as is natural under a theocratic system, their social condition and general characteristics.

The same line of cleavage that traverses most other religious societies at the present day is discernible among the members of the Jewish persuasion. On the one hand, there are the representatives of orthodoxy, who profoundly venerate dogmatic tradition and prescription, and who solemnly observe with exact fidelity the ecclesiastical ritual. On the other hand, there is the party whose members claim a wide latitude in the interpretation of the Mosaic law, and who hold that many usages, enjoined by the rabbinical doctors of their Church, have been rendered obsolete by the altered conditions of the times. This feud between authority and private judgment has divided the Jews in England into two different groups of congregations. The rabbinical writings, with the doctrinal overgrowth that has been accumulated upon them,—a consequence of the labours of successive generations of expositors,—are to the Hebrew Church what the Fathers are to the Christian. The laws of Moses have been elaborated in this manner into a complex system of ceremonial and faith, too exacting in its demands for many who are profoundly convinced of the truth of the central articles of Judaism. In this way the Commentary, or to speak of it by its Hebrew name, the "Gemara," has outgrown the text or "Mishna," which two, taken together, constitute the "Talmud." The library of rabbinical interpretation has acquired in some quarters a sanctity equal or superior to the Five Books of Moses, and the point at issue between the two sects at present is, what measure of deference is due to the rabbinical writings. These internal dissensions in England date from the year 1841, down to which time the English synagogue was an exact copy of that of the Middle Ages. Attempts, indeed, had periodically been made to modify the ritual in a manner suitable to the requirements of the age; but these efforts failed, and it was only when a Reformed

English Synagogue was opened in Burton Street that anything was actually done. This movement resulted in an open schism, which was not unattended by bitterness; the decree of excommunication was passed upon the new congregation and its minister. Still the heretical leaven spread, and the smaller synagogue was soon exchanged for a larger one. "Though we are," writes Professor Marks, who was at the head of the movement, "still divided on questions purely and wholly ritual, we are nevertheless drawn closely together by a common belief and by mutual sympathies; and for all communal purposes we act as one inseparable brotherhood." It was anticipated in some quarters that the ultimate result of this split in the Jewish community would be the secession of the reformers to the Christian Church. Nothing of the sort has followed, and Judaism has generally revived since the congregation of British Jews was organised. The subdivision of the services, which were, and among the ultra-rabbinical Jews still are, intolerably long, attracts a larger number of worshippers, and the women's galleries, rarely attended in former days, except at high festivals, are now well filled on every Sabbath.

Though the ritual practice of the Jews has differed at successive eras, their religious belief is identical in all essential respects with that which has always prevailed. The Jews, in England as elsewhere, assign the first place in the scale of Biblical sanctity to the Books of Moses, the second to the Prophetical Writings, the last to the other scriptural works—the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, and historical records—all of which are generally described as "Hagiography." These last are not held to be inspired in the same sense as the laws of Moses and the messages and predictions of the prophets, which, according to orthodox Judaism, are full of the spirit of verbal inspiration. Mendelssohn remarked that in the whole Mosaic law there was not a single precept saying "Thou shalt believe this or that," or "Thou shalt not believe it," and gave it as his opinion that Judaism was a system without an idea of articles or oaths of religion. Generally the Jews in England, at the present day, are distinguished by the spirit of toleration which the remark of Mendelssohn would lead us to expect. As they agree mutually to differ among themselves, without any reciprocal invocation of the penalties of Divine vengeance, so they hold that salvation belongs to all those outside their own pale who keep the moral law of Moses; in other words, who conform to those ethical rules which are recognised as binding by the whole human race. On themselves they consider it incumbent to observe as much of the ceremonial part of the code of the Pentateuch as is practicable out of Palestine. There is, moreover, a strong feeling among them that their marriages should be confined to members of their own race and creed, but the national and the religious sentiments have each of them an independent existence of their own, and they

admit that every human being, of every race or creed, who is morally just, stands in the same relation as themselves, here and hereafter, to the Universal Father. Even at the time when the storm of persecution raged most fiercely against them the doctrine was taught that the pious of all nations would enjoy everlasting felicity in the world to come.

It would be scarcely rash to say that a considerable number of English Jews are merely theists, who, over and above the faith of Theism, believe that the accident of their race places them under an obligation to observe certain rites. They do not hold that these rites are compulsory upon those who are not descendants of Abraham, and for this reason among others, the most fervent of Jewish religionists are not proselytisers. Cases in which applications are made to join the Jewish Church are more frequent than might be thought, though probably in few of these can the motive be attributed to disinterested religious conviction. The Rabbi who is importuned to receive Christian converts to the Synagogue protests in the first instance against the step, and says, in so many words, "If you believe in and worship the one and only God, refrain in thought and in deed from idolatry, and keep the moral law, which consists in loving your fellow-creature as yourself, we are taught to believe that you, as a Gentile, will be regarded as one with the most pious Israelite by Him that readeth all hearts." If after this the applicant persists in the request, and solemnly declares that he is not prompted by any carnal desire or prospect of worldly gain, but is the result of mature and sincere conviction, the Rabbi appoints a term for the religious instruction of the neophyte, and at its expiration reluctantly receives him into the Jewish community.

It may safely be said that the doctrine of the restoration—the ingathering, that is, of the Jews of all nations to Palestine—has no practical reality to the Jews themselves. A spiritual influence over the thoughts of the pious Hebrew it may, perhaps, exercise; but even in this case it suggests rather the last act in a grand and mysterious drama, an act which will be witnessed only when the present universe is on the eve of dissolution. So far as his actual social and political relations are concerned, the restoration is to the Jew very much what the millennium is to the Christian. Both beliefs, it is to be noticed, had their origin in similar circumstances of persecution and oppression. As the majority of Christians suffered the cherished doctrine of the millennium to recede into the background when they found themselves in security and power, so most modern Jews, as they rose in the scale of prosperity and citizenship, withdrew their eyes from the belief once firmly held, that their entire race would meet together again on the soil of Palestine. As the Jews are thus practically absorbed in the general mass of the English population, or of the population of any other country where they may chance to be, so

the tribal differences among the Jews themselves have disappeared. Indeed, the only tribe practically known among the English Jews is that of Judah, which, however, includes some members of the tribes of Benjamin and Levi. Wherever the name Cohen is found, one may be certain that one has lighted upon a descendant of Aaron.

The distinctly religious organisation of the Jews for the purposes of public worship may be said to proceed upon much the same lines as that of the Independents. In some cases, indeed, the congregations group themselves into a confederation, and recognise, as extending over the whole number, the authority of the Rabbi. Although the Rabbi has no power of enforcing his authority, the congregations placing themselves under his guidance leave to him and his ecclesiastical coadjutors all matters relating to ritual. This, at least, is the rule. But there are occasions when the wardens and the council of a synagogue undertake to introduce changes of a minor character without consulting the Rabbi, and without holding themselves obliged to do so. What portions of the service are to be read, and what chanted, are left to the discretion of the minister in consultation with the wardens. The West London Synagogue of British Jews is the only metropolitan synagogue where there is an organ. In others choirs are formed, but they are not accompanied by instrumental music.

A specially ordained priesthood is what Judaism can hardly be said to have. "Whatever may be urged to the contrary," says Professor Marks, after having cited a number of historical passages bearing upon the point by those who promote ecclesiasticism, "and to raise above its proper level the seat of priestly authority, the historical fact remains, that from the middle of the eleventh century all power of authorising teachers in Israel, by superincumbence of hands, became extinct, and since that time the only recognised authority for electing and instituting ministers has resided in the congregations themselves." There is, however, a special course of education prescribed for the ministers of the Jewish religion, though it is very far from being uniformly followed. In the West London Synagogue of British Jews, over which Professor Marks presides, a special fund has been established for training candidates for the ministry, after they have taken their Bachelor of Arts degree—as it is considered exceedingly desirable they should do, at the University of London—at the theological seminary at Breslau. But, for the most part, the Jewish clergy come from the Jewish College, which has contributed many distinguished graduates to the University of London. Education has advanced with rapid strides among the Jewish community in the last few years, and it may be said with some confidence that there is no child of either sex among English Jews, of the age of nine or ten, who cannot both read and write. The Jews' Free School in Spitalfields provides for the instruction of more

than two thousand pupils, half, at least, of whom are of foreign parentage, and there are many other institutions both in London and elsewhere of almost equal excellence. Nor are the provisions that exist for the bodily welfare of the poorer members of the community less effective. There are few instances in which the relief of Jew paupers is left to the ratepayers, and there is among the Jews a Board of Guardians, chosen exclusively from the members of their own body, who attend to all cases of distress and administer the funds which are generously contributed. Want and mendicity still exist, but the latter is almost entirely confined to the foreign Jews, who find their most profitable asylum in England. A great deal of the Jewish pauperism in this country comes from Russia, and is the result of a system under which conscription is universal, and no one not professing the creed of Christianity can rise above the ranks. The society which exists in England for the conversion of Jews to Christianity acts, in not a few cases, as an inducement to professional pauperism; nor is there any more common threat with which a Jew beggar supplements his prayer for alms when made to one of the wealthy members of his community, than that, if relief is denied, he will go over to the Conversion Society. Many of the abuses consequent upon the lavishness of Jewish charity have been effectually prevented by the establishment of the Jewish Board of Guardians.

It has been already said, and it may be cited as a proof of the religious activity and earnestness of the age, that the spirit of organisation is visible within the pale of every creed. On all sides there is hurrying to and fro, much parade of the machinery of faith, much insistence upon its routine business and its spectacular effects. But the question arises, How far can all this rightly be interpreted as a healthy sign? May not the very littleness of the controversies among the members of the Anglican communion, noticed at the beginning of this chapter, imply a diminution of the vital spirit? The superficial energy is there, but where, it may be asked, are the deep belief and the inspiring convictions which animated the older controversialists? It is unfortunately not to be doubted that excessive organisation is an omen of decay as well as a sign of growth. The excessive organisation of Imperial Rome coincided with the lamentable atrophy of the old Roman spirit. Again, it may be doubted how far the point to which toleration has been carried is at all a proof of that spread of conviction which is likely to result in the diffusion of the distinctively religious sentiment. Toleration may be quite as much a result of the consciousness of their position forced in upon the members of any communion or sect by the external forces of literature and science, and by the attitude of the State, as a frame of mind generated by a belief so profound in the truth of their own doctrines that they can regard with complacent indifference the

religious movements of others. It is not easy to see how toleration can be sincere in any Church party, or how any one can be tolerant throughout, who is possessed by a sense of the paramount importance of particular dogmatic tenets. What are to be the future relations of the different sects in England, Protestant or Catholic, and what the future of religion itself, is a tempting, but a perilous, theme of speculation. At present we can only see tendencies, and those tendencies are not in the direction of dogmatic unity. On all sides there is a disposition for the teachers and preachers of different Churches to combine together for the purpose of advancing the social and moral good of the community at large; to recognise that element of regard for the progress and amelioration of humanity which belongs to all creeds alike, and which may, perhaps, be spoken of as the human aspect of religion. Thus we find clergymen of the Church of England, of the Church of Rome, of the various Dissenting bodies, taking their place on public platforms by the side not only of devout or philanthropic peers, but also of well-meaning men of the world, who make no special profession of any spiritual faith, with the common object of stamping out the national curse of intemperance. The London City Mission and Hospital Sunday are further instances of the unanimity which is possible among the champions of rival creeds when the object aimed at is the alleviation of human misery, want, and suffering. The institution of School Boards has supplied another and similar opportunity of obliterating denominational distinctions, while the movement now taking place throughout the country, for the diffusion of art education, also teaches the religious instructors of the masses, irrespective of their faith or sect, to act together with men and women who are, perhaps, attached to no sect at all.

The Positivist, who holds that the only creed possible for humanity is that in which humanity is the first article, may perhaps deduce from these facts signs of the ultimate triumph of his faith. And it may be urged that there is a sense in which Positivism, as a religious gospel, may not be without its charm to a busy and pre-occupied generation; it is conceivable that there are minds to whom it may be an attraction to be told that the sole motive of worthy actions is their inherent worthiness, and that the results of such actions will make themselves felt and will be their own reward, transmitted through endless ages of posterity. Miss Martineau has told us, in her autobiography, that she never felt more completely happy than when she had renounced all belief in a future life and the last traces of a lingering attachment to any theological dogmas. To do good and to cultivate morality because it is a law of enlightened self-interest, and because it will be of advantage to others now and hereafter, is a faith whose large definiteness of outline may have a strong attraction to a certain order of minds. Here there is, at least, none

of the doubt and perplexity which overshadow a religion whose sanctions are found in an appeal to the immortality of the soul, and the distribution of rewards and punishments in another world. What has yet to be proved is whether a belief circumscribed by these narrow limits, and divested of all supernatural elements, can have any practical authority with the great majority of mankind. If history has any lesson for us, it would surely seem that religion, having survived the calumnies and misrepresentations of sacerdotal bigotry, will survive also the new scientific attacks. The great question to be asked and answered is this: Can you bring up children so as to make them truthful, moral, law-abiding, good subjects of a State, and good members of a family, without teaching them that there is a God who judges mankind? Here one is irresistibly reminded of the remark of the great French Revolutionist, that "if there were no God, it would be necessary to create one." Of course, the answer made to these observations, and which is made with such eloquence and earnestness by Mr. John Morley and others, is that the experiment has not yet been fairly tried. That is undoubtedly true. But the question which these gentlemen have never yet fairly met is, whether in the history of humanity there is anything to justify the belief that a religion of humanity, which ignores all supernatural sanctions, is practicable for the bulk of human beings, is a categorical imperative without the association of extra mundane hopes and fears, likely to accomplish for mankind what even the Positivists say is necessary. Is it merely a fanciful superstition to detect the true account of the growth of human society in these stanzas?—

"And quickened by the Almighty's breath,
And chastened by His rod,
And taught by angel-visitings,
At length he sought his God;

'And learned to call upon His name,
And in His faith create
A household and a fatherland,
A city and a state."

CHAPTER XXVII.

MODERN PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT.

The Psychological School the Main School of Philosophy in England—Its Relations to the Scotch Common Sense School, to French Eclecticism, and to the System of M. Comte and Positivism—Positivism in England—The Course of Development in the English School—John Stuart Mill, the Logician—Utilitarianism—The Modern Scientific Ethics—Herbert Spencer—The Doctrine of Evolution—Alexander Bain, the Psychologist—George Henry Lewes, the Physiologist—Antagonism of Metaphysics and Theology—The Influence of Science and the Popular Consciousness—Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall—The Influence of German Thought—The Kantians and the Hegelians—Reason and Faith, their Possible Reconciliation.

"The sceptre of Psychology has decidedly returned to England." Such are the words in which Mr. John Stuart Mill summed up the course of recent speculation in this country. Some critics might be disposed to detect some arrogance on the part of the English philosopher towards the psychological studies of Germany, of Kant in the last century, of Herbart, Wundt, Fechner, and Lotze in more recent times. But the sentence quoted above brings into prominence the main fact, which is incontestable : that the best spirit of English thought in this century has, under the leadership of names like Herbert Spencer, Bain, Lewes, and Mill himself, centred round the problems of mental philosophy. Some activity has indeed been displayed in the deeper and more far-reaching inquiries, which go by the name of metaphysics. But this has been seen chiefly in the difficult, if not impossible, attempt to transplant German thought to English soil ; and the number of the professed students of metaphysics may be counted on the fingers of the hand in comparison with the large and devoted band of those who rely on experience. If there is one more decisive note than another of modern English philosophy, it is a resolute adherence to the teaching of experience in mind, matter, and morals.

Such a tendency could not root itself in England without contesting the ground against alien influences : at the beginning of the century there were at least two dominant modes of thought against which it had to struggle. If we put aside for the moment the influence of German speculation—to which we will return later—we shall find two tendencies, one emanating from Scotland, and one due to a form of Continental thought, against both of which, in different ways, it had to make good its ground. That which is known as the Scotch school,

under the names of Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Brown, was a philosophy which its adherents called that of Common Sense. The term has either no significance in philosophy, or else it is superfluous. If Common Sense means a tact or instinct, as opposed to experience, it obviously can have no right to exist in a system of thought at all. If it means a rationalised experience, it is only a tautological expression for philosophy itself. As a matter of fact, the school in question arose as a well-meant but merely popular reaction against the sceptical tendencies of Hume. If philosophy meant such a complete suicide of thought as Hume's conclusions seemed to warrant, the best way appeared to be to abjure philosophical analysis and fall back on broad, uncritical, popular modes of deciding problems. If our knowledge of the world outside, and the soul inside us, was nothing else than a plausible delusion, as was asserted by Hume, then, inasmuch as ordinary practical men of the world found that they could depend on the world and themselves with tolerable certainty as real existences, it seemed that the fault must lie with the philosopher and not with the objects of his study, and that the best course must be to brush away the cobwebs by a vigorous appeal to common sense. Thus, too, a hand might be stretched to the outraged religious world, scandalised by the notorious scepticism of Hume, and the Scotch successors of a Scotch philosopher might take vengeance on their ingenious but mistaken parent.

This was the historical genesis of Reid and Stewart, and so far as Common Sense meant methodical experience, it suited the sober practical temper of Englishmen too well not to leave deep traces in modern English thought. But a philosophy of Common Sense might include other elements. It was almost sure to be declamatory and rhetorical; and sooner or later it might ally itself with that system of spiritualistic philosophy which merges logic into dreams. How little the English psychological school admired the first characteristic may be seen in the truculent fashion in which James Mill, in his "Fragment on Mackintosh," handled that unfortunate rhetorician. How little the second characteristic could be admitted is best seen in the relations of the English school to the French spiritualists. The doctrines of "Common Sense" were soon after their first promulgation introduced into France. Royer-Collard, a disciple of Reid, and his followers, Maine de Biran and Victor Cousin, inaugurated a philosophy, which mixed up (in such proportions as the antagonistic elements admitted) Scotch Common Sense, Cartesian self-analysis, and a vague and nebulous spiritualism which was essentially their own. Scraps of thought were introduced from all quarters so long as these would help them in their crusade against their two enemies, Diderot and the Encyclopædists, and Robespierre and Revolution. The result was a marvellous eclecticism, genial, rhetorical, religious, but by no means

philosophic; a system which is seen in its best characteristics in the amiable and accomplished M. Jouffroy, some of whose writings have become domesticated in England. But they could not win any sympathy from the English school. The character of the judgment passed on them may be gathered from the remarks of George Henry Lewes in his characteristically English "History of Philosophy."

We noticed another influence which the rising school of English psychologists had in a measure to discard. By their very name they held on to psychology as their sheet-anchor. But psychology itself was threatened from a new quarter by a French thinker, diametrically opposed to Victor Cousin and his fellows—Auguste Comte. Comte is the author of that system of strictly practical philosophy and vaguely theoretical religion which is termed Positivism, and Positivism, at all events in the mouth of its earliest expounder, abjures psychology. Psychology, says Comte, is an impossible science, because it attempts to study the faculties by the light of those faculties themselves. "In order to observe you must effect a pause; if you effect the pause there is nothing left to observe." In other words, mind cannot study itself, because that study is only possible by mind's activity, and the activity neutralises the results of the study. The intellect cannot observe the workings of intellect, because here observed and observer are the same. Nor, again, can even the intellect observe the passions, because passion disturbs the observing faculties. And so, instead of psychology, Comte introduces what he calls "Physiological Phrenology;" that is, the objective study of mind—the scientific analysis of cerebrum, cerebellum, and nerve-centres, and the white and grey matter of the brain and spinal column.

That this Positivist attack on psychology had a deep influence on English thought is clear to all students of Bain, Lewes, Carpenter, and Maudsley; but at the outset it is equally clear that some determined stand had to be made by those who were professedly advocates of psychological analysis. John Stuart Mill severely criticises this phase of Positivism in his work on "Auguste Comte and Positivism," as well as in his "System of Logic." Herbert Spencer issued a pamphlet, entitled "Reasons for Dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte," in which he asserts that the analysis of our ideas is an integral portion of philosophy. The general line which such criticisms of Comte took is, of course, the obvious fact that even granting that we do not know much of "states of consciousness," we know incomparably more of them than we do of their physical counterparts, and that in the last resort we know no fact at all, except in relation to our own states of consciousness.

But Positivism includes many more essentialfeatur es than this attack on psychology, which has in fact been greatly modified and almost expunged by the later disciples of Comte. Positivism is at

once a system of thought and a system of life. As a system of thought, it proceeds on the fundamental principle that all researches beyond phenomena should be suppressed. First causes and final causes must be ignored; with the beginning and end of things we have nothing to do, our only concern being with what lies between these two extremes. Thus all forms of theology, all forms of metaphysics, are finally banished. As a system of life, it includes a religious cult—the worship of humanity—and a more or less definite system of Socialism. In France M. Littré is the great modern expounder of Positivism; in England, also, we have had a small but devoted band of religious Positivists, of which Dr. Congreve, Dr. Brydges, and Mr. Frederic Harrison are distinguished members. The religious Positivists name their children after mediæval saints, by way of keeping up the catholic feeling of Humanity. They have their own names for the months of the year, and they have their special services in a Positivist chapel in London, in which many curious sightseers serve to swell the ranks of the worshippers of Humanity.

The best and the most permanent element of Positivism was the enunciation of a great historic law of progress and evolution of thought, which in Comte's technical phraseology was called "La loi des trois états," but in its general tendency has become merged in the modern scientific doctrine of development. It is this which has consciously or unconsciously, influenced many English philosophers who disavow all leanings to Positivism. It is this, possibly, which, combined with the attack on metaphysics, has made Mr. Lewes so strong an advocate of the Positive system. "I adhered," he says, "to the Positive philosophy in 1845, and I adhere to it still (in 1870)." And he would fain have us all read the "Philosophie Positive." "Study the 'Philosophie Positive' for yourself" (he thus apostrophises his reader); "study it patiently, give it the time and thought you would not grudge to a new science or a new language, and then, whether you accept or reject the system, you will find your mental horizon irrevocably enlarged." "But six stout volumes!" exclaims the hesitating aspirant. "Well, yes, six volumes requiring to be meditated as well as read. I admit that they 'give pause' in this busy, bustling life of ours; but if you reflect how willingly six separate volumes of philosophy would be read in the course of the year, the undertaking seems less formidable." "No one," he concludes, "who considers the immense importance of a doctrine which will give unity to his life would hesitate to pay a higher price than that of a year's study." Meanwhile, to a less aspiring and more hesitating student, it may be mentioned that in Miss Martineau's excellent "Abridgment of Comte" he can make himself acquainted, by the perusal of two small volumes, with at all events the more salient doctrines of Positivism. The importance of the sociological analysis of that

philosophy may be gathered from the fact, that in it will be found the key to Mill's Sociology as sketched in the sixth book of his "Logic," as well as the source and fountain-head of much recent sociological speculation. But in mentioning Mr. Lewes, we are somewhat anticipating the course of development in the prominent English school. His place comes, chronologically, with Mr. Darwin, Mr. Alexander Bain, and others; and to the rise and development of that system of psychological analysis we must now proceed.

How far not only moral and constitutional peculiarities, but modes and forms of thought, can be transmitted from father to son, is one of the much debated questions of heredity. But that the two Mills—father and son—exhibit a striking instance of the extent of such hereditary transmission is indisputable. The mind of John Stuart was run in the mould of James Mill, and the creations of that mind were but more or less varied repetitions of the thoughts of the bold and original historian of British India. The proofs are to be found not only in the general position of philosophic radicalism which is common to both, but in the edition which the son published of his father's "Analysis of the Human Mind," and in the explicit admissions which are contained in that book—of such peculiar sadness to many minds—the "Autobiography" of the younger Mill. This book has thrown much light on the character of his philosophy. It has explained how it was that his psychology was so entirely derived from that of James Mill, and was the result of so little independent thought on his own part; it has explained why Mill never seems to have systematically studied Continental philosophy, especially German speculation; it gives the reason for his being so wholly occupied with the middle levels of thought, to the exclusion of all inquiries as to ultimate ideas, and the beginning and end of things. For we now know that his education left hardly any room for his character and disposition to display any preferences, and that he was trained strictly on the lines of Benthamism in morals, and a modernised version of Hobbes in mental philosophy. A stern, rigid, autocratic father like the elder Mill, with clearly defined views, rendered all the more positive and dogmatic by opposition and unpopularity, was not likely to allow his son's intellect to expand in any other directions than such as accorded with his own predilections.

There is little which may be called strictly original in Mill's philosophical scheme, except, possibly, in some of his logical speculations. To him must be attributed a theory of reasoning, which, if not wholly new, yet exhibits with clearness and precision the function of the major premiss in a syllogism, and affirms that our course of reasoning is not, as is usually supposed, from the general law to the particular case, but, without exception, from a particular case to adjacent particular cases—the major premiss being but a memorandum, a

compendious statement of the result of our experience hitherto. If to this we add that he is the author of certain experimental methods or canons of induction (which have been severely criticised, among others, by Dr. Whewell)—that he advocates the existence of "Real Kinds" in nature apart from classifications due to our own convenience—that he has illustrated with great amplitude the plurality of causes and intermixture of effects which are found in nature's working, we shall have exhausted his chief contributions to logical science. The most interesting part of his "Logic" is the sixth book in the second volume, in which, starting from psychology, and what he terms "Ethology" (*i.e.*, the conditions which regulate the varieties of human character), he proceeds to trace the future science of Sociology. It is in this department of his work that he approximates most nearly to Comte and Positivism, just as it was especially his sociological speculation which formed the most valuable and lasting heritage of Comte to his successors.

In the fundamental doctrines of his philosophy, as exhibited, for instance, in his bitter attack on Sir William Hamilton, Mill appears as a modern version of Hume. He is like the elder philosopher in his empirical and sensationalist stand-point, believing that the whole body of human knowledge may be traced back to sensations, to immediate contact with the world outside us, entirely excluding *à priori* mental action. He is like him, again, in his attack on so-called necessary and universal truth, resolving, for instance, all mathematical axioms into the mere result of a number of experiences of points, straight lines, and angles. Above all he is like him in his analysis of external matter, which he maintains is nothing more than the "permanent possibility of sensation," and, with some limitations, extends the same analysis also to the case of mind. But in his more purely psychological aspect, Mill's merit lies in the stress which he has laid on the great principle enunciated by Hartley of "the association of ideas." Resemblance and contiguity in our ideas cause them to be so indissolubly fused together, that we find it impossible to call up one without thereby summoning the others in its train. It is thus that we associate together, for instance, our notion of "straight lines," and "impossibility to include a space," and end by imagining—so indissoluble is the connection thus formed—that we have this union of the two ideas as an intuitive perception of our minds, independent of all experience. It is thus, too, that association of antecedent and consequent in the natural world leads to the idea that there is in what we term "the cause" some productive force, some creative energy, to which the effect is due; and again, in less theoretic spheres, it is thus that the notions of money and happiness are so blended together, that the miser will make the amassing of money his end, finding happiness in such an inversion of ends and means. In fact, "the

association of ideas" is a sort of "mental chymistry," as Mill calls it, which explains many of the most deeply-rooted convictions of our nature; and in psychological science, we are told, it plays much the same part as the law of gravitation does in physics.

More important, however, in its influence on contemporary and popular thought than his more purely philosophic speculations, was that doctrine of utilitarianism in morals, of which, under the influence of his father and Bentham, Mill was so energetic an advocate. Indeed, the belief that the good is only the generally useful is, in one shape or another, common to the whole of the so-called English psychological school, to Herbert Spencer and to Bain just as much as to Mill himself. More recently Mr. Henry Sidgwick has published his work on "The Methods of Ethics," in which he appears as the defender of the utilitarian theory; and it may be said that, for the greater part of the thinking world, as well as for a large section of the unthinking, utilitarianism forms the popular philosophy of the day. It has been found to accord marvellously well with the practical temper of the English mind, and receives more than an incidental illustration in the favourite English study of political economy.

There are many points of view from which utilitarianism appears to give a satisfactory explanation of the phenomena with which it is concerned. When we approach human action from the political side, the utilitarian view is perhaps the only practicable one. The happiness of the people is the only possible aim for the political philosopher; indeed, it has been often urged, sometimes as praise, sometimes as blame, that the principle of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" has more a political than a moral character. Helvetius says, "La science de la morale n'est autre chose que la science de la législation." And for this, there is this sufficient reason, that utilitarianism studies only the consequences of action (*i.e.*, action viewed from the outside, as it affects other people), which is a truly political and social view. The question, however, remains, whether if personal ethics is to mean anything, it should not mean "action viewed from within," in connection, that is, with the principle and motive which animates it. Or again, in cases of casuistry, or instances where apparent duties clash, it may be asked what better test can be found than experience of the consequences of actions? When a patriot has to decide between his duty to the Government under which he lives and his duty to his own views and aspirations for his country, is not "utility," or the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the best solvent of his doubts? On the other hand, though an appeal to utility can best settle collisions of duties, it is clear enough that there are virtues, the sacred and authoritative character of which is taken away by the explanation afforded by utilitarianism. Justice is very clumsily explained (notwithstanding Mill's discussion in his "Utilitarianism"); Chastity, Veracity, Honesty,

are more powerful before the analysis into utility is applied to them than after it. A man will not consent to be killed rather than tell a lie because, on the whole, the practice of telling truth is useful to humanity; nor yet will a Light Brigade charge Russian guns because military discipline is good for the world.

The fact is that, despite the widespread acceptance of utilitarianism among English thinkers of the present day, it runs counter to that popular consciousness to which it is sometimes given to break through the cobwebs of metaphysical ingenuity. Nothing is more clear to unsophisticated minds than the distinction between what is expedient and what is right, however often they may happen to coincide. We do not venerate the man who, when called to some act of heroism, calculates whether on the whole his act will be useful to himself and to the world or not. It is more natural to call self-sacrifice noble than to call it useful; and no martyr—not even a scientific martyr—would ever go to the stake if he stopped to reckon up the benefits to society as against the personal pain of a death by burning.

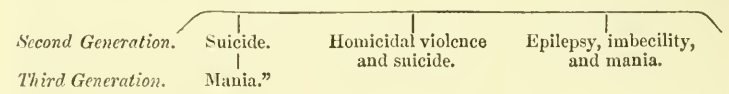
Utilitarianism, however, as it appears in Mill, has been to some extent modified and transformed by the so-called Rational Utilitarianism of Mr. Herbert Spencer. This newer and more scientific scheme has for its object to determine from the laws of life and the conditions of existence how and why certain modes of conduct are detrimental and certain other modes beneficial. These good and bad results cannot be accidental, but must be necessary consequences of the constitution of things. Morality, then, must be deduced from the laws of life and nature. Defined in the "Data of Ethics" as the science of conduct, morality is shown to involve physical, biological, psychological, and sociological data. From a physical standpoint, conduct advances towards rectitude when it becomes more coherent and more definite—when, that is to say, a man regulates his acts more in accordance with definite ends, and has many interests and occupations. From a biological standpoint, conduct improves when a man learns to develop all his functions, guided by pleasure, which is throughout the concomitant of normal function; while pain, on the contrary, is the concomitant of deranged function. From a psychological point of view, the advance of morality is indicated by a preference for the satisfactions of the future, as compared with the enjoyments of the present, and by the acknowledgment of the superior obligation of internal sanctions of conscience in contrast with external sanctions, such as legal punishment and theological systems of rewards and penalties. Lastly, the sociological aspect of ethics proves that progress means the substitution of peaceful co-operation for the violent constraints and animosities of war. As compared with the utilitarianism of Mill, the moral scheme of Spencer appears more scientific, more thoroughly systematic, and less inadequate to the problems

involved. But the familiar truths of ethics become unfamiliar when dressed in the garb of scientific nomenclature, and perhaps the most startling doctrine of the "Data of Ethics" is the new view inculcated of Duty. "The sense of duty," says Mr. Spencer, "is transitory, and will diminish as fast as moralisation increases." In other words, duty is not obedience to an internal law, but an arbitrary and provisional thing, which changes its stern complexion, as conduct becoming more scientific, becomes also more pleasurable. The application of scientific canons to ethics naturally makes morality more dependent on physical laws, and tends to convert conscience into a function of organisation.

The characteristic of Bain and Lewes as psychologists is (as we shall see) to treat thought as a function of matter, and from this it is but a step to the position that all moral feeling and sentiment may be equally explained by physical considerations. The step has been boldly taken by some physiologists and medical theorists, among others by Dr. Maudsley. In a lecture on Conscience published in his work, "Body and Mind," Dr. Maudsley says, "There is the strongest desire evinced, and the most strenuous efforts are made in many quarters, to exempt from physical researches the highest functions of mind, and particularly the so-called moral sense and the will. The moral sense is, indeed, the stronghold of those who have made strategical movements of retreat from other defensive positions which they have taken up. Are we then, as physiologists, to allow an exemption from physical research to any function of mind, however exalted? or shall we maintain through good and through evil report that all its functions, from the lowest to the highest, are equally functions of organisation? A vital question for us as medical psychologists, which we must sooner or later face boldly and answer distinctly." To which we may add, that it is also a vital question for moral philosophers which they must face boldly and answer distinctly, if there is to be any longer an independent science of ethics.

Dr. Maudsley proceeds to ask if there is "the same essential connection between moral sense and brain which there is between thought and brain, or between any of our special senses and its special ganglionic centre in the brain? To which he returns an emphatic affirmative, with the assertion that they do not admit of any other scientific interpretation. "One thing is certain, that moral philosophy cannot penetrate the hidden springs of feeling and impulse; they lie deeper than it can reach, for they lie in the physical constitution of the individual, and, going still farther back, perhaps in his organic antecedents. Because the fathers have eaten sour grapes, therefore it often is that the children's teeth are set on edge. Assuredly of some criminals, as of some insane persons, it may be truly said that they are born, not made; they go criminal, as the insane go mad,

because they cannot help it; a stronger power than they can counteract has given the bias of their being." A striking illustration is adduced to bring this home to the reader. "While the Reign of Terror was going on during the first French Revolution, an innkeeper profited by the critical situation in which many nobles of his commune found themselves to decoy them into his house, where he was believed to have robbed and murdered them. His daughter, having quarrelled with him, denounced him to the authorities, who put him on his trial, but he escaped conviction from lack of proof. She committed suicide subsequently. One of her brothers had nearly murdered her on one occasion with a knife, and another brother hanged himself. Her sister was epileptic, imbecile, and paroxysmally violent. Her daughter, in whom the degenerate line approached extinction, became completely deranged, and was sent to an asylum. Here, then, is the sort of pedigree which we really want if we are to judge of the worth of a family— the hereditary line of its vices, virtues, and diseases.



Such is the latest result of the application of the great modern doctrine of "Evolution" to the phenomena of moral life.

The first systematic adoption of evolution, as the keystone of philosophy, was made by Herbert Spencer. Of the three contemporaries, Herbert Spencer, Alexander Bain, and George Henry Lewes, who have propagated so widely the scientific and philosophic impulse communicated by Mill, it is undoubtedly the first who completely merits the name of a systematic thinker. In March, 1860, a catholic scheme was propounded, almost Titanic in its proportions, of works to be issued in periodical parts by Herbert Spencer. The series was to begin with "First Principles," with its two divisions of "the Unknowable" and "the Knowable," to proceed to "The Principles of Biology" in two volumes, "The Principles of Psychology" also in two volumes, "The Principles of Sociology" in three volumes, and to end with the two volumes of "The Principles of Morality;" and of this enormous programme the greater portion is completed. Little wonder is it that Mill and Lewes should be equally emphatic in their admiration. In comparing him with Comte, Mill says, "Mr. Spencer is one of the small number of persons who, by the solidity and encyclopedical character of their knowledge and their power of co-ordination and concatenation, may claim to be the peers of M. Comte, and entitled to a vote in the estimation of him." "It is questionable," says the author

of the "History of Philosophy," whether any thinker of finer calibre has appeared in our country, although the future alone can determine the position he is to assume in history. . . . He alone of British thinkers has organised a system of philosophy." The reason is that Herbert Spencer's philosophy is dominated by one vast conception, which serves as a focus in which are gathered and concentrated all the rays of thought in its different departments. It is saturated with one thought of pre-eminent importance—the great conception of "Evolution." As Professor Huxley has said, "The only complete and methodical exposition known to me of the theory of evolution is to be found in Herbert Spencer's 'System of Philosophy,' a work that should be carefully studied by those who desire to become acquainted with the tendencies of scientific thought."

What is this law of evolution? We must first attempt to get some scientific expression or definition of it before proceeding to observe its exemplifications in the different spheres of being and thought. It has one fundamental principle from which everything is deduced—the persistence of force or energy. Just for the reason that energy is always active in nature, that force never fails or dies, do things in nature change, adopt new forms, new developments, new transformations. If the law is to be expressed in a formula, it will run thus: "Progress consists in the passage from a homogeneous to a heterogeneous structure." The law of all progress is one and the same, the evolution of the simple into the complex by successive differentiations. If we ask why progress should run always in this direction, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, the reason is twofold. In the first place, if a body is in a homogeneous condition it is unstable; "homogeneity is a condition of unstable equilibrium;" or, in more simple language, a state of uniformity is one which cannot be maintained. A familiar illustration is furnished by the scales: "If they be accurately made and not clogged by dirt or rust, it is impossible to keep a pair of scales perfectly balanced; eventually one scale will descend and the other ascend, they will assume a heterogeneous relation." Or again: "Take a piece of red-hot matter, and however evenly heated it may at first be, it will quickly cease to be so; the exterior cooling faster than the interior, will become different in temperature from it, and the lapse into heterogeneity of temperature, so obvious in this extreme case, takes place more or less in all cases." * The second reason for this direction of progress is that every active force produces more than one change, every cause produces more than one effect. The multiplicity of effects resulting from a single cause naturally converts homogeneity into heterogeneity.

* Herbert Spencer, "First Principles," p. 402. The interested reader should study the whole of the chaps. xii.—xviii. of Part II., exhibited in a more popular form in "Essays," London, 1861.

If a body is shattered by violent collision, "besides the change of the homogeneous mass into a heterogeneous group of scattered fragments, there is a change of the homogeneous momentum into a group of momenta, heterogeneous in both amounts and directions." "Of the sun's rays, issuing from him on every side, some few strike the moon; these being reflected at all angles from the moon's surface, some few of them strike the earth. By a like process the few which reach the earth are again diffused through surrounding space; and on each occasion, such portions of the rays as are absorbed instead of reflected, undergo refractions that equally destroy their parallelism." For these two reasons—that homogeneity is a condition of unstable equilibrium, and that every active force produces several changes—the law of evolution may be defined as a process during which "an indefinite incoherent homogeneity is transformed into a definite coherent heterogeneity."

Herbert Spencer exemplifies this law with a wonderful wealth of illustration in all kinds of different spheres—in the sphere of the world's growth, the growth of individual organisms, the growth of the social organism, and the genesis of science; of these we may select the first and the third as adequate examples of his method.

In the beginning geologists tell us that our globe was a mass of matter in a state of fusion, and was therefore of homogeneous structure and of tolerably homogeneous temperature. Then came the successive changes into heterogeneity; into mountains, continents, seas, igneous rocks, sedimentary strata, metallic veins. Or, again, look at the case of organisms on the face of the globe. Fishes are the most homogeneous in their structure, and are one of the earliest productions on the globe; reptiles come later and are more heterogeneous; mammals and birds, which are produced later still, are still more heterogeneous; man is the most heterogeneous of all. Even if we limit ourselves to the case of man, the law holds good. The multiplication of races, and the splitting up of races among themselves, have made the species much more heterogeneous. "The Papuan has very small legs, resembling in this the quadrumanous kind, while in the case of the European, whose legs are longer and more massive, there is more heterogeneity between the upper and lower limbs." Another example of this progress in heterogeneity is furnished by the subdivisions even of the Saxon race, which has within a few generations developed into the Anglo-American variety and the Anglo-Australian variety. Perhaps, however, a still clearer example of the operation of the law can be found in the development of the social organism. The society of savages is an aggregate of individuals, who all hunt, fish, go to war, and work, or, in other words, it is homogeneous; every individual having the same functions. Then comes a differentiation between the governing and the governed; while in the governing power are

still united religious and executive functions. Other differentiations lead to our present condition of heterogeneity, Church gradually dividing itself from State, and the actual political organisation consisting of numerous subdivisions in justice and finance, in executive and deliberative powers.

In Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Psychology" the same law is applied to our mental states, and we are proved to have become in mind what we are by successive developments from early organic states. A striking result of the introduction of this conception of evolution into psychology is shown in Herbert Spencer's attitude towards the so-called "Forms" of mind. There are certain forms, of which "Time" and "Space" are most frequently quoted, which have been the sources of much mental confusion to philosophers, for they seem to be so entirely innate, conceptions of such immediate validity, as to preclude all possibility of resolution; and hence by Kant they have been boldly termed "Forms of Sense," or, in other words, *à priori* conditions of sensation and perception. On the other hand, they can be resolved, and are resolved by philosophers like Hume and Mill, into ideas "put together out of successive single sensations." Now this old difficulty as to whether "Time" and "Space" are *à priori* or *à posteriori*, is solved, according to Herbert Spencer, by the hypothesis that they are in reality *à priori* to the individual, but *à posteriori* to the race; in other words, men begin *now* in their perceptions with ideas of space and time ready formed; but these have in reality been bequeathed to them—bequeathed by a long course of experiences in their ancestors. And so Herbert Spencer claims to have reconciled Locke and Kant: "in psychology, the arrested growth recommences now that the disciples of Kant and those of Locke have both their views recognised in the theory that organised experiences produce forms of thought."

Nothing, in fact, is sacred from the penetrative analysis of Mr. Spencer; no thought, no feeling, no sentiment, not even that sentiment which, under the name of Love, has formed the staple commodity of poets and novelists. This is how "victorious analysis" disposes of love: "The passion which unites the sexes is habitually spoken of as though it were a simple feeling; whereas it is the most compound, and *therefore* the most powerful of all the feelings. Added to the purely physical elements of it, are first to be noticed those highly complex impressions produced by personal beauty; around which are aggregated a variety of pleasurable ideas, not in themselves amatory, but which have an organised relation to the amatory feeling. With this there is united the complex sentiment which we term affection—a sentiment which, as it can exist between those of the same sex, must be regarded as an independent sentiment, but one which is here greatly exalted. Then there is the sentiment of

admiration, respect, or reverence; in itself one of considerable power, and which in this relation becomes in a high degree active. There comes next the feeling called love of approbation. To be preferred above all the world, and that by one admired beyond all others, is to have the love of approbation gratified in a degree passing every previous experience; especially as there is added that indirect gratification of it, which results from the preference being witnessed by unconcerned persons. Further, the allied emotion of self-esteem comes into play. To have succeeded in gaining such attachment from, and sway over, another, is a proof of power which cannot fail agreeably to excite the *amour propre*. Yet again the proprietary feeling has its share in the general activity; there is the pleasure of possession—the two belong to each other. Once more, the relation allows of an extended liberty of action. Finally, there is the exaltation of the sympathies. Thus, around the physical feeling forming the nucleus of the whole are gathered the feelings produced by personal beauty, that constituting simple attachment, those of reverence, of love of approbation, of self-esteem, of property, of love of freedom, of sympathy. These, all greatly exalted, and severally tending to reflect their excitements on one another, unite to form the mental state we call 'love,' and as each of them is itself comprehensive of multitudinous states of consciousness, we may say that this passion fuses into one immense aggregate most of the elementary excitations of which we are capable, and that hence results its irresistible power."

And now what has Mr. Spencer to say of those deeper problems which lie at the root of philosophy and science, of the relations of all the forces and powers of nature to the First Cause—of the relations of science and religion? One of the most interesting portions of "First Principles" treats expressly of these problems. Mr. Spencer asserts that he has found a reconciliation between religion and science. The reconciliation is, possibly, not one which either of the two contending parties would accept; and more strangely still, it is a solution framed on the lines of Sir William Hamilton and Dr. Mansel—the one a Scotch metaphysician, the other a "Bampton lecturer" on divinity. Both religion and science must allow, according to Spencer, that ultimately they rest on "the Unknowable." The theologians cannot define their God, cannot possibly explain how the Infinite and the Absolute can yet be a Person; the scientific men cannot define the ultimate grounds on which rest their "Forces," and "Energies," and "Laws." In every direction, if we pursue the inquiry long enough, we come to an inner secret, to a substratum of "the Unknowable." "By continually seeking to know, and being continually thrown back with a deepened conviction of the impossibility of knowing, we may keep alive the consciousness that it is alike our highest wisdom

and our highest duty to regard that through which all things exist as the unknowable."

As "Amurath an Amurath succeeds," so follow psychologists and physiologists in the steps of Mr. Spencer. Among these, two have raised themselves into the front rank—Alexander Bain and George Henry Lewes; but their merits are of a very different order. By far the acuter mind of the two, both in speculative insight and the special talents of the psychologist, was possessed by Mr. Lewes. Without him it would be true to say that a marked step of progress would be wanting in philosophy. But such praise could hardly be accorded to Mr. Bain. His strength lies rather in expression, in illustration of details, in general breadth of descriptive power, than in those gifts of vivid insight, or ample generalisation, or pregnant suggestion, which form the character of an original philosopher. Perhaps such a man is needed after a great systematic synthetic thinker like Mr. Spencer, to pick up, as it were, the fragments that remain, to bring out points in clearer light which might otherwise be neglected, to serve up the intellectual banquet anew in fresh forms for the jaded appetite. Necessary, however, though such a man may be in a series or succession of philosophic thinkers, yet from a popular point of view—from the view of large or wide-spread influence on the body of the cultured world—we shall hardly be wrong in passing over without much comment the name of Mr. Bain in such a general review of thought as we propose to ourselves. One reason, among many others, which might be adduced of the comparative unimportance of this philosopher is to be found in the fact that there is in his work, as his French critic, M. Ribot, observes, "a too frequent absence of the idea of progress, and a consequent neglect of the dynamic study of phenomena."

The best that can be said for him will be found in the estimate of Mr. Mill, in an essay published in the "Dissertations and Discussions." "He has worthily inscribed his name beside those of the successive builders of an edifice, to which Hartley, Brown, and James Mill have contributed their share of toil." But in that temple of fame we presume that niches are found not only for the master-builders, the great spiritual architects, but also for those who have humbler tasks, the careful and conscientious workmen in other people's designs. By far a truer estimate, probably, is that given by Mr. Spencer in one of his "Essays." "The work of Mr. Alexander Bain," he says, "is not in itself a system of mental philosophy, properly so called, but a classified collection of materials for that system, presented with that method and insight which scientific discipline generates, and accompanied with occasional passages of an analytical character. Were we to say that the researches of the naturalist, who collects, and dissects and describes species, bear the same relation to the researches of the comparative

anatomist tracing out the laws of organisation, which Mr. Bain's labours bear to the labours of the abstract psychologist, we should be going somewhat too far, for Mr. Bain's work is not wholly descriptive. Still, however, such an analogy conveys the best general conception of what he has done, and serves most clearly to indicate its needfulness."

The chief points of interest in Mr. Bain's philosophy may be briefly summarised. In the first place, we notice the same stress on the physiological antecedents of psychology, which is to be found in Mr. Spencer. In the first of his two larger books, "The Senses and the Intellect," Mr. Bain begins with a description of the brain, the cerebral nerves, the cerebellum, and the spinal cord. The nervous system is for him the "fons et origo" of psychological study, for the nervous system is the very condition of psychological life. In a word, the life of the mind is but a special variety, a peculiar manifestation, of general physical life. In the second place, we have in the same work an elaborate study of the association of ideas, illustrated with that fulness of descriptive power which is the best and the chief characteristic of Mr. Bain. Lastly, in the companion work, entitled "The Emotions and the Will," we have an exhaustive enumeration (yet hardly a classification) of the feelings and emotions, studied in their double aspect, as parts at once of psychology and physiology. Somewhat curiously, English philosophers have, as a rule, been deficient in any study of the emotions. They have not in this respect assimilated one of the truest elements of Comte's programme (which distinctly included "the affective phenomena"), and the result has been a certain unreality and lack of practical influence in their mental theories. Yet, though Mr. Bain does his best in this instance to fill the breach, his descriptive power too often runs away with him; according to the judgment of Mr. Spencer, in Mr. Bain's work description fills too large a share, and analysis too small a one. It is only a strict analysis which can precede a real classification.

Very striking and suggestive are the contributions made by Mr. Lewes to the history of modern thought. Metaphysics Mr. Lewes would have none of, and his attack on them in his later works was only an echo of the attack made in the Prolegomena to the earliest edition of his "History of Philosophy." If we wish to see Mr. Lewes at his best we should peruse that characteristic Introduction. There will be found the salient features of his style—its liveliness, its freedom from all pedantry, its critical acumen, its popular sallies, its excessive dogmatism. The metaphysician and the man of science are like two travellers who come into a country where for the first time they see a clock. One finds in the new phenomenon an exhibition of a vital principle: "the ticking resembles the regular sounds of breathing; the beating of the pendulum is like the beating of the heart; the slow

movements of the hands, are they not movements of feelers in search of food? The striking of the hours, are they not cries of pain or expressions of anger?" The other traveller is aware of the necessity of verifying hypotheses, and proceeds according to a different method. He takes away the face of the clock, but finds nothing changed; but no sooner has he stopped the pendulum than he finds that everything has stopped with it. From these and other experiments he discovers truly that the clock is a mechanism. Such, thinks Mr. Lewes, is the difference between the two classes of minds, one of which is doomed to sterility, the other ordained to an ever-increasing triumph. Or again, "the metaphysician is a merchant, who speculates boldly, but without that convertible capital which can enable him to meet his engagements. The man of science is also a venturesome merchant, but one fully alive to the necessity of solid capital, which can, on emergency, be produced to meet his bills; he knows the risks he runs whenever that amount of capital is exceeded; he knows that bankruptcy awaits him if capital be not forthcoming." A third illustration is drawn from the phenomena of spirit-rapping. With such variety of agreeable matter does the brilliant historian of philosophy beguile the *ennui* of the student, and attempt to disguise the difficulties which surround that unique phenomenon, "Consciousness."

There is, perhaps, only one thing which moves Mr. Lewes's scorn as much as metaphysics, and that is dogmatic theology. "The expansion of knowledge is loosening the very earth clutched by the roots of creeds and churches," he says with almost cruel energy. The history of philosophy is for him the narrative of the emancipation of philosophy from theology. In time, he hopes, we shall be in possession of "a method which will make religion also the expression of experience, and thus dissipate the clouds of mystery and incredibility which have so long concealed the clear heavens." Whether the Positivist "Religion of Humanity" be "the expression of experience" is best known to the hierophants initiated in its mystic rites; but that this is not what religion means to the ordinary consciousness is obvious. Possibly, here we have one result of that definition of philosophy which makes it equivalent to analytic science. In his special lines, Mr. Lewes's criticism is always pertinent, his judgment clear, and his conclusion expressed with unmistakable emphasis. As an historian of philosophy he has his favourites, and he lets his readers know clearly who they are. Any genuine analytical power, however imperfect in exercise, he always admires; which explains, perhaps, why he is so singularly indulgent to Bishop Berkeley, and why he is filled with such true respect for the critical work of Kant. But meaningless dialectic he abhors and despises: and next to his scathing criticism of the French eclectics, we may put his merciless and (if the truth may be said) somewhat inadequate treatment of Hegel. As a psychologist, he has

developed, in independent lines, the system of Mr. Spencer, and has completely severed himself from all affinity with the simple sensationalism of Condillac.

In company with Mr. Lewes, but not, perhaps, equally deserving of the name of philosophers, come a host of writers, mainly scientific, among whom we may specify the names of Darwin, Carpenter, Maudsley, Morell, Sully, Leslie Stephen, and as pure savants, Tyndall and Huxley. Of these, probably, Darwin has had most influence in fashioning, or at least instigating, popular modes of thought and expression. "The Origin of Species," "The Descent of Man," "The Expression of the Emotions," have probably been more widely read than usually falls to the lot of scientific books. For so long as savants labour in the special departments of science, public opinion is excessively tolerant, for the simple reason that its incuriousness is only equalled by its ignorance; but as soon as the field of minute inquiry is left behind, and some wide generalisation is attempted, some startling law exhibited, which touches the general thoughts and feelings of the common mass, then at once public opinion gets aroused and angry, and ignorance degenerates into something very akin to blind bigotry. This is a mere matter of history, and does not affect either way the truth or the untruth of the opinions that have aroused the storm. As long as Darwin studied the phenomena of the world of pigeons, or threw new light on the question of instinct, he was left alone in his study to pursue his scientific experiments; but when, as the result of these experiments, there came forth the great law of the evolution of the human race from inferior organisations by means of the "Struggle for Existence" and the "Survival of the Fittest," mankind, perhaps naturally, resented a theory which established their kinship with a lower creation. The same was the case in a less degree with Professor Tyndall. He might pursue his science and his pleasure in the Alps as long as he liked, but when he propounded a theory about the origin of things in a Belfast address, the popular consciousness felt itself injured in its belief in the Book of Genesis. For there are two subjects with which ordinary human nature will not permit any liberties to be taken—its origin and its decease; it pursues with relentless hatred materialists and Positivists, professors of evolution, and deniers of the soul's immortality; and in recent days Professor Häckel, of Jena, has stirred up this opposition anew. In the wild but virtuous indignation of "the organs of public opinion," some ignorance may possibly be detected of what "a scientific hypothesis" really means; some convenient forgetfulness that the methods of inquiry which make them so angry are precisely those which have taught us the facts of astronomy, and won for us the material comforts of our civilisation. But the historian cannot overlook the fact that these struggles to and fro, these heart-burnings, these contentions between the Church and

the laboratory, religion and science, are but so many indications of the profound unrest of modern thought, varying and antagonistic elements, which prove, as clearly as they can, the transitional character of our age. The lines of the reconstruction can hardly yet be guessed —whether the issue is to be an armed neutrality between religion and science, and a clear division of territory between them, or the triumph of science and experience, or, as some think not improbable, the renascence of religion in the form of a philosophy. Whichever it be, one thing is clear, that these scientific conceptions of evolution, of development, of analysis, of biology, have gained and are gaining an increasing hold on the modern world. We find them in our newspapers, in our magazines, in our poetry, in our novels; analysis, triumphant and victorious, is seen on every page of Browning's verse, in every paragraph of George Eliot's novels. A hero is not drawn in some flash of constructive genius, as he would be in a great creative age, like that of Shakespeare, but built up, piece by piece, by single traits and characteristics, amid a mass of reflections, after the manner of a critical, analytic, transitional age like that which is the parent of Daniel Derondas. The very word "evolution" has lost its scientific meaning, and we now talk of the evolution of a plot in a three-volume novel. Whether the future be with the Darwins or Huxleys we know not, but it is abundantly clear that the present is on their side. To deplore the fact is as useless as to ignore it; it is to condemn ourselves to hopeless sterility. "Toute cause qui hait son temps se suicide." It is more interesting and more profitable to attempt to see how the future, with its wondrous power of reconciling contraries, will assimilate scientific conclusions with that vast body of pre-existent popular thought, which science may be said as yet to have scarcely leavened.

One element in such a reconciliation must undoubtedly be furnished by the influence on England of German thought. This influence we have reserved to the last, because its reality and permanence have often been unjustly questioned, and because no candid historian can help allowing the fact that it is in itself alien to the English temper and English modes of speculation. Somewhat fitful, in fact, and spasmodic has been the German invasion of ideas with us. English reliance on science and experience has, of course, continuously allied itself with the empirical philosophers of Germany. But the deeper thoughts and the metaphysical systems of the one country have had to wait upon the appearances of somewhat rare spirits in the other, before they could become known and, for the time at least, naturalised. One such rare spirit was found in Samuel Taylor Coleridge, born in 1772. In 1798 he went for some time to Germany to study the philosophy of Kant. In 1817 and 1825 he poured forth upon the English public his earnest protests against the philosophy which was popular among them, in his "Biographia Literaria" and his "Aids

to Reflection." In one aspect, possibly, he might be called reactionary, for he was full of the times of Elizabeth and James, and the greatest period of English literature. But in another aspect he was the prophet, seeing from a mountain the land which the common herd had not the wit to see, ever warning men against the philosophical writers of his time, ever striving to awaken some feeling for, and belief in, the systems of Jacobi, and Schelling, and Fichte, always insisting on a distinction which was strange to the English intelligence —that between reason and understanding—for reason to Coleridge was the organ of the higher truths, understanding a faculty on a lower scale, a faculty of comprehension, but not, like the other, a faculty of creative thought. The impulse was widely extended by a literary feeling. The literature of Germany—Goethe, and Lessing, and Schiller —was popularised for the first time in England by the labours of Edward Bulwer Lytton, Thomas de Quincey, and, above all, Thomas Carlyle. The last is a unique figure in the literary world, passionate, masterful, bizarre, penetrated through and through with German thought, an idealist, a poet of the highest type, a great creative genius, a "laudator temporis acti," a modern Heracleitus, σκοτεινὸς, αἰνικτὴς, ὀχλολοίδορος. To him and to Coleridge more than to any other writers, we owe whatever German elements are to be found in our ordinary thoughts. But already his influence is waning, and he is no longer to the younger generation of the present day what he was to the contemporaries of De Quincey.

In later times, as literature has become more cosmopolitan, the philosophic influence of Germany has been communicated through more numerous channels. Nothing has been more remarkable in Germany itself than the resurrection of Kant. There is now a so-called neo-Kantian school, with the motto of Otto Liebmann, "Es muss auf Kant zurückgegangen werden," and with the avowed object of making head against contemporary materialism. Although it has no actual representatives in England, there has been much intellectual activity exercised on the Kantian "Critiques" by Englishmen who have either viewed Kant through Hegelian spectacles, or found that they must reckon with Kant in the formation of their own systems. The Kantian literature in English is becoming very large; it is only necessary to instance Dr. T. Hutchinson Stirling's "Treatise on Kant," Professor Caird's "Philosophy of Kant," Professor Max Müller's English translation of Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason," Professor Watson's "Kant and his English Critics," and the works of Professor Mahaffy and Professor Adamson on the philosopher of Königsberg. In Oxford, which has never been quite weaned from its metaphysical tendencies, several philosophical works have been composed bearing more or less the Teutonic stamp. Chief among these may be noticed the late Professor Green's "Introduction to the Works of Hume," and his "Pro-

legomena to Ethics," Professor Wallace's "Logic of Hegel," and Mr. Bradley's "Ethical Studies" and "Principles of Logic." Translators also have been busy. One of the most recent publications of the Clarendon Press is a translation of Lotze's "Metaphysic" and "Logic," executed by various hands. The German pessimists have not been forgotten, Messrs. Haldane and Kemp having produced a most serviceable edition of Schopenhauer's "Welt als Wille und Vorstellung," and Mr. Coupland having done his best to introduce Von Hartmann's "Philosophy of the Unconscious" to the English public. The influence of pessimism in England is curious, but probably evanescent; for pessimism, though the privilege of youth in most countries, and though rampant enough in Byron and Byronic young men, appears in reality to be utterly alien to the strenuous and happy activity of the English spirit.

What the exact importance may be of the German methods of philosophy in our insular thought, it is as yet probably too soon to estimate. The *prima facie* objection that it is distasteful to our national instincts may be held to be of some weight; but it must be remembered that the highest English thought has often been touched by foreign influences, whether it be the Hebraic "passion for righteousness" which animates English religion, or the keen air of foreign travel which blows through every page of Elizabethan literature. The chief interest, however, to any dispassionate observer of English contemporary thought, who is wearied with the struggle of priest and savant, is to gauge the value of a new intellectual "departure" in its bearings on the debatable country between Faith and Reason. By some men the German metaphysic, in its apotheosis of Reason, may be hailed as providing the only substitute which a cultured and enlightened age can accept for the superannuated phases of "Faith;" while others, who refuse to recognise in such new garb the long-loved features of the religion which has been consecrated to them in lisping utterances learnt at a mother's knee, may hold at arms' length the doubtful advantages of novel, though generous allies. But doubt of this kind as to the exact value of a new form of philosophy can only be solved by time; and to time we must look to decide whether the leaves of the tree which are for the healing of the nations, and which have been gathered in the garden of Gethsemane, can be ever found in the garden of the Academe.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MODERN CULTURE AND LITERATURE.

General Definition and View of Modern Culture — Ascendancy of the Romantic Spirit—First Element in Culture: the Artistic—Art an Equalising as well as Humanising Agency—Advance of Domestic Decorative Art since 1851—Influence of Mr. Ruskin: of Art Exhibitions—Improved Taste visible in Furniture and Embroidery—In Feminine Dress—In Home Decorations—General Characteristics of Modern English Painting—How far does Modern Art reflect the Spirit of the Age? —Explanation of the Popularity of Pre-Raphaelite Pictures, and Specimens of these —Whistler, Moore, Burne Jones—The Giorgionesque—Influence of Turner—Stimulus given to Artistic Impulse by other Art Critics than Ruskin: Hammerton, Colvin, Carr, Wedmore, Augustus Hare—Development of Art in Great Towns—Music an Element in Modern Culture—Are we a Musical Nation?—Music as reflecting the Spirit of the Age—Second Element in Modern Culture: the Scientific—Progress and Organisation of Science in England—Popular and Famous Teachers of Science—Huxley, Tyndall, Lister, Sir Wyville Thompson—Charm of Science to Imagination—Influence of Science (1) upon Literature, (2) upon Religion—Relation of Science and Religion—Pessimism—The Pope of the Future—Other Elements in Modern Culture: Religion, Travel, Literature—General Tendencies of the Literature of the Time—Reaction against purely Literary Spirit—Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Pater, Mr. J. A. Symonds, Prof. Shairp, Mr. Leslie Stephen—Poetry—Modern Poetical Schools—Lord Tennyson, Mr. Browning, Mr. Swinburne, Mr. Morris, Mr. Alfred Austin—Novels—Novel-reading Classes—Novelists: Mr. A. Trollope, Mr. Charles Reade, Mr. E. Yates, Mr. Wilkie Collins, Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs. Linton, &c., &c.—Influence of George Eliot—Miss Broughton, Miss Braddon, Mr. L. Oliphant, &c.—Other Departments of Prose Literature—The New School of Historians—Mr. Freeman, Mr. Green, Mr. Froude—French Influences in Contemporary Literature —Mr. Frederic Harrison and Mr. John Morley—Serial Literature.

I.

We have in this chapter to consider one of the most representative and complex products of nineteenth-century England. When we speak of culture, we mean the fusion of the higher influences of the age—artistic, scientific, religious, and literary. Glimpses of some aspects of this many-sided development may be caught in the streets of London and in other of our great cities, in drawing-rooms, in picture galleries, in the periodicals of the day, wherever men and women meet together for the purpose of social conversation and pleasure. We recognise the indication of its presence in many ways and by many outward notes. Sometimes these are to be discovered in old china, in quaint furniture, in antique velvet hangings, in curiously-shaped cabinets; sometimes in a rather mystical, and, to uninstructed

hearers, unintelligible dialect; sometimes in a literary style remarkable for softness rather than vigour.

As it has been said that everyone is a born follower either of Aristotle or Plato, so every age may be described as being mainly classical or romantic in its tendencies. Romanticism is certainly in the ascendant during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, both in poetry and in household paraphernalia. It is the age of mansions built, as to their exterior, in the style of Queen Anne, although nothing more alien to the spirit of the literature of that age than their interior could well be found. The genius of the romantic eminently suits a time when the beauty of colour is worshipped as superior to the beauty of form. It is this preference which is the distinguishing characteristic of the romantic school, whether in art or literature. What the particular poets of the period—Mr. Swinburne, Mr. Morris, Mr. Rossetti—are in literature, Mr. Burne Jones, Mr. Whistler, and Mr. Albert Moore are in art. Theirs are the poems, and theirs the pictures, in which it is natural that a modern cultured public should delight. There is a sex in taste even as there is in flowers; and the sex which for the most part prevails just now, not more in art than in literature and religion, is feminine. As are the rooms we live in, so are the libraries which they contain. What Mr. Swinburne is among poets, Mr. Black, Mr. Blackmore, Miss Thackeray (Mrs. Ritchie) are among novelists—skilled, each of them, in the grouping of rich and varied tints, sometimes dazzling, often lulling the senses and causing them to sink into a slumber exquisitely sweet, but troubling themselves comparatively little, if at all, to attain to severity of outline or classical symmetry of proportions.

Art in the present decade is not only a great humanising, but a great equalising, power. The interchange of æsthetic sympathies, the compelling power of the brush and the studio—were we speaking now of matters theatrical, it might be added, of the stage—have become the instruments of a new kind of class fusion. The professional house-decorator is no longer a mere tradesman or tradesman's employé. He is an artist, and he is entitled to receive the treatment of a gentleman. But on a larger scale than this, and in matters more important, art is a great leveller. It has done much, is doing much now, to give to the daily life of middle-class England a grace and finish, the absence of which was long and bitterly deplored by æsthetic reformers. It is unlocking the door to a multitude of educating perceptions which had been systematically closed. It is imbuing with a sense of refinement —aristocratic in the best meaning of the word—the middle-class households of the land. Contrast the domestic interiors drawn in *Punch* by John Leech, about and before the time of the Hyde Park Exhibition of 1851, with those sketched by Mr. Du Maurier, and then judge of the interval which has been traversed. Fireplaces orna-

mented with Dutch tiles, carved oak chimneypieces, costly wall-papers, dadoes, and all the other most perfect appliances and apparatus in which the artistic soul delights may not be within the reach of everyone. But little objects conceived in the true artistic spirit, and eloquent of the distinguishing tone of modern culture, which give a pretty air of finish of the right kind even to an apartment crowded by sins against the true æsthetic canons, may be bought wonderfully cheap. It is something, surely, that the Philistine British public, against which Mr. Matthew Arnold has inveighed so often and so bitterly, has learned the use of the tints of pale olive, faint blue, dull yellow in its wall-papers, and sees, in the rich effect when a glass with scarlet chrysanthemums is placed against that background, what its true meaning is. How full of rest those dreamy curves and subdued tints are is best known to invalids, condemned formerly to gaze on a bed of sickness on brilliant green wreaths or combinations of roses tied in impossible knots, and depicted in impossible hues.

The names of two persons and of two institutions are prominently connected with this awakening on the part of the English public at large to the new artistic life—the late Prince Consort and Mr. Ruskin on the one hand; the Exhibition of 1851 and South Kensington on the other. Few men in the history of a nation have ever lent so powerful an influence to its scientific, artistic—some will add political—development as the husband of Queen Victoria. His taste and example gave an immense stimulus to the popularity of music. His encouragement was a signal advantage to British painting and sculpture and science. The world's fair in Hyde Park, when the present century had arrived at middle age, was not only the first of a series of international exhibitions, but did for art with the English public what Socrates did for philosophy when he brought it down from the gods to men—it taught the English people that the goddess might be domiciled in a middle-class English home as well as in a Venetian palace. Had it not been for Prince Albert, this event, which marks an era in the history of the humanities in this country, might never have occurred. The work which the Exhibition began. South Kensington has continued. To say that South Kensington might have held up a higher standard and a better model of artistic imitation to the English public than it has, is not to destroy its claim to grateful recognition. Its influence has been in the direction of sweetness and light. It has inspired the mothers and daughters of England with ideas which, if they have about them nothing that is heroic, have about them also nothing that is not refining. It is the School of Art Needlework at South Kensington which, aided by that loving study of nature for which the present generation is indebted to Mr. Ruskin, has given us, instead of the tasteless antimacassars of old, chaircovers embroidered with such wreaths of jessamine, honeysuckle, or Virginia

creeper as we may see trailed along a garden wall or bower. Screens and chairs embroidered with delicate white acacia or laburnum, with pink and white hawthorn and myrtle; or else tapestried with larger designs of birds, and even with effects of trees and water; curtains covered with pomegranate or orange, fruits and flowers; doyleys worked with field-flowers: all these unquestionably indicate a great advance on the style in which our drawing-rooms were ornamented at the time of the Exhibition of 1851. In other words, we have, thanks to Mr. Ruskin, learned to replace the conventional by the results of that reverent study of nature which the author of "Modern Painters" has done more than any man living to promote. He it is who has taught those whose lot is cast in these latter days, not only to love nature, but to discover a world of subtle and infinite beauty in her simplest, lowliest aspects: in the very mosses which grow at our feet, and which, as he exquisitely reminds us, cover with their soft tapestry the last couch of earthly rest. "When all other service," he writes in "Modern Painters," "is vain from plant and tree, the soft mosses and grey lichens take up their watch by the head-stone. The woods, the blossoms, the gift-bearing grasses, have done their part for a time, but these do service for ever. Trees for the builder's yard, flowers for the bride's chamber, corn for the granary, moss for the grave."

Those who have heard Mr. Ruskin in his Oxford lectures dwell with delight on the exquisite beauty of the strawberry plant, leaf, flower, fruit, and stem, can never see it without remembering the glowing words that taught them how much perfection of outline and colouring they had so often suffered to pass under their eyes unheeded. So, too, has he pointed out to us the mystic beauty of the olive-tree, with its dim foliage, delicate blossoms, and dark fruits—which even the great southern masters of painting overlooked, possibly because it was so near them—and of countless other things in earth and air and water.

The faculty of seeing more than meets the careless eye, and the cultivation of the faculty, have had other valuable effects than those which are purely artistic. By degrees our middle class is becoming gradually disabused of the vulgar notion that a large outlay is required for the tasteful arrangement of our rooms. The fact is recognised that the true artist can work, and work well, with the very simplest materials. And these influences are already becoming visible in the dress of women. What is chiefly conspicuous in modern feminine fashions is the latitude of personal choice, the opportunity of individualism in costume which they allow, and above all things, the revolt against the Parisian dressmaker. There is certainly much less of rigid conformity to a single type than during the reign of crinoline, or during the interval which immediately followed, when ladies emulated

in the limpness of their robes the appearance of one who might have just been immersed in a duck-pond. Nor does this hold true of dress only. Half a decade or a decade ago the feminine hair was dressed after one uniform pattern, quite irrespective of the contour and requirements of head and face. Of course a prevailing mode there still is—or, more correctly, there are two or three prevailing modes. But within certain and tolerably elastic limits a very considerable latitude of choice is allowed. In other words, ladies are rightly claiming and discreetly exercising more of an intelligent and personal initiative than they have ever before done. The fact is gradually being recognised that dress really stands in the same relation to the physical form that language does to thought, and that as for each variety of the latter there is the expression which is most appropriate, so in the case of the former there must be a reasonable artistic relation between the garment worn and the person wearing it. Thus it is that art has descended from the cold heights on which she once dwelt apart, and has thrown the grace of her presence over the familiar objects of everyday life. It is a further eminently satisfactory quality in the feminine costume of to-day that improvements in taste and economy in a great measure go together. Comparatively few ladies can afford such a dress as was exhibited at the School of Art in 1876, and afterwards sent to the Philadelphia Exhibition. But many, happily, can now work, and even design, borders of fruit and flowers, which give grace and character to the simplest costume, or paint sprigs of blossoms or clusters of flowers on the surface of silk and muslin skirts.

Even the domestic recreations of English homes in the present day illustrate the beneficent and humanising power of the artistic spirit. Painting on china is a graceful art, which is now not a little practised, and has received special encouragement from the Imperial Princess of Germany. Blue and white chimney-tiles, dainty Watteau groups on china plates or terra-cotta, may be executed by everyone who has artistic taste and leisure to cultivate it. It is a common and a welcome sight to see the young ladies of an English family employed in decorating the earthenware cups and jugs manufactured and used by the peasants at Dinan—which may be bought for a few sous, and take oil paint perfectly—with a little design of poppies or daisies that converts the jar or cup at once into a work of art. Here one may surely trace, in a manner however imperfect, a humble realisation of the fancy illustrated by Mr. Longfellow in "Keramos"—the graceful volume of verse in which he sings so well the art that was a passion with Bernard Palissy, the Huguenot potter.

When we approach modern English art, as embodied in the creations of the contemporary painter, we are in the presence of a difficult and delicate subject, which cannot here be dwelt upon with any pretence to completeness. It is charged against the latter-day school of English

painters that their skill and imagination are divorced from the stirring events of the time; that the atmosphere, social, political, scientific, abounds in ideas which might well stimulate them to heroic efforts; that they lack the courage to grasp or the fancy to illustrate these; that if they exercise their fancy upon circumstances of English life, they portray nothing nobler than a scene in a parlour or on a lawn, on the downs at Epsom, or at the railway station of Charing Cross; that the only type of the knight of chivalry which they can see in contemporary society is the well-dressed young guardsman; and that their loftiest visions of womanly nobility and beauty are to be discovered in the persons of a bevy of pretty young ladies standing before a picture or engaged in a game of lawn tennis. In a word, our painters, when they do not devote themselves to the region of history, allegory, and legend, have, according to this view, lost the secret of the "grand style." Hence, it is alleged, the real traditions and the true and best idiosyncrasies of English art are not to be found in the painters of the period. They do not reflect English character as Hogarth, Wilkie, Turner, and Gainsborough did. English character is full of enterprise and daring, is consumed by a restless thirst for action, is always eager for veritably imperial undertakings. Where, it is asked despairingly, can we look for any evidence of this in contemporary English art? And yet we are reminded, in the words of Sir Joshua Reynolds, "the ideal perfection and beauty are not to be sought in the heavens, but upon the earth. They are about us and upon every side of us." The whole of this question was ably discussed, though exclusively from one standpoint, by a writer in the *Quarterly Review* for February, 1879. "To represent action," says the writer, "in some form or another, is the aim of every great painter. In landscape, for example: how full of action is the painting of Turner, who may be truly said to have invented the great style in this branch of the art. The different lights and the far distances of his pictures blend in extraordinary sympathy with the human associations of the scene. His 'Rise' and 'Decline of Carthage,' and his 'Fighting Téméraire,' though the representation of human life in these is entirely subordinate, have all the feeling of a great tragic poet. They seize the unseen worth or character of the subject." Now it is just this "action" which, the complaint runs, is conspicuously absent from the most noticeable of modern pictures. Thus Mr. Brett's "Cornish Lions" is a beautiful presentation of a dazzling blue sea, illuminated by a sunshine so brilliant as to make each cranny and indentation in the cliff visible. But the general effect of the picture appears to this critic "to be that of suspended life." The same test is applied to Mr. Herkomer, whose picture of the "Evening in the Workhouse," with its predominant tone of sombre, hopeless peace, is contrasted with Wilkie's "Blind Fiddler" and "Blind Man's

Buff;" to Mr. Long, who, it is admitted, has a keen dramatic sense, but who, in his Egyptian picture, "The Making of the Gods," persists in employing it in realising the idea of an obsolete superstition; to Mr. Marks, who, it is deplored, gives up to dumb animals that faculty of active and energising creation which was surely "meant for mankind." To sum up: the three chief faults of our modern pictorial art, in the opinion of a writer whose competence and representative position entitle his views to consideration, are these—first, the want of life-like vigour and action; secondly, the alienation of artistic fancy from the stirring events of the time; and thirdly, if contemporary history is resorted to, the selection of unworthy and commonplace scenes and incidents. There is, of course, a protest against the feeble realism in the modes of thought prevalent among a certain section of society, and these modes of thought are bodied forth on some of the canvases of the period. Thus, the critic writes:—

"Those who last summer visited the Grosvenor Gallery found themselves in a region from which the vulgar and the familiar were fastidiously banished. If they had been offended in the Academy with the somewhat lavish imitation of particulars, they might here solace themselves with pure abstraction; if, in Burlington House, they had breathed with some difficulty the conventional atmosphere of modern society, here at least they might retire into the middle ages; they might listen to the pastoral pipe of the Renaissance, roam among rocks and mountains that appeared to have strayed out of the pictures of Benozzo Gozzoli, or ransack their memories before the faces of knights and angels whose acquaintance they fancied they had made long ago on some canvas of Giorgione or Sandro Botticelli. Surely here, if anywhere, was to be found that artistic generalisation, that imaginative energy, which Sir Joshua Reynolds declared to be the characteristic of the 'great style.' Alas, no! The representative painters of the Grosvenor Gallery had even less conception of action than the painters of the Academy: for if the latter restricted themselves to imitation, at least they imitated actual life, but the former merely imitated certain peculiarities in the *style* of the old masters. Mr. Burne Jones is the chief master of this school. His picture, entitled 'Laus Veneris,' represented a number of ladies sitting in the foreground, gorgeously attired, and in the background some knights in white armour looking in at a window as they rode by. The women in the chief group were doing nothing. They had even stopped singing the praises of Venus, which, it appears, was their sole resource for passing the time. They had all one type of face, one morbid kind of complexion, one monotonous expression, which culminated in the figure of the Queen, who, with her seat thrust back from the rest, her crown on her knees, and her feet far extended in front of her, seemed to have resigned herself to the dominion of *ennui*. A similar somnolent languor pervaded Mr. Jones's 'Chant d'Amour;' indeed, so potent was its influence, that a Cupid, who had been apparently borrowed from Botticelli for the purpose of blowing the bellows of an organ—which for some reason the female musician has chosen to play on the top of a wall—had actually fallen asleep at his work. In like manner the abstractions of 'Day and Night' and the 'Four Seasons' indicated not the action of light and darkness, nor the variety of generation and production, but the perpetual presence in the painter's mind of thoughts on revolution and decay."

What is there to be said on the other side of the question, not so much as regards the technical merit of modern paintings—which is not now the quality in dispute—as on the subject of the relation existing between the time and the works of pictorial art which it produces? Before we pass to this question, we may notice that while there

is much that may yearly disappoint and anger the lover of art on the walls of Burlington House—much which, when one compares the crudity of colouring and the hastiness of outline with the mellow glow on the canvas of French or Belgian artists, might tempt Continental masters to reverse the saying of Correggio when he first saw Raphael's masterpiece: "And I too am a painter!"—there is still one charming branch of art in which the supremacy remains to England. English water-colours are, and are likely to be, unrivalled. David Cox's "Hayfields;" Müller's "Eastern or English Scenes;" De Wint's "Church by the Banks of a Winding River," at South Kensington; George Mason's pictures of "Girls dancing by the Sea," "The Harvest Moon," "The Evening Hymn," exhibited a few years ago at the Burlington Fine Arts Club; Pinwell's "Mother of Thomas à Becket reaching London," a work of dream-like beauty; Frederick Walker's exquisite collection of drawings and sketches—the memorial of genius too early lost to us—among which "The Right of Way" and "The Fisher Boy," are perhaps the most perfect: these constitute sufficiently conclusive proofs of the superiority of English painters in water-colours.

Nor is it fair, or even intelligent, to speak in the language of unqualified depreciation of the Grosvenor Gallery and the school of art which it represents. The extravagances of that school may seem sufficiently glaring. Yet if there is much in it which is crude and fantastic, there is much, too, which is fruitful in promise and rich in ideas. And many of these ideas are an integral portion of the true inspiration of the time in, and the scenes amid, which we live. Take the case of the wan figure of Autumn in the tableaux of the seasons, each of them entirely different from the received types, with the legend written below:—

> "Laden Autumn, here I stand,
> Worn of heart and weak of hand.
> Rest alone seems good to me—
> Speak the word and set me free."

It was a sad, perhaps a morbid, view of Autumn this, but it was one not easily forgotten. Another representative specimen of this school of art may be witnessed in the "Capture of Proserpine," where the "coal-black steeds" bear the chariot upwards into the flowery meadow thick with narcissus, while across the pitch-black cavern whence they issue is trailed a flower of deep orange or flame colour. This contrast, the effect of which is in itself highly remarkable, is eminently characteristic of the school, and may be seen also in the memorial window erected to Frederick Vyner at Oxford. The designers of this are Mr. Morris and Mr. Burne Jones, and almost all the colour is concentrated in the aureole of flame about the white-robed figure. Again, whatever affectation there may be in the phraseology applied

by Mr. Whistler to his pictures — "Nocturnes," "Symphonies," "Caprices"—it cannot be denied that they have a copious measure of suggestive poetry. The shower of sparks from a burning house thrown on the dark sky of night, the dim gleam of lamps, like gold and red stars through mist, idealising the effect of a London river-fog—surely this is poetry, such poetry as any of us can see any day, if we look for it.

While it is his obscurer effects which make Turner, who is too great to be the exclusive possession of any school, a special favourite with that of high art, Sandro Botticelli among mediæval painters, with his quaint serious angels and Madonnas, his filmy draperies and flowery backgrounds, is one of those who find most favour with the artists in colours whose corresponding artists in words are William Morris and Philip Bourke Marston. Nor is it only to Sandro Botticelli that we must go if we would find the original sources of these inspirations. Andrea Mantegna, more grand and processional in his outlines and groupings, is yet sufficiently pre-Raphaelite to please the school; Giorgione, also, in spite of his later birth—the young Venetian whose pictures are lighted from within, as it were, by a golden glow—has fed the fancy of the neo-æsthetic sect. The influence of the "Giorgionesque" may be traced, to give an illustration, in Mr. Albert Moore's "Sapphires"—a woman's figure robed in loose draperies, her head crowned with a luminous turban. The splendid glow of blue and orange in her robes and jewels is gem-like, transparent, and radiant with splendour. It is easier for the uninitiated spectator to appreciate the beauty of pictures such as these than that of the presentations of the pallid red-haired figures, worn and wasted, the lank forms and clinging draperies, which are much affected by this school. Perhaps a picture of Tissot—"Autumn"—exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1878, may help the critic in some degree towards an understanding of the charm which may be found in these unlovely forms and ghastly visages. The charm of this work does not lie entirely in Tissot's masterly foreshortenings and perspectives. There is something more that appeals especially to the present generation. The pale, wistful young face, turned sadly back to us for a moment, while the figure, in heavy mourning robes, retreats swiftly along under the chestnut-tree, and the autumn wind sweeps down its large, yellow, fan-like leaves and scatters them thickly along her path, brings a message full of meaning to the heart of many a spectator in these days of sadness, weariness, unsatisfied yearning—a spirit which is expressed in that eager outlook into futurity called by the Germans "Sehnsucht." Again, while this kind of art, though certainly not representing English character, may be said to reflect a certain morbid and evanescent phase of English thought, it may also be regarded in another light—as a reaction from the realism which pervades so much of the art that

is purely popular. From these pictures, which merely give us the outside aspect of things, it may conceivably be a relief to some persons to turn to those in which the curious imagination may read any meaning that it chooses. To Turner, it has been said, nothing was common and unclean; and a Mason can invest with grace and beauty such a subject as "The Clothes Line." These are cases of an exceptional power; and it is perhaps because so many of our cleverest painters fail to develop the landscape and the objects which they depict with the hues of their imagination, that there is a certain public which can enjoy the fantasies of pre-Raphaelitism.

There are other features yet to be noticed in the artistic aspect of modern popular culture. Mr. Ruskin has been the leader of the school of æsthetic prophets; his influence has germinated to such an extent that a considerable proportion of the literature of the day is purely artistic. First, there are the many periodicals devoted to art—such as "L'Art," "The Portfolio," "The Art Journal," and "The Magazine of Art"—with their careful and conscientious, if somewhat artificially subtle, criticisms, and their beautifully executed engravings; then there are the various periodicals which aim at bringing home the rudiments of true art to English middle-class households, chief among which—if we except "The Century" and "Harper's Monthly," both of which are American—is "The Illustrated English Magazine;" lastly, there is the crowd of writers upon art subjects who have efficiently continued the work which Mr. Ruskin began. Mr. P. G. Hamerton is at once an accomplished man of letters and an authority upon all subjects connected with the studio. The beauty of his style causes his works to be eminently pleasant and popular reading; while the thorough knowledge of his subject with which he writes, insensibly develops in the reader an artistic feeling and insight. Distinguished in this school of etching, of which Mr. Hamerton must be regarded as the chief, are Mr. Pater, who may almost claim to be the parent of the idea of the "Giorgionesque" in modern literature and art, Mr. Symonds, Professor Colvin, Mr. Comyns Carr, and Mr. Wedmore. Their books would be in demand independently of their subject, and they play the part of genuine teachers to the ordinary circulating library public, because there is nothing pedagogic, and much of natural and poetic beauty, in their manner. It is also to be noticed that the most popular literature of travel is that which is specially adapted to the taste of the artistic traveller. Such manuals as those written by Mr. Augustus Hare not only contain a great deal of well-digested miscellaneous information, and abound in extracts from volumes like Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Transformation" and Mr. Story's "Roba di Roma," but display consummate insight into the foibles, vanities, and humours of the age for which they are written. They are precisely level with the standard of modern popular culture,

are written mainly from the art point of view, and are really guide-books to artistic culture.

While a taste for and sympathy with art, which, if it sometimes assumes a capricious and factitious shape, uniformly exercises a humanising influence, have been spreading throughout the community, the State has recognised the duty of encouragement and support. The last half century has witnessed the foundation of a National Gallery, the embellishment of the Houses of Parliament with an interesting series of historical frescoes, the formation at South Kensington of valuable collections, not only of modern pictures, but of objects of decorative and of industrial art, and of a department of State charged with the duty of superintending the teaching of art throughout the whole country by means of Schools of Design.* Nor has provincial England fallen short of the active enthusiasm which, in the capital, has been displayed by the State. Government grants for art purposes are made to Edinburgh and Dublin; but the large manufacturing towns receive nothing from the State, and yet private effort in them does a great deal. It would certainly seem desirable that some of the artistic treasures of the British Museum should be occasionally lent to provincial galleries. Meanwhile, in Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Newcastle, and elsewhere, the penny rate levied for free libraries, museums, and art galleries, liberally supplemented as this has been by private donations, has accomplished much, and has provided an elaborate and most effective machinery for educating the popular eye and taste. As yet, this artistic teaching has not materially improved the architectural aspect of our great commercial and industrial centres. Yet even here it is evident that we have taken a new and nobler point of departure. There are structures in Liverpool which invest it with an imperial aspect, worthy of the great place it occupies in our national system; again, Manchester, notwithstanding its unlovely streets, can boast warehouses of truly palatial appearance, and is adorned by a pile of buildings, erected for municipal purposes by the Corporation, at once a superb specimen of the genuinely English Gothic and a noble example to the rest of the United Kingdom. The study of architecture itself, and above all, the architecture of the Gothic school, has exercised an important influence on modern culture; signs have been witnessed of the revival of reality in opposition to sham, and it is a distinct gain that oak and granite should be superseding spurious stone and stucco.

Among the individual influence to which the cultivation of artistic tastes may be ascribed, notice has been taken already of that of the Prince Consort. While he did much to stimulate art, as well as science, it is probably in the domain of music that his example has

* In 1878 there were considerably more than half a million persons receiving instruction in these establishments.

been most powerfully felt and directly followed. Art, music, and the drama, represent each of them forces equally active among the English middle and upper classes. The reproach that the English are a race which has no music in its soul has only to be applied to our existing social state to be falsified by peals of harmony in every direction. Music, we are told from pulpits and platforms, in essays and in sermons, has had an influence not less refining than that of art upon the popular taste; and the head master of Uppingham School, one of the most successful schoolmasters of the day, considers music essential to the education of youth. We have a Royal Academy, a Royal College, and a National Training School for Music, the former of which receives an annual grant of £500 from Parliament. Music is also being taught in the elementary schools of the United Kingdom; and experience has shown that part-singing very often brings much innocent pleasure to the poorer classes, who are, probably, worse off than any people in the world for harmless amusements.

If it cannot be said that in England modern musical taste has resulted in the production of any composers of the first order, it has certainly given us a number of sympathetic and intelligent audiences. Go to any great concert in any large town—notably to the Monday Popular Concerts held in London—and the chances are that a considerable minority of listeners will be found with a score-book in their hands. Even as regards composers our merits are at least respectable. Sterndale Bennett, the chief disciple of Mendelssohn, Macfarren, Sullivan, and Smart constitute a remarkable group, and it is to be noticed that they have each of them belonged to the Academy, either as students or professors, or successively as both. Music is essentially the most cosmopolitan of all the arts and sciences; and nothing is more to be desired for English music than that travelling scholarships should be instituted in the national music colleges, the successful candidates for which would thus have the opportunity of studying the philosophy of sound in every part of the world. Mr. Du Maurier has given us three pregnant illustrations of the music of the past, the present, and the future. The first represents a lady, a graceful little figure in Watteau costume, performing on the piano a melody of Mozart's. She is surrounded by a group of intelligent and appreciative hearers. Old and young—from the delighted grandfather to the little girl who stands hushed and quiet at her mother's side—are listening, as though the dreams of the gentle, pure-hearted composer were understood, and their elevating influences confessed in various measures by all present. Beneath we have the "Music of the Present." A young lady is performing with much execution some brilliant "Morceau" by a modern master, while groups of ladies and gentlemen stand or sit about the piano, conversing among themselves, with polite indifference to the melody. Then we have the "Music of

the Future"—portentous and terrific. A band of frantic, wild-haired musicians are executing some piece of astounding loudness, while the auditors rush away, distractedly covering their ears. There is a story in the "Percy Anecdotes" which tells us that an organ sent by the Emperor of the East, Constantine Cupronymus, to King Pepin of France, A.D. 757, so strongly affected a lady who heard it for the first time that she became delirious for the rest of her days. Possibly, this event may be considered as prefiguring the character of the musicians of the future. It may be doubted whether the popular artist does not, in the first of these tableaux, exaggerate the musical attainments of our ancestresses. Although a lady once performed in the hearing of Dr. Johnson a sonata, the extreme difficulty of which was proudly pointed out by her mother, only to provoke the characteristic, "Madam, I wish it had been impossible!" it was the very rare exception a hundred years ago to find anybody who could execute more than the simplest tunes on the spinet or harpsichord.

When we look at the more tumultuous picture in the set above mentioned, we may perhaps recognise the reflection of the troubles and perplexities of modern life in the music of the period. It is probably only when they are regarded from this point of view, that the extraordinarily intricate compositions of the Abbé Liszt or the prodigious tone-pictures of Wagner become intelligible. Here, too, may be discovered a reason why the palm of musical supremacy is generally accorded to Germany. The soft and almost languid sentimentalism of Italian, the airy and sparkling brilliance of French composers, are not the echoes of those manifold sounds which constitute the gamut of human nature in the same way as the music of Germany. There may be an infinity of charm in Italian sweetness and in French variations, but for those harmonies which are the symbols in sound of the greatest joys, deepest sorrows, highest hopes, most painful conflicts of human nature, we must, probably, go to Teutonic minstrels. If proof of this is wanted, it is to be found in Wagner's opera of *Tannhauser*, and in Schumann; at the same time the influences both of Schubert and Chopin have had a profound effect in moulding the musical taste of the day.

We pass on to another, and as, perhaps, some will think it should be rated, the first, element in the popular culture of the day. The machinery for the teaching of science is even more highly organised than that for the teaching of art; nor does science lack the popularity and fashionable prestige which art conspicuously commands. There are classes for scientific instruction in all our great schools, and, independently of our great schools, in all our great towns. The universities award their highest distinctions to successful candidates in the examinations of which natural science forms the subject; and the foremost writers upon scientific matters are certainly the most

popular among the authors of the day, and for the same reason that holds good of the artistic writers—namely, because their literary style is alike pleasing and perspicuous. The influence of the British Association for the Encouragement of Science increases every year. Naturalist and field-clubs are popular in country districts; and scientific institutes, with valuable scientific libraries attached, abound in our leading centres of manufacturing industry.

In a very great degree the extent to which physical science is now cultivated must be attributed to the individual influence of two distinguished men. Mr. Huxley and Mr. Tyndall would be eminent as writers, even if they were not masters of scientific exposition. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that what Mr. Gladstone has done for finance, Mr. Huxley has done for the facts of physical science. Upon medical training as well as upon general education and culture his influence has been equally manifest. The training of our future doctors and surgeons should, according to Mr. Huxley, be a department of the general education of the country—should, in fact, be a more minute and perfect elaboration of that scientific discipline which ought to be imparted in all national schools. Chemistry, botany, and physics would thus be subjects as universally recognised in our educational establishments as classics or mathematics. Those students who elected to follow a medical career would pass from the general schools to some one or other of the two or three great medical institutions with which Mr. Huxley would replace the multitude of smaller ones that at present exist. One may discover in the scientific writings of this distinguished teacher qualities analogous to those which are the chief notes of Mr. Ruskin as a writer on art. As Mr. Ruskin admires so deeply the exquisite beauty of the works of Nature in the vegetable world, so does Mr. Huxley explain, in language equally appreciative and happily chosen, and enforce by arguments strikingly suggestive and cogent, the marvellous thrift and wisdom which characterises all creation. There can be no better example of his power of interesting the popular attention on scientific matters than his essays and addresses, avowedly having for their subjects yeast, the formation of coal, the physical basis of life. In each of these we have not merely the investigator and the philosopher, but the man of general culture, the scholar, and—as his essays on Berkeley and Descartes, among other writings show—the interested metaphysician. Take his illustration of the nature of protoplasm as a singularly happy piece of popular exposition. He draws here a clever analogy between it and Balzac's story of the "Peau de Chagrin." "The hero," he continues, "becomes possessed of a magical wild ass's skin, which yields him the means of gratifying all his wishes. But the surface represents the duration of the proprietor's life, and for every desire satisfied the skin shrinks in proportion to the intensity of fruition, until at length life, or the last

handbreadth of the *peau de chagrin*, disappears with the gratification of a last wish." Accordingly to Huxley, this was the foreshadowing of a physiological truth : " at any rate, the matter of life is a veritable *peau de chagrin*, and for every vital act it is somewhat the smaller. All work implies waste, or the work of life results, directly or indirectly, in the waste of protoplasm." Happily for mankind, he continues to explain, the waste continually going on can be repaired by eating beef and mutton. " Mutton itself was once the living protoplasm, more or less modified, of another animal—sheep. . . . A singular inward laboratory which I possess will dissolve a certain portion of the modified protoplasm ; the solution so formed will pass into my veins, and the subtle influences to which it will then be subjected will convert the dead protoplasm into living protoplasm, or transubstantiate the sheep into man." The sheep, in turn, has received its protoplasm from the vegetable world, and thus the matter of life and thought is built up from the foundation to the summit of the common matter of the universe.

In a degree perhaps even greater than Mr. Huxley, Mr. Tyndall is the populariser of science. " Sound," " Light," " Radiation," are the titles of books on subjects which, a few years ago, were strictly confined to scientific circles. Mr. Tyndall has brought these topics, and an enormous amount of matter necessary for their illustration, from the laboratory, as the forecourt of the Temple of Philosophy, to the lecture-hall of the Royal Institution. Like Mr. Huxley, Mr. Tyndall's work has been directed to the annihilation of two great popular delusions—the first, that either men or women will not be practically the happier and the better for the acquisition of scientific knowledge ; the second, that education is finished when school is left behind, and is not rather a process to be continued throughout life. Here, then, we may discover one of the surest antidotes to that mischievous tendency which some critics have discovered in modern scientific teaching. If it can be said that physical science has given man an exaggerated notion of his power, it has also, as taught by its ablest exponents, shown him how infinite is his ignorance, and implanted in the popular mind a desire to gain a greater insight into the operations of nature.

Nor is it only on intellectual grounds that the public is indebted to scientific teaching. Physical research has a further popular attraction : first, because it is perceived that some comprehension of it is necessary for healthy living ; secondly, because it is daily more and more recognised how truly philanthropic are its services. Probably, no man now living has had the distinction of saving more human lives than Sir Joseph Lister, Clinical Professor at King's College, London. His antiseptic treatment—the result of much patient inquiry and complicated research—has only slowly won

recognition in London, though it was long ago adopted in America, and has alleviated the agonies of countless victims in the course of recent European wars. On the death of Sir William Ferguson, the Clinical Chair of Surgery at King's College was offered to Sir Joseph Lister, who, feeling that here a signal opportunity had presented itself for the fulfilment of his beneficent mission, gave up a lucrative practice and a distinguished position in Edinburgh. In coming to London Sir Joseph Lister may be said to have been invading the enemy's country. He had not been in the capital a year before he may also be said to have conquered it, by the combination of high personal qualities with eminent scientific attainments and success.

Again, science occupies a conspicuous place among the forces which contribute to the sum of modern culture, not only because it deals with demonstrable verities, but because it opens a vista full of dazzling fascinations to the imagination. In this department of science the names of Sir Wyville Thompson and Dr. Carpenter are entitled to prominent mention. The *Challenger* Expedition was organised by the Government, in deference to the repeated and emphatic representations of Dr. Carpenter, for the purpose of fathoming the mysteries of the ocean. That the subject of deep-sea exploration should have a vivid attraction for the popular mind is natural in itself, and is signally illustrated by the eagerness with which the public have flocked to hear lectures and to read books on the subject. We begin to be aware that we are entering upon the triumph of man over nature predicted by Bacon. We have already measured the earth, gauged the depth of its crust, ascertained the date of its genesis; we have weighed the sun, and constructed maps of the planets. It remained to sound the lowest depths of the ocean, and to provide the materials for a picture of the economy of its abysses. Here we have found Nature in the very midst of that work which she has been carrying on for countless ages, as busy now as when first she undertook the development of the planet we inhabit out of mist, haze, and floating nebulæ.

Mr. Huxley and Mr. Tyndall have both of them a distinguished opponent in Mr. St. George Mivart, who, though a firm champion of Roman Catholicism, would nevertheless admit some of the cardinal principles of Mr. Huxley and Mr. Tyndall. Thus he would not deny that the general appearance of the world justifies the conclusion that all species have been introduced by a process of evolution. He would, however, deny that evolution and the mere operation of secondary laws are enough to explain those phenomena and those attributes which are most especially distinctive of man. Granted, he might possibly allow, that you can account for the formation of the human body in the same way as you may account for the formation of the bodies of other animals—how, he would ask, are you to account for the growth of that intelligence which specially differentiates a man from other animals, or

for that sense of justice which, in however rudimentary a form, is implanted in the rudest and most savage of the human kind? Apropos of this second point, Mr. Mivart cites the instance of a ferocious and uncivilised Australian tribe, one of whose punishments is the thrusting of a spear into the thigh. If, for certain offences, he says, the weapon is embedded too deeply in the human flesh, the victim of the wound protests. What, he asks, is this, if not a sense of justice, showing itself in however primitive a form? When Mr. Huxley and Mr. Tyndall explain human intelligence and those sentiments which we recognise as moral, by the simple statement that they have been evolved by the ordinary operation of secondary laws actively in progress, through an innumerable succession of generations, Mr. Mivart would observe that the generations of the lower creatures have been infinitely more numerous, not only as regards the rapidity of their sequence, but in view of the period from which they date, than the generations of men. If, therefore, the mere lapse of time has not given to animals and insects, eminently endowed with a sort of intelligence, precisely that variety of intelligence which is to be found in man, how is the phenomenon to be accounted for save by the hypothesis of the intervention of some superior power—in other words, of the Divine action? Mr. Alfred Wallace, himself a follower of Mr. Darwin, and a believer in evolution, admits the existence of this difficulty, and seems disposed to explain it by the assumed operation of spirits. Of the numerous works of other followers of one or other of these master-spirits, the "Unseen Universe," by Mr. Stewart and Mr. Tait, may be quoted as an illustration of scientific theorizing; and Mr. Clifford's "Essays" as an attempt to popularise science on an absolutely sceptical basis.

It was inevitable that the extraordinary advance and development of scientific culture should influence both the literature and religion of the day. Physiology and psychology—the latter being, for the most part, interpreted by the former—control or powerfully tincture the imagination of at least one of the leading spirits of our modern literature. Scientific terminology is introduced to indicate the facts, feelings, and phenomena with which the novelist and the poet deal. There are many phrases in the later works of George Eliot which are absolutely unintelligible to the reader who has not been also in some degree a student of physical or mental science. It is, indeed, no new thing that the scientific conceptions of the period should be mirrored forth in contemporary literature. Homer, Dante, and Milton all adopt and illustrate the current cosmogonies of their several ages. In the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey" there is the same scheme of the universe shadowed forth as in the primitive charts of the geographer. The "Divine Comedy" has well been described by a critic of our day—Mr. Edward Dowden—as a harmony of philosophy, physics, and

poetry; while in "Paradise Lost" the astronomical theories were not more fancifully unsound than they were elaborately consistent. Nor in the present age is the motto of all our poets "art for art's sake." The doctrine of human progress penetrates the verse of Lord Tennyson, and what has been called the "cosmical feeling for nature"—the consciousness that in the infinite complexity of the world there is still unity—is not more visible in Mr. Carlyle than in the Laureate. When Teufelsdröckh exclaims, "Force, force, everywhere force; we ourselves a mysterious force in the centre of these!" he hints at the same truth as is embodied in the lines entitled "The Higher Pantheism."

> "Flower in the crannied wall,
> I pluck you out of the crannies;
> Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
> Little flower—but if I could understand
> What you are, root and all, and all in all,
> I should know what God and man is."

But this is only a less characteristic illustration of the influence of science upon literature. Literature has not merely been influenced by science, but invaded by it; and when a critic, able, learned, and in this case profoundly sympathetic—Mr. Hutton—can only explain in such a passage as the following the meaning of a poem, it is clear that we are rapidly replacing the old school of literary by a new school of scientific critics:—

"If I may venture to interpret so great a writer's thought, I should say that 'The Spanish Gipsy' is written to illustrate, not merely doubly and trebly, but from four or five distinct points of view, how the inheritance of the definite streams of impulse and tradition stored up in what we call race often puts a tragic veto upon any attempt of spontaneous individual emotion or volition to ignore or defy their control, and to emancipate itself from the tyranny of their disputable and apparently cruel rule. You can see the influence of the recent Darwinian doctrines, so far as they are applicable at all to moral characteristics and causes, in almost every page of the poem. How the threads of hereditary capacity and hereditary sentiment control, as with invisible cords, the orbits of even the most powerful characters; how the fracture of those threads, so far as it can be accomplished by mere *will*, may have even a greater effect in wrecking character than moral degeneracy would itself produce; how the man who trusts and uses the hereditary forces which natural descent has bestowed upon him becomes a might and a centre in the world, while the man, perhaps intrinsically the nobler, who dissipates his strength by trying to swim against the stream of his past is neutralised and paralysed by the vain effort; again how a divided past, a past not really homogeneous, may weaken this kind of power, instead of strengthening it by the command of a larger experience—all this George Eliot's poem paints with a tragical force that answers to Aristotle's definition of tragedy, that which 'purifies' by pity and by fear."*

The points of contact between science and religion are sufficiently recognised by theological teachers of our time. No clergyman in England, of any denomination, would venture to address for successive weeks a congregation at all highly educated without keeping himself

* "Essays," by R. H. Hutton, pp. 348, 349.

abreast of the scientific literature of the day. It is to be noticed that the manner in which science is dealt with by theology, and theology by science, is no longer what it once was. Science was used by Paley to overcome the religious difficulties suggested by reason; reason is now used to show that religion is capable of scientific treatment. Nor does the professional teacher of religion altogether deny this; for the most part he admits the probable truth of many scientific hypotheses. If he is a Roman Catholic or High Anglican, he meets the declaration of the irreconcilable feud between the discoveries of geology and the letter of the first chapter of Genesis, with the admission that it may be as the geologists assert, and that the Church has not spoken authoritatively on the subject. If he takes his stand upon the basis of a liberal latitudinarianism, he is not concerned to deny the Darwinian theory of evolution. Religion, he holds, begins where science ends. There is a boundary which science is impotent to pass. Behind the law of nature must be the Lawgiver; beyond the phenomena must be their great First Cause.

Nor is the attitude assumed by science towards theology hostile, in the sense in which many of Faraday's contemporaries, most unlike Faraday himself, were the enemies of revelation. Modern science speaks with condescension of "our noble Bible," and affably prepares the "Prayer Gauge" as the best solution of a dubious problem. A similar rationalism, though manifested in a somewhat unattractive way, is perceptible in the philosophical analysis of human sentiments given by Professor Bain, who considers the affection of a mother for her child—which Victor Hugo, in the happy phrase of genius, has spoken of as "divinely animal"—as "purely animal." The late Charles Kingsley, commenting upon the opinion of Professor Bain not long before his death, said: "The end of such a philosophy must be very near." It has been finely shown by one of the most distinguished of contemporary theologians that the great crowning fact of Christian history is "not the solution, but the illumination of the mysteries of life." This is a hypothesis at least as legitimate in its way as many of the hypotheses of science. The truths of science are eternal; scarcely so the ascendancy over the individual of a science which is apt entirely to ignore the imaginative element in man. Physicism, in its present shape, can scarcely hope to supplant religion; and if it be said that science is really more of a creed at the present day than theology, it is possible that the world may swing back from that state which marks nothing more than the temporary supremacy of Pessimism. Pessimism, as the correlative of Optimism, has always existed, and it now sounds audibly, in a pathetic minor, through much of our literature, philosophy, and art. If it really be the case that, with many, natural science has at the present day taken the place of faith, the question is not so much, Will the new reign of reason be

permanent? as, For what limited period will it last? Whoever the Pope of the future may be, will his garb be that of the physical inquirer? It may be that the next era of philosophical investigation will be one in which moral laws will take the place of physical laws as the object of search. The physical order of the universe we have now almost ascertained; is there a moral law which will submit to the same process of analysis and inquiry? And in accordance with such a view, a recent work of Mr. Drummond on "Law in the Spiritual World" draws an elaborate parallel between the laws of the spiritual world and some of the best-established generalisations of physics. At the same time the prospect of such an investigation involves the assumption of a reaction against science which may be thought to be extremely improbable. The importance of evolution, in its bearing upon morals, is that it really tends to deprive ethics of its position as an independent science—making it a mere appendage of physics, and causing it to stand in the same relation to physics as political economy stands to the larger science of sociology.

This analysis of the social and intellectual conglomeration spoken of as modern culture is necessarily most imperfect. That the chief elements in modern culture are the artistic and scientific can scarcely be doubted. But when once these are subject to fresh influences, or are combined in changed proportions, the result is what is practically a novel substance. The new facilities of Continental travel have coincided with the interest which art preachers have aroused in Continental picture galleries, and the mind thus passes, by a natural transition, from the contemplation of objects to the events which cluster round them. Art is the high priestess who takes the average Englishman or Englishwoman to the threshold of history; and the culture with which history, as it is now studied, enriches the human intelligence, is being more largely and vividly felt every day. Grote, Freeman, Seeley, and Green—these are only the names of a few of those writers who have taught the general public to regard history not as the bare narrative of occurrences, or as a confused collection of dates and names, but as the continuous illustration of the practical working of moral and political laws. The difference between such historians as these and those of an earlier age consists in the fact that at the present day sociology is recognised as a science. There is now seen to be a unity in the chronicles of all countries and all ages. The annals of classical Greece and Rome are only a segment of the universal annals of mankind, of which the history of France or England, of Italy or Germany, is the sequel. The study of history is recognised as involving whatever is characteristic of the exercise of the human intellect, or commemorative of its toils and triumphs. Nor is the history of a nation only to be found in its written records. It is recognised as embodied in its art treasures and stored in its antiquarian

remains. In this way art-culture becomes a portion of, and subsidiary to, historical culture.

The same process had been applied to religion, which has afforded ground for the exercise of the combined functions of art, history, and science. It is not only by the services of an æsthetic ritualism that the imaginative faculty is gratified; free scope is given to it in many of the literary products of ecclesiastical rationalism—the most decided adversary of ritualism. Such works as "Ecce Homo," "Philochristus," and "Natural Religion," are steeped in a sympathetically glowing imagination. To the picturesque description designed with an eye to artistic effect must be added the critical study of the Bible, this criticism itself being merely a manifestation of the general spirit of the time. Only a school of commentators, immersed to their finger-tips in nineteenth-century culture, would venture to lay such exclusive stress on the moral side of Christ's life and teaching, and would abandon not only the miracles, but entire episodes in the sacred narrative of the New Testament. Only apt followers of such a master as Mr. Matthew Arnold, the great professor of nineteenth-century culture, would consider themselves competent to decide what passages are genuine, what are the immoral perversions of ignorant disciples, and what is the point at which it becomes desirable or necessary to turn from the Calvinism of St. Paul to the milder Christianity of an earlier date. It would be difficult to over-estimate Mr. Arnold's influence either upon the religious or æsthetic thought of the day, and with it must be classed the influence of Professor Max Müller's "Science of Religion," and the Hibbert Lectures generally. As for the net result of both, is it not to evaporate religion itself into "morality touched with emotion," on the one hand, and into "history eked out by philology," on the other?

II.

Displays of literary activity abounding on every side and in every department of knowledge, it may be considered a paradox to say that this is not a literary age. The remark, however, is strictly true. Never was there more writing; never did the literary spirit occupy a more subordinate place. Literature is didactic, theological, æsthetic, scientific, anything but purely literary. To read for reading's sake is unintelligible to the mass of the educated public. There is much to be said in favour of the various contemporary manuals and biographies of famous authors, ancient and modern, English and foreign, with specimens of their writings and analyses of their more important works. But they furnish a striking commentary on the truth of the proposition advanced. Twenty pages of the poet or the historian studied in the original might give the student a better insight into the

spirit of an author, whether in prose or verse, than two hundred pages of brightly written summary. But the facts are what is wanted. We, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, have in some things a passion for completeness and distinctness. We like outlines sharp and clear. We prefer a decoction of a deathless bard in a pocket volume, to periodically dipping into works that occupy half a dozen shelves in our libraries.

On the prevailing tendency on the part of literature to merge itself in something which is not literature, there could be no better illustration than the distinguished man of whom in the former section of this, as well as in a preceding, chapter, mention has more than once been made. Mr. Matthew Arnold is master of a style of supreme delicacy and subtlety; he has enlarged the conceptions as well as illustrated the true uses of literary criticism; he is a writer whose genius is, if genius ever was, literary above all things. But although both his religious and his political position are exclusively defined by his literary spirit, he breaks into the fields of politics and religion. In other words, though his tests and standards are nothing but literary, he insists on applying them to matters which are not literary. Possessing a critical sense of exquisite fineness, he ventures to define by its application the limits of the inspiration of Scripture, and to decide by its voice what elements of a national Church organisation are to be assimilated, what refused, by modern culture.

While Mr. Arnold may be spoken of as the founder of the school of æsthetic literature, his followers have contributed to it much which is distinctively their own. Literary finish seldom reaches a finer point than in the writings of Mr. Pater and Mr. Symonds. Both may have some artificialities as well as rare excellences of style, but both have written books of solid learning and research. Mr. Symonds' "History of the Renaissance" and his study of the Elizabethan drama, are the products of study and scholarship. Mr. Pater's essays on the same subject have a value which all impartial critics admit. In each case, however, it is rather art than literature which gains. Mr. Shairp, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, is a critic of a very different order. He, at least, has nothing in common with the school of artistic hedonism. But he is as little content as they are with being a critic of literature, pure and simple. He discovers in all that he analyses elements which do not meet the common eye. One poet is with him the oracle of an ethical system; another, of a complex scheme of the interpretation of nature. Another eminent authority, Mr. Leslie Stephen, who has recently strayed into the uncongenial pastures of philosophy, in his work "Science of Ethics," is an exception to this rule. In his criticisms he foregoes the temptation to that scientific theorizing which pervades his miscellaneous writings;

and proceeds by a purely literary method, for success in which he is specially qualified by wide reading, a thorough grasp of his subject, and a discriminative faculty of the highest order.

The same holds almost equally good in the case of the poetry of the day. Frequently, indeed, its inspiration is derived from distinctly literary sources: from Homer, as in the case of so much which Lord Tennyson has written; from the Greek tragic poets, or the French and Italian of the sixteenth century, as in the case of Mr. Swinburne. But there is a disposition to regard the poetry which has not a mission of its own as of small account. It is not enough that a writer should be a poet, pure and simple. There is no writer living who stands in quite the same relation to his age that Byron stood to his. The poet of the period is either the musical oracle of paganism and the Revolution; or he attempts to escape into the life of an old world, throwing only a few accidental sidelights on that of the modern; or he takes a speculative interest in what men think and feel, and do and believe; or he is a philosopher in verse, a pathologist in metre, like Mr. Browning. Has poetry a message for a hard-toiling, anxious generation? What is that message? Is it to be announced in language inspired by the past, or the present? Is there any gospel which the race of bards may proclaim to mankind? These are not questions which have as yet been answered, or on which, if the effort to answer them has been made, any unanimity can be said to exist. The whole poetic atmosphere seems to echo with the din of controversy, sometimes loud and sometimes faint. But noise is always there; the issue always undecided. Our modern bards are divided into factions, and each fresh product of their muses might be described as a pamphlet in verse. An outburst of magnificently melodious defiance, proclaiming that men and gods are equally naught, elicits its response in the apotheosis of the shadowy and intangible, and a writer like Mr. Philip Bourke Marston pours forth a protest against Mr. Swinburne.

Mr. Browning, who has written some of the finest and most stirring lyrics of the century, seems to have decided that poetry should be the instrument for the dissection and analysis of the complex phenomena of life. No modern writer has a stronger grasp of the great problems of modern existence, or is less readily intelligible to the masses. Lord Tennyson induces reverie; Mr. Browning stimulates study: the one charms, the other stretches on the rack. The poetry of the former is as a melodiously whispering zephyr; the poetry of the latter as a searching blast from the north-east. The poems of Mr. Matthew Arnold occupy a distinct place of their own. They are the distilled and luminous essence of metrical thought, exquisite in idea, and masterpieces of expression. There remains a host of writers of whom many have attained a high standard of excellence. We have had few more melodious singers than the late Mr. Mortimer Collins, a kind of

Rochester born out of his due time. If music allied to power is wanted, it will be found in the compositions of Mr. Buchanan. The historical dramas of the lady who writes under the name of Ross Neil have not only melody, but grace and power, while Mr. Aubrey de Vere shows in the same class of compositions the same qualities. It is impossible here to do more than mention such poets as Gosse, Dobson, Frederic Myers, Ernest Myers, Meredith, Edwin Arnold, William Morris, Lewis Morris, and Lang.

Mr. Alfred Austin is a poet of a different order. Beginning as a satirist, and producing in "The Season" a satire which has the true classical ring, he has gradually abandoned that department of literature, and has written a series of works, the most important of which is perhaps the "Human Tragedy." Much that is memorable in the history of contemporary Europe, in its state of feeling, and in the ideas and controversies of the age, civil and religious, is reviewed in its pages, and so, while the poem is thus eminently historical, it contains a message as well, whose first key-note is struck in the opening canto.

"Yet not of Love alone, its advent blind,
Swift raptures and slow penalties, I sing;
I must be lifted on a fiercer wind,
And from the lyre a louder anthem ring;
Still as Religion, Country, or Mankind
Bids my weak hand sound more sonorous string.
Ah, fatal four! which by the dark decree
Of Heaven evolve the Human Tragedy!"

In the first canto, or, as Mr. Austin prefers to call it, act, is traced the development of love. In the second, the contest between love and religion. In the third, the conception of country is added, and the combined operation of each passion is illustrated in the events of Italian history during the late autumn of 1867. In the fourth act a new element in the complication is introduced by the appearance of "mankind" upon the stage, and the conflict is explained in these stanzas:—

"See then, my child, the tragedy, and see
What feeds it. Love, Religion, Country, all
That deepest, dearest, most enduring be,
That makes us noble, and that holds us thrall.
Once gone, the beasts were no more gross than we—
'Tis these for which the victims fastest fall;
Man's self in days that are as days that were.
Suppliant alike and executioner!

"Now once again this tragedy, this jar
Of conscience against conscience, hath, meseems,
In Paris struck the flinty flame of war;
Likely, they slay for straws, they die for dreams,
But things that seem must still be things that are,
To half-experienced man, who perforce deems
He doth not dream, but knows not, nor can know,
Till death brings sleep or waking, is it so."

Such is the Human Tragedy according to Mr. Austin, its factors being love, religion, country, and mankind. The opposing forces between which lies the struggle are innate in humanity; how are they to be reconciled? The answer is, by the agency of love; and so the first line of Mr. Austin's poem, "Oh, Love, undying Love, eternal star," is also the last.

Of all the works that are read widely, the most widely read are novels. They form nearly the sole literary nourishment of a large class of the population. Among us they have much of the influence which in other countries belongs to the stage. They regulate the views of life of hundreds and thousands of women, especially in the lower middle section of society, old and young. The mothers and daughters of the English aristocracy out of the London season may read as many novels as the daughter or wife of the small tradesman. But in the latter case there is none of the opportunity possible in the former of correcting the mawkish and mistaken impressions of existence conveyed by the class of writings which they devour. They are as much possessed with the ideas introduced to their minds as a child in a nursery is by the images and incidents of a fairy tale. They grow to believe that life around them is full of those glittering possibilities which may elevate them to the same social level as romance heroines. For them the dramatis personæ of their favourite author have their antitypes and originals in the world of flesh and blood. Cophetua may descend to them in robe and crown at any moment. They go to the dress-circle at the play with the word "kismet" trembling on their lips, and they are anxiously expecting to see their "fate" at a half-crown concert.

But while many novels are merely foolish stories, introducing the reader to a world which is not that of real life, and is void of any attempt to grapple with life's serious problems, there is a steady increase in the number of those which have a sensible and wholesome relation to actual existence, and both an historical and educational value. The late Mr. Anthony Trollope's fictions are photographs of nineteenth-century life in pen and ink. They have for contemporary readers just the same kind of interest as have the domestic comedies of the late Mr. Robertson, or the collection of cartes de visite which used to be found in drawing-rooms more frequently than now. They do not represent a great force in literature—though Mr. Trollope may have many imitators—like George Eliot, but they give hundreds and thousands of men and women, of all ages and of all ranks, exactly what they want—light easy reading, that requires no special thought, that is at once a pure recreation, and that presents to them, as if reflected in a mirror, the society amidst which they live. Mr. Edmund Yates, though he is no longer an active novelist, recognises more of the seamy side of life than Mr. Trollope, and introduces us into an

atmosphere laden with different issues and associations, but his men and women are realities, not abstractions. The incidents and the episodes are taken from life; the dialogue is that which may be heard every day; the moral, if moral is to be extracted from his writings, may not be welcome, but the data on which it is based are those collected from experience by a singularly acute mind equipped with a large store of imagination, fancy, and humour. The late Mr. Charles Reade may probably be spoken of with correctness as the greatest master of English realistic romance who has appeared in our time. Some there may be who will contend that the honours of this distinction should be divided between him and Mr. Wilkie Collins. As creators and developers of a plot, both may advance the same claim to consummate mastery. But there is this difference between the two: Mr. Wilkie Collins always introduces an element which, if it is not directly supernatural, is suggestive of the supernatural—of coincidences so strange and weird that the enumeration of them gives us a sentiment of uncanniness—

> "The air is full of omens. Scarce had I set
> My foot outside the threshold ere I met
> A dog. He barked; full well that bark I knew.
> I met another, and lo! he barked too."

The idea embodied in these lines is one of which it is impossible not to be reminded by Mr. Wilkie Collins' writings, but there is nothing of the sort to be found in those of Mr. Reade. Mr. Reade's novels are, in fact, novels above all things with a purpose, and whatever of stirring or sensational incident they may have, is introduced quite as much to point the moral as to adorn the tale. Such works as "Hard Cash," "It is Never too Late to Mend," and "Put Yourself in his Place," have served to enlighten public opinion on subjects so important as lunacy laws, criminal procedure, the regulation of prisons, and trades' unions. Of three or four other novelists of the time it may be said that they chiefly strive to do for the day that which Dickens or Thackeray did. Colonel Lockhart, Mr. James Payn, Mr. Francillon, Mr. George Meredith, master of a terse and pregnant style, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, and Mr. Besant, each of them writes, or wrote, not only with skill and humour, but with much knowledge of the world in which they have lived. They all of them paint contemporary men and women, and all have their value for the historian of the future.

There is the same desire to treat with fidelity and with fulness the questions of the day, to illustrate the characters and the complications which the events of the time are calculated to develop, in Mrs. Oliphant, in Mrs. Lynn Linton, Mrs. Cashel Hoey, Mrs. Alexander, Mrs. Edwards, Mrs. Riddell, Mrs. Henry Wood and many others. Cleverness and ingenuity are the characteristics of the works of all these writers, though the three first named are those who recognise more fully the

gravity of the daily issues of our life, the perpetual conflict of duties, the deeper motives of ordinary action, the ulterior tendencies of much that is petty and trivial, the irony which besets existence. In two of these authors, Mrs. Linton and Mrs. Hoey, it is impossible not to recognise the influence of the most powerful of modern novelists. Both of them resemble George Eliot in their habit of weighing the relative morality of motives and acts, of showing how terribly complicated is the chemistry of life, and in their appreciation of its perpetually conflicting issues. As regards style and manner, treatment and phraseology, George Eliot has had an incomparably wider influence than any author now or recently living. This is partly, of course, because of the contagious power which genius ever carries with it, but partly also because she represented in her own writings so many of the tendencies of the times; because she was, as so many of our poets are, almost morbidly introspective and analytical. Rightly understood, George Eliot's novels are a complete system of moral philosophy. The position taken by the author is that life is a tremendous series of human consequences; that the results of acts committed lightly or thoughtlessly are infinitely far-reaching, involving the happiness not only of the agents themselves, but of countless others; and that each one of us is thus under an appalling responsibility both to our fellows who are alive and to the posterity as yet unborn. This great writer, taking a view which is peculiarly her own of the relations of human life, not unnaturally expresses that view in strange and unfamiliar language. But in the terms thus employed there is no real pedantry. George Eliot wrote as the high priestess of a special school of philosophical thought, and it is necessary, in order to convey the precise shades of her meaning, that she should have adopted technical words.

Of novelists such as "Ouida," Miss Braddon, and Miss Rhoda Broughton, there is little remaining to be said. The first of these began by placing in the setting of a feminine imagination the materials of pictures drawn by George Lawrence and Whyte Melville. She has since then come powerfully under the agency of that pagan æstheticism which is an important element in modern culture, and to this she has added that experience of foreign countries and extended travel which is seen in many others of the novelists of the period. Miss Braddon's popularity with the middle classes does not seem to wane. She is an excellent writer of clear idiomatic English, and she has of late years shown that she can produce an interesting story without having recourse to the sensational machinery which was supposed to be essential to her success. Miss Broughton is the leading representative of the school of literary piquancy. She has brought freshness and ingenuity into the well-worn ways of domestic fiction. She has followers and imitators, but she has few, if any, rivals. She does not lose sight of the fact that manliness is wholesome. Miss Broughton may not

be a force of the highest kind, but a force, for all that, in modern literature she distinctly is. Another lady has just proved herself an accomplished novelist. In "The House on the Marsh," Miss Florence Warden exhibits a faculty for combining sensationalism with domesticity which reminds the reader of Miss Braddon and Mrs. Henry Wood. Perhaps there could be no better proof of her popularity than the fact that she is now engaged on a serial for Mr. Yates's weekly periodical.

What has been witnessed in other walks of literature may also be seen in the fictions of the day. There have recently been produced several novels in which musical culture is the prominent element of interest, the chapters being headed with bars of music. Here, too, there may probably be traced the influence of George Eliot, whose genius in her earliest novels was as distinctly towards music as latterly it was towards the philosophy of Positivism. With her, in this matter, should be associated the name of Mr. George Macdonald, whose novel, "Robert Falconer," was largely devoted to subtle questions of melody. But Mr. Macdonald is only a novelist incidentally; he is really a moral and religious homilist, who popularises his sermons by giving them the form of fictions. Mr. Lawrence Oliphant cannot be called a theological writer, but in "Piccadilly" and "Altiora Peto," which have had considerable influence upon the writing of the day, he has probed very deeply some of the greatest of modern problems. Although there is little that is similar in Dr. Shorthouse and Mr. Marion Crawford, and it would be easier to draw a contrast than a parallel between them, they have this much in common. Both of them in their fictions take the reader somewhat above the level and out of the atmosphere of everyday life by appealing to the taste of the public for mysticism. It is true Mr. Marion Crawford's latest novels, "To Leeward," and "An American Politician," are merely clever sketches of contemporary life; but there is to be found, both in "Dr. Claudius" and "Mr. Isaacs," a good deal of the same sort of thing as in the "Esoteric Buddhism" of Mr. Sinnett. The mysticism of Dr. Shorthouse in "John Inglesant" is of an entirely different character, being exclusively or chiefly religious. As an artistic narrative this work is perhaps of unequalled interest, and very few novels have of late issued from the English press of which the atmosphere is so delicate and tranquillising. There are, however, many novels, and some of them the best and most popular of our time, which may be regarded as protests against the restless, feverish, perplexed, and inquiring spirit which animates much of modern fiction. The pleasant sketchy romances of Mr. Hamilton Aïdé, Mrs. Walford, Mr. Julian Sturgis, and others, afford not only a relief, but a remonstrance to that delirious unrest of which Kingsley's "Yeast" may be taken as a type. Ascending higher in

the scale of literary excellence, we have, as distinguished ornaments of what may be called the idyllic school, among ladies, Miss Thackeray, the authoress of "Vera," and others; among gentlemen, Mr. Hardy, Mr. Blackmore, and Mr. Black. A variation of the same impulse which causes Mr. Morris to invite his readers to accompany him in his quest after an earthly paradise, induces these authors to dwell with lingering love and profuse labour upon those aspects of life which are in danger of being forgotten in this sophisticated, urban, and smoke-begrimed age. They speak to us out of the fulness of their hearts, and Mr. Blackmore shows us his dramatis personæ amid the cherry-orchards of Kent or on the open downs of Sussex—as Mr. Black takes us to the Hebrides or the Land's End—from an instinctive affection for those regions and a happy consciousness that their abilities will find here the most congenial scope. The tendency of some of the writers of this school is perhaps towards a rather too nebulous picturesqueness. Colours are blended hazily together. The clear, hard outline is lost. The senses begin to grow drowsy under the influence of excessive sweetness, and the effect is that of literary lotus-eating. Mr. Blackmore's fiction, in addition to its artistic elegance and beauty, is always thrilling, is generally founded on fact, is written in a nervous, vigorous style, is marked by a vivid fancy and a strong sense of humour. Mr. Black's novels are invariably graceful, and abound in charming descriptions of sea and shore, rocky coast, green islands. Mr. Hardy, equally original as a writer and thinker, displays the same disposition as Mr. Black to repeat himself, and is apt to push the peculiarities of his style to the point of mannerism. As a sketcher of certain aspects of English rural life, and, above all, of English peasants, he is in his way unrivalled. Like Mr. Black, Mr. Blackmore, and Miss Thackeray, Mr. Hardy is fond of heightening the effect of his idyllic and pastoral scenes by investing them with a certain mysticism, and the accents of irresistible doom, more or less disguised, seem audible in the murmur of every passing breeze. The opening months of 1881 witnessed a new departure by Mr. Black in his novel "Sunrise: a Tale of the Times." In it he deserts the lochs and coasts of Scotland for town-life and the conspiracies of Socialism. But charmingly as the story is written, it lacks that sense of repose which he conveys when safe amid his familiar surroundings. As with Mr. Black, so will it be with Mr. F. J. Fargus. Mr. Fargus's name will always be associated with "Called Back" and "Dark Days," and however skilfully he may depart from the line he has there adopted, his works will probably be successful in proportion as he follows it. The reception of Mr. Fargus's "A Family Affair" is closely analogous to that accorded to Mr. Black's "Judith Shakspeare." Clever as both novels are, and widely though they will be read, they have yet been less

cordially welcomed than those by which their authors have made their mark.

It is to be expected that an age of which the literary taste is pre-eminently for the literature of positive information and instructive fact, should be favourable to the production of volumes of travel, biography, and autobiography. These, indeed, issue from the press in an incessant stream. Their subject matter is found in all lands and in all periods. Every country in which the English language is spoken, or in which it is deemed desirable by an ardent patriotism that the English flag should float, finds its immediate and assiduous chronicler, and in the footsteps of the imperial pioneer there inevitably follows the literary memorialist. Our Australasian colonies, every part of our Indian empire, every aspect of Indian life, South Africa, Central Asia, Canada, have each of them yielded materials for a library of its own. To record one's impressions of a foreign country has become a fashion, and travellers of all kinds, from proconsuls to newspaper correspondents, invariably signalise their return by the publication of a more or less graphic and trustworthy account of what they have seen, done, and thought whilst beyond their native shores. It matters little whether it be the Marquis of Lorne or Lady Brassey, the Earl of Dufferin or Mr. Colquhoun, Mr. Marvin or Miss Gordon-Cumming, the result of a trip abroad is the same. Some of these works are picturesque and sketchy—to wit, Lady Brassey's "Voyage in the *Sunbeam*"; others, like Lord Lorne's "Canadian Pictures," combine scenery with politics and history; others again, like Mr. Marvin's "The Russians at Merv and Herat," are exclusively political. But one and all are the outcome of personal experience and observation.

The biographer has not lagged behind. The most popular book of the time, a few years ago, was Mr. Hare's "Memorials of a Quiet Life." In his work on Macaulay, Mr. Trevelyan not only showed that he had powers which, if applied exclusively to letters, would win for him a conspicuous place among nineteenth-century writers, but he achieved a success not unworthy of the triumph which waited on the historical achievement of his illustrious uncle—a success which he has followed up by an equally popular work, "The Early Years of Charles James Fox," remarkable alike for its style and its discriminative selection of facts. In his "Life of Lessing," Mr. James Sime produced as enduring a monument as may be witnessed in the "Voltaire" or "Diderot" of Mr. John Morley. It is out of the question to attempt any comprehensive survey of the biographical and autobiographical volumes which have flooded the literary market during the last year or two. Chief among them, of course, is the record by which Her Majesty has given her subjects an insight into the home of their sovereign. Although there have been published in previous season, many "lives" which have excited much criticism—such, for instances

as that of Bishop Wilberforce, of Lord Lytton by his son, and of Lord Byron by Mr. Jeaffreson—no single year has been more prolific of biography and autobiography of the first importance than 1884. Mr. Froude has laid the inner life and character of Carlyle bare before his countrymen; Mr. Louis J. Jennings has accomplished an invaluable work in sifting and arranging the Croker papers; and Mr. Julian Hawthorne has written an instructive and entertaining account of his father and mother. In the department of personal narrative we have Mr. Edmund Yates's "Recollections and Experiences," Lord Malmesbury's "Memoirs," Mr. A. Gallenga's "Second Life," Mr. James Payn's "Literary Recollections," and Mr. Serjeant Ballantine's "From the Old World to the New."

The literature of modern theology and history is even more abounding. Of the first we have spoken already; yet there remain one or two names which should not be omitted, and on which further stress should be laid. One of the greatest masters of English style, as he indisputably is also of English dialectic, whom the age has produced, is, before all else, a theological writer. Cardinal Newman is a master of the English language in the same sense that a perfect musician may be called the master of his instrument. There is no note in its varied scale which he cannot produce from it. He has conveyed, perhaps, a fuller idea of its capabilities than any writer in our tongue, has shown more completely how it may be made to yield alternate sounds of majesty and pathos, of invective and persuasion, of irony and earnestness. The religious sentiment is illustrated in all its manifold phases in the "University Sermons;" the clearest ratiocinative power shows itself in the "Grammar of Assent;" as an historian, he has given us one of the best pictures of ancient Athens ever drawn; as a poet, in addition to the "Dream of Gerontius," such lyrics as "Lead, kindly Light." The popularity of Archdeacon Farrar, the author of the "Life of Christ" and the "Life of St. Paul," grows daily, and the circle of the humanising influence of these works, and many other works of the same order, perpetually spreads. The late Dean Stanley, whether as a divine or historian, preacher or essayist, has as many readers as Carlyle. Than the name of the accomplished Dean of Westminster there could be no better connecting link between theology and history. Froude, Kinglake, Lecky, Freeman, Green—these in their different departments are writers who would be ornaments to the historical literature of any century. Elaborate studies of special periods, comprehensive surveys, pictures which bring the past as near and make it as real to us as the present—these are the fruits of our contemporary historians.

A few years ago there was published a history by Mr. Wyon of the reign of Queen Anne, which is not without much original information and genuine research; while Mr. Spencer Walpole has pro-

duced two volumes of a "History of England," dating from the end of the Peninsular War, that is at once trustworthy, comprehensive, full of social and political interest, and written in a style which suggests much study of Macaulay, being both scholarlike and popular. The late Mr. Green, who, in the series of primers which he followed Mr. Freeman in editing, contributed to the formation o intelligent views on the entire course of history, took a wider sweep in his short and in his longer "History of the English People," and collected and arranged an immense mass of miscellaneous facts, with great regard to dramatic grouping. To these works must be added Mr. Justin McCarthy's "History of Our Own Times," a narrative of the chief events of the Victorian era, and his "History of the Four Georges." Both are written not only with finished literary skill, but with great political knowledge and insight. Major Arthur Griffiths's "Chronicles of Newgate" is a work which, for the first time, places before the public a complete record of the chequered career of the Old Bailey. Equally exhaustive is Mr. W. J. Loftie's "History of London." But the most important historical works of the present day are not perhaps the popular. Every age produces its own type of historian. First comes the chronicler of events, who narrates without connecting incidents, and who does not attempt to discover the thread of continuity that runs throughout the course of human affairs. He is followed by the more thoughtful inquirer, who goes beneath the surface and discovers the sequence of principles involved in successive episodes; thus the philosophy of history is made possible, and, as time passes by, it is necessary that history should be repeatedly re-written. The accumulating experiences of humanity throw new light not only on the prospect but on the retrospect. These experiences are often of a special kind, and they are not to be found unless they are diligently sought for. They are contained not only in great national events, revolutions, and wars, but in public records, parliamentary proclamations, decrees, and registers, household accounts and private documents. Much of the activity of the present day has been exclusively devoted to unearthing these buried sources of knowledge. Under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, there has been publishing for years past a series of most valuable papers which render it necessary to modify many of the views once held on such matters as the growth of the English Constitution. To Dr. Stubbs, now Bishop of Chester, belongs pre-eminently the honour, not only of having in many cases edited and collected them, but of having illustrated their full significance, and having shown what re-construction in our scheme of the early history of England they necessitate.

If the influence of German thought may be seen in much of the theological writing of the day, it is equally possible to discern the

influence of French thought in much of that writing which, so far as it treats of politics and philosophy as affording a practical guide for life, may be considered almost religious. While Sir James Stephen and Mr. Froude illustrate the potency of the doctrines of Carlyle, whose "Hero Worship" has been largely nourished on German materials, Mr. John Morley and Mr. Frederic Harrison are equally noticeable as the exponents of the culture which is essentially French. The sympathy of each is undisguisedly with the men either antecedent to or immediately contemporary with the French Revolution. Mr. John Morley's works on Voltaire, Rousseau, above all, his sympathy with Diderot and the French Encyclopædists, strike the key-note of his practical philosophy. The view which both he and, in his "Order and Progress," Mr. Frederic Harrison take of human society, is exactly that which would have commended itself to these master spirits. "Compromise" is the book which might almost be cited as a compendium of Mr. Morley's philosophy of life. If society is not so much a great growth, whose foundations are rooted in the sentiments, the prejudices, and even the superstitions of past ages, but something that can be eminently and quickly modified from time to time, changing its features with tolerable rapidity at the bidding and by the efforts of eminent persons, it follows that every man who believes strongly in the falsity of old notions, or in the truth of the new, is bound to lose no opportunity of energetically expressing his dissent from the bulk of surrounding opinion. Mr. Morley does not, indeed, ignore the historical argument against sudden change, but he appears to think that it is over-rated, and that timidity and indolence exaggerate the difficulties of the process which he advocates. There are two other points to be noticed in the political philosophy which Mr. Morley enforces, with the eloquence of a literary master and the fervour of a political apostle. In the first place, he does not distinctly tell us when compromise becomes criminal. It is permissible, he says, when the most sacred feelings of family are involved. Surely this is itself a sanction of compromise; and the great moral of Mr. Morley's book is that a man with strong convictions is bound to express those convictions only when, in his opinion, a convenient season for their expression has arrived. Again, Mr. Morley does not attempt to fix the degree of belief or persuasion at which a man must have arrived before he commences to place limitations upon the habit of compromise; nor, perhaps, does he give sufficient practical weight to the effects of the destructive process which the conduct he commends would have upon an old and complex society. The standard of practical life which Mr. Morley sets before himself and others is of an exceedingly lofty character. But though love of truth and a fearless pursuit of truth are enough to insure its realisation in certain exceptional instances, it may very well be that they have not this coercive power with the mass of

men ; that most men are so constituted, are so much the creatures of fear and hope, as to cause what Mr. Morley himself is persuaded are lies and delusions to be absolutely necessary for them.

The same considerations which would be suggested by a minute examination of the works of George Eliot are also those which present themselves when the tenor of Mr. Morley's counsels is closely scanned. Nothing in theory may sound more plausible than the postponement of self and of family to the idea of mankind, but in practice can it carry with it any guarantee of efficiency? To the bulk of men and women can the welfare and progress of society ever be anything more than ideas? Will it, as the education of the human race advances, be possible for them to deduce their notions of moral duty from a just estimate of the relations of the individual and of the family to society? Is there anything in the past history of the human race to make us think that mortals can arrive at a knowledge of their duty to each other unless the elements of that knowledge are drawn from a superhuman source? Ideas of duty, it may be urged, have their origin in something else than the daily intercourse of man; and devotion to society is as inadequate to explain them or to prompt them, as utilitarianism is to explain the higher virtues of humanity—heroism, self-sacrifice, martyrdom. When the ends which Mr. Morley and George Eliot admire are advocated, is it not possible that those who advocate them may be under influences which they ignore? This higher and disinterested morality would surely never have existed without the educating agency of Christianity; and as to what future generations may do without Christianity, is it possible to form any opinion? Will the social morality of "Compromise" or of George Eliot be an end in itself, requiring none of the motives or sanctions implied by Christianity?

But the popular and essentially humanising literature of the day is not to be found in books alone. There is the vast multitude of magazines, serials, and newspapers to be taken into account. Of newspapers we shall have something to say in another chapter. Every household, high or humble, has its own monthly or weekly miscellany of instructive and amusing literature. If these encourage desultory reading, it is certain that without them there are hundreds and thousands of English men and women who would read very little, if at all. In the same way the serial issues of great works are numerous, and exceedingly effective in introducing them to the public. There are many persons in every class of life who will readily pay a small sum for each number of a large work issued in parts, but who would refuse to pay a greater sum for such a work as a whole.

CHAPTER XXIX.

POPULAR AMUSEMENTS.

Change and Multiplied Variety of Popular Amusements—The Travelling Showman and Photographer—The Development of the Excursion System—Scene on the Norfolk Coast—Amusements in the Manufacturing Districts and the Black Country—Music-halls—Museums—Art Exhibitions—Working Men's Clubs—The Institution and its Working described—How to stamp out Drunkenness—The Stage—Change in its Position—The Playgoing Public—Change in Social Position of Actors—The Stage the Mirror of Contemporary Manners—Reasons of its alleged Decadence—Its Realism and Lack of Poetry—Dangers of this Realism—What a Dramatic Censor may prevent—Uses of a Dramatic Censor—Relations of English and French Public to their respective Stages—The English Drama and the Divorce Court—French Plays in England—Shakespearian revivals.

It would be impossible to form a better idea of the advance made by Englishmen of all classes, whether in town or country, in the art of "popular amusement" than from a comparison of the advertisements relating to sports, pastimes, and recreation in a newspaper of to-day with those which made their appearance less than half a century ago. One would look in vain now for the announcements of pugilistic encounters arranged between bruisers of established and growing reputation, cock-fights, dog-fights, and performances of terrier dogs, backed for large sums to kill several scores of rats within a limited space of time. One would have looked in vain then for the accounts of cricket-matches, and of the scores made by their players, in different parts of England, which now occupy entire pages of the sporting journals; for the notices to excursionists that are a regular feature in every newspaper during the summer season; for the miscellaneous programmes of picture exhibitions, lectures, theatres, music-halls, entertainments of all kinds, places of amusement of every variety, which have become an essential part of the machinery of our social life. Within the last five-and-twenty years cricket clubs and football clubs have been formed in all the towns and most of the villages in England. The volunteer movement has supplied another opportunity of healthy out-door exercise; athletic sports have been added to our muscular system; open spaces and village greens are the recognised playgrounds of the people. What were formerly wastes have been converted into public gardens. There are pleasure-grounds in the East End of London, and scarcely a year passes without an addition being made to

the people's parks, which have been given by the bounty of great landlords to the industrial cities of the north.

As it has been with open-air pastimes, so it has been with indoor amusements. In the country the public-house, if still the chief, is not the absolutely paramount and exclusive attraction. There are penny readings, where the voice of the reader is varied by music, vocal and instrumental; there are book societies, lectures, and, in many instances, reading-rooms furnished for the benefit of the members—all working men—with a selection of the newspapers of the day. Even the annual fair which, in the adjoining country town, was the great dissipation of the year, is an institution almost out of date. Human monstrosities fascinate the eye no longer, and invitations to witness the display of bicephalous womanhood inside a canvas booth meet with so cold a response that they are seldom offered. The showman's van, which, a quarter of a century ago, collected the whole country side to view its contents, has almost ceased to exist. Neither the eloquence nor the art which once added their never-failing embellishments to this travelling world of wonders would suffice to secure patrons or admirers now. The little black silhouettes, standing out in prominent relief against a white background, in which this same thaumaturgist would depict the profile of your countenance for the price of one shilling, is a relic of the past, and the showman's reign ended when that of the photographer began. Now it is the day of the roaming photographer which is itself coming to a close. The proprietors of nomadic exhibitions of every kind complain that business has lamentably fallen off, and though equestrian troupes still manage to gain a living by making periodical pilgrimages through the kingdom, other forms of amusement are accessible all the year round in the immediately contiguous capital of every country district. The cheap trains and railway extension, which have proved the ruin of the old showman, have multiplied indefinitely the opportunities of popular recreation among the peasantry of England.

In the childhood of many a man and woman who is yet barely middle-aged, the village feast was the great rural festival, the one universally recognised holiday of the year. There was a substantial dinner, there was a brass band, there were games and dances, cricket and rounders for the boys, and kiss-in-the-ring for Giles and his sweetheart. But as soon as the neighbourhood became accustomed to the snorting and puffing of the steam-engine, its old men and women, its young men and maids, took advantage of it to explore the almost unknown world which lay close to them. They were, in the parlance of certain traffic managers, put upon the fidget, and the dividends of railway companies rose in proportion. Just as it was the Exhibition of 1851 from which must be dated the first great steps towards improvement made by English people in art and decorative design, so may the

opening of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham be identified with a new departure in the region of popular amusement. The Crystal Palace is at the present day the rendezvous for country parties, which come from all quarters within a radius of fifty or sixty miles from London.

These pilgrimages of pleasure have familiarised the masses with the idea of jaunts taken with the same end in other directions. Our ever-growing railway system has supplied the means, and now the excursion may be said to be one of the chief amusements of our toiling millions. Travel through any part of England on Saturday, Monday, or Tuesday, and you will find that the local lines swarm with villagers going to or returning from the town on missions of business or of pleasure, or, more likely, of both combined. This is the way in which the money formerly reserved for rustic holidays is disposed of. If those rural pleasure-takers are within a convenient distance of London, to London many of them will go. If not, they put by their savings and spend them on trips to their provincial capital.

If one wishes to gain a true and graphic notion of what the modern excursion system is, of how great is the hold which it has acquired over the masses, a sight may be mentioned that can be witnessed almost any day in the summer or autumn months upon the Norfolk coast. It is eleven in the forenoon, and the beach is not only tranquil, but almost desolate. Half a dozen fishermen are visible mending their nets or smoking the pipe of moody silence. There is not a sound which blends with the fretting of the waves against the pebbles, unless it be the shrill cry of the sea-bird, or possibly the distant and muffled scream of the whistle of the railway train, audible for many miles over these treeless levels and bleak sand-hills. But a complete change is at hand. It is a quarter-past eleven now, and in twenty minutes' time an excursion train is due at the adjoining station. Presently you are conscious of the murmur of strange arrivals and the bustling note of preparation. You look round and find that upwards of a hundred men have suddenly invaded the place, are setting up booths, furnishing them with eatables and drinkables, are establishing Aunt Sallies, and providing the machinery of other delectable pastimes. In less than fifteen minutes the deserted beach has been transformed; and what was absolute solitude now presents the appearance of a fair, which wants nothing to complete it except the advent of its patrons. Here these patrons are, or presently will be. Puff-puff is the warning sound of the steam-engine in the distance, and the wreaths of smoke which for a minute darken the heavens, and then are swept away by the wind, are significant of the cloud of humanity that in a few seconds will settle down upon the shore. Out they troop from the carriages which have just drawn up at the platform—men, women, boys, and children, a good thousand strong. It is likely enough that there are other contingents yet to arrive. The excursionist is a

gregarious animal, and the bigger the crowd in which he takes his pleasure the more he enjoys it. It is by no means an uncommon thing to see the shore, on which an hour ago not more human beings were visible than could be counted on the fingers of one hand, covered by three thousand human beings, restlessly moving to and fro like the microscopic army of an ant-hill. Fun and frolic reigns all day until the moment for departure on the return journey arrives. Then may be observed the reverse of the phenomenon of the morning. Animation is gone almost as quickly as it came. The trains give a few premonitory rumblings and disappear. The last notes of the excursionists' songs die away on the wind; the echoes are undisturbed by peals of laughter; and the hucksters who have waited on the great army of pleasure-seekers pack up their belongings, fold up their tents like the Arabs, steal away as silently and swiftly as they alighted, and leave the philosopher to reflect in sudden solitude upon the moral of the day's experience.

On the north-west coast of the United Kingdom the development of the excursion system is even more conspicuous than on the east. The manufacturers of the north and the great retailers, who, for the most part, are north-countrymen, cannot be accused of neglecting the social relaxations of those whom they employ. Lytham, Fleetwood, and New Brighton are only a few of the marine resorts of myriads of the operatives let loose from the great towns of northern industry; and if the goal of these is in too many cases the public-house bar rather than the shore of the sea, it is permissible to hope that tobacco-smoke and beer do not entirely neutralise the beneficent agencies of oxygen and ozone. Generally it may be said that the labouring classes are, in the north of England, better off as regards amusements than in the south. Many large works or factories have attached to them not only reading-rooms, but billiard-rooms and bowling-alleys. When these are not provided by the employer, they are sometimes secured by the men, who club together, and, applying the principle of co-operation, wisely supersede the attractions of the tavern. Other and more active recreations than these are forthcoming: cricket, wrestling, and every variety of athletic sport command an increasing popularity throughout the whole of the north of England. In the Pottery Districts, and in the vicinity of Manchester, rabbit-coursing, with a peculiar breed of little greyhound, is much in vogue. With the shoemakers of Northamptonshire—and, indeed, among shoemakers of all parts of England—foot-racing is a favourite pastime. The artisans of Birmingham and Coventry rejoice in bicycles. Among the rural and urban toilers of Yorkshire knurr and spell—a species of trap, bat, and ball—still flourishes. In some counties (eminently in Nottinghamshire) wherever there is a fair expanse of level and unoccupied grassland, the wickets are sure to be pitched, and boys and men practise

with bat and ball—some of them destined to blossom into professional players—after the day's work is over.

In rural districts there are hundreds of cottagers, now that cottage gardening has received systematic encouragement in special shows for cottage competitors, and that prizes are specially reserved for these at more general horticultural exhibitions, whose spare hours are entirely given to gardening. If one comes to London, it is not necessary to mention Epping Forest as the Arcadia of the artisan of the East End ; Ramsgate and Margate as the marine paradises of the multitude ; or Battersea Park as the great Sunday lounge of various social subdivisions of the community, from the head clerk down to the junior porter. Naturally in such a climate as ours, the working classes will always find the larger part of their amusement within four walls. Thirty years ago, with the single exception of the theatre, the only available resort for the masses was the public-house. We are as completely outliving that state of things as we have outlived the period when "Cross's Menagerie" was one of the great attractions of the Strand, and the skeleton of the whale was the only lion in Trafalgar Square. If there cannot be said to have been established an absolute identity between instruction and amusement, the steps actually taken in the direction of reform are immense. Music-halls do not spread an atmosphere of pure refinement, and are not without their mischievous influences upon the moral currency, but they are none the less, if properly conducted, antidotes to the popular curse of drunkenness. They exist in every large town in England, and the composition of their audiences presents some points which are not entirely unsatisfactory. It is claimed on behalf of the Frenchman that while there may be no one who is at home so little, there is no one who loves home so much. He takes, we are told, the influence of the domestic hearth with him whenever he goes abroad. The society, in fact, in which he chiefly moves is an extension of home ; and if he is happy, and is really equally at home anywhere, it is because he is not unaccompanied by his wife and children. A very casual examination of the company that fills some music-halls, whether in London or elsewhere, will convince one that at least a portion of it consists of genuinely family parties—husbands and wives, fathers, mothers, and one or two of their children. The attempt which is now being made to establish coffee-house music-halls will certainly prove a strong and wholesome antidote to the public-house and the gin-shop.

There are other not less popular recreations of the masses which stand on a much higher level. The statistics and figures published in the newspapers from week to week show how large is the measure of popularity which institutions like the South Kensington Museum, the National Gallery, and others, enjoy. A wider experience

than London, unhappily, affords of the working of the free library system is necessary to convey a just conception of the immense boon which free libraries are to the working classes. Look inside the doors of these establishments in Manchester or Birmingham during the dinner-hour, and note the attention and the evident enjoyment with which the artisans are reading, not novels only, but the classics of English literature and the manuals of modern science. Add to the free libraries the working men's clubs, and a fair idea may be formed of the character and extent of the humanising machinery which is already at work among the masses throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The working man's club is an institution not only from a political point of view harmless, but under its social aspect eminently beneficent. It is, too, an institution which is representative of a growing class. There may be a score of such clubs for working men in London, and they are to be found in every considerable town in England. In some cases there is no mention of political principles of any kind in the club rules. In others, the political cause with which the society is identified is Conservative or Liberal; the programme in a majority of instances being of a decidedly Liberal and even democratic character. Yet how groundless are any apprehensions as to the constitutional peril latent in these professions may be judged from a glimpse at the interior life of the club, and a comparison between its ostensible objects and its practical functions. The institution which we will now visit, and which may be taken as typical of many others, has been in existence about half a dozen years. It has nearly six hundred members, all of whom, without exception, are *bonâ-fide* working men—some small masters, some highly-skilled mechanics making £3 or £4 a week, others whose weekly wages are from 25s. to 30s. The admission to the club is by ballot among the members of the committee, and any conduct which is offensive, or which threatens the harmony of the institution, is punished as severely and after the same fashion—by expulsion—as "conduct unworthy of a gentleman" would be in one of the co-operative palaces of Pall Mall or St. James's Street. The subscription is about 15s. a year, and it has lately been decided that visitors' refreshments must be paid for by the friends who introduce them—a rule which adds to the radical difference between these establishments and the public-house.

This is the chief room of the building: a spacious hall for debate, with a stage at one end for occasional dramatic entertainments. Immediately adjoining it is a smaller chamber furnished with a refreshment buffet. If our visit happens to be during the hours of daylight, the place will be deserted save for the presence of a few stray members, clad in their working dress, who have lounged in during the dinner-hour to read the papers. In the billiard-room, the bagatelle-

room, the chess-room, the refreshment-room, the reading-room, there may also be found one or two mechanics who are taking a holiday, or who are perhaps out of work. The reading-room is seldom absolutely empty. Like the other apartments, it opens out of the central hall, is well supplied with the chief newspapers of the day, with various organs of different trades and industries, not only English, but American, and in a few cases German and French, and has in addition a fair library. The works of John Stuart Mill are there, while those of Thomas Carlyle for the most part are not. The writings of another obscure heresiarch of a former generation, of a name of similar sound but different orthography, Carlisle, are prominently visible on the shelves. There, too, are the books whose authors are Herbert Spencer, Thomas Hare, Lecky, Smiles, and Buckle; while there are a multitude of publications of which the titles have a strange sound to English ears, but which have won great popularity on the transatlantic continent. The room is further ornamented with portraits of certain of the more advanced members of the House of Commons, distinguished patrons of the Republican cause on the Continent, and notably of George Washington and his family, which has been sent as a present to the club from a group of sympathetic working men on the other side of the Atlantic.

As the day draws to its close the club begins gradually to fill. Here are the representatives of all the industries which have their head-quarters in great cities. They come in their working dress, yet not without having paid some preliminary attention to their personal appearance. They have been home, have gone through a simple toilette, have had their tea and a rasher of bacon with it, have probably smoked the pipe of domestic peace, and have not forgotten to say good night to the little ones in bed. They want change of scene and conversation, and they get it at their club. They read, smoke, and chat by turns. There is sure to be some discussion in the great hall on some topic of the day. One member reads a short paper, let it be supposed, on the necessity of protection, or the justice of reciprocity, to native trade, or direct representation of the interests of labour in Parliament. A debate follows, and much of the speaking which may be heard is surprisingly good. Sometimes there are visitors. An American or German operative narrates his experiences, or a gentleman who takes an interest in working men and their doings addresses them on the subject of his travels in foreign parts, or acquaints them with his views on matters nearer home. On Sunday night a kind of grand field-day of the club is held. There is always a lecture; the topics suggested are infinitely various, conveying much valuable instruction. The theme chosen is seldom suited to the sanctity of the day; the moral pointed would not always commend itself to the political quietist. Be that as it may, it is certainly

better that these men should be in their clubs than at taverns or gin-shops. If drunkenness is ever stamped out from among the English working classes, it will be largely due to the agency of such institutions as these. It is not Utopian to believe that clubs may, in course of time, and as education advances, do for labouring men what they have already done for the wealthier classes, and render open intoxication a barbarous anachronism. As they have created among the wealthier classes a public opinion which is unfavourable to excess, so wherever they exist among the humbler classes we find them doing, or tending to do, the same good work. It is beginning to be recognised that a man who is drunk is, for the time being, not only a brute, but a nuisance.

Whatever may be the condition or the prospects of the drama in England, there can be no doubt as to its claim to be considered a popular institution, or that for an increasingly large number of persons the stage supplies the chief, if not the only, culture which they know. The theatre has become in London not merely an occasional amusement, but a regular pursuit. Among classes socially quite distinct and different the chief idea of an evening's amusement is the play. One finds it at the East End, where the same persons repair nightly to witness over and over again the same performance. The same fact meets one at the West End, where the theatre is not only a place in which to sit still and laugh or wonder, according as the spirit of comedy or tragic awe is in the ascendant, but a lounge where cigarettes may be smoked, friends met and chatted with, and the news of the evening obtained. This is an importation of Continental usages into England within the last few years. Evenings at home are enjoyable and admirable in their way, but how many tens of thousands are there in London and other large cities who have evenings to spare yet no home in particular at which to spend them, not to mention the daily influx of casual visitors from the country, or of sojourners *en route* for India or the colonies, or of Americans of passage to and from the Continent? There is, further, a large percentage of young men sufficiently well-to-do, who, if they have their offices in the day, and their chambers and clubs at night, are not overburdened with social engagements, and may, perhaps, prefer the independence of the playhouse to the hospitable constraints of a decorous dinner-table. With these the theatre is not the least important business of their lives. There is not a new piece that is produced which they miss. They are seldom absent on first nights. They know the critics by sight. They belong probably to some one or other of the minor literary or dramatic clubs. They skim the newspapers of the morning and evening, but serious study is not to their taste, and the theatre is.

There is little or nothing in common between the modern playgoer

and the ancient enthusiast in the classic days of the Patent Houses. The cheap enjoyment of that period he would vote vulgar. He has no notion of waiting a couple of hours outside the pit door, and then fervently congratulating himself if he has secured a seat well in front of the stage. When the play is over, it is not with stout and oysters that he will refresh his inner man. On the contrary, he has conformed to the modern type of exquisite. He makes a point of appearing in full evening dress. He never touches supper: it hurts his digestion. He is afraid of stout: it is the declared enemy of his liver.

The place which the theatre fills in the mind of society at large is equally remarkable. Together with old china and new pictures, it divides polite conversation in drawing-rooms and at dinner-tables. It is considered quite as necessary to go to see the last new play as the last new opera. Even society's conception of the calling and personality of the actor has undergone a complete change. Directly or indirectly, clubs have done a great deal to bridge over the gulf that once existed between classes. If they have not promoted what is called good fellowship, they have at least done the important service of bringing representatives of different orders of men into close and friendly intercourse. The actor is of all others a clubable man. The hours which he is compelled to keep make club life particularly convenient to him; and when he is at his club he finds himself in a circle which includes men with whom thirty years ago it is not very likely that he would have been on speaking terms. The comparatively intimate relationship which has been established between society and the stage has had its influence on both parties to the arrangement. The influence of the stage upon society does not end here. Private theatricals may satisfy a trivial ambition, but not the eager natures which require something more stirring; for these there are the excitements of the public audience. Thus do we hear of amateur pantomimes and *matinées* at fashionable playhouses in the Strand.

That the stage is not at the present time a vehicle for the inculcation of the higher morality, and that as matters are, it is not likely to be one, must be confessed. The relaxation of public manners which has been in process in this country during several years is reflected by the footlights, and in the pieces which attain popularity behind them. Paris has been, and remains, the metropolis of dramatic art or invention, as well as the resort of all the idlers and demireps of Europe. Of late the facilities of locomotion and the whims of fashion have cemented the connection between London and Paris, and the influences exercised upon our social system by the Second Empire are still rampant. It is not only our plays, but in some cases our domestic ethics, which are taken from the French—of the Boulevards; and if the spirit of the age tolerates the lowest standard of Parisian morality, it

is not surprising that the plays, which are the presentations of this morality, should be popular in English theatres. Something like an analogy, too, may be traced between a London and a Paris audience. French domestic life is not represented in the crowds that fill the smaller theatres of the French capital; English domestic life is represented almost as little in some of the theatres of London. Prominent among the patrons of the London stage are uncritical visitors from the provinces and the not too refined members of our new plutocracy. There are other reasons which can scarcely make us expect to find any very elevated exemplar of morals or manners on the London stage. We dine later and we work harder than ever, and the state of body and mind which these habits superinduce is scarcely favourable to the highest sort of intellectual appreciation. Again, free trade in theatres—an absurd confusion of industry and art—has dispersed the few good actors that we had, has destroyed a school of acting, and has made room on the stage for some of the crapulous buffooneries of the music-hall. Indeed, while the music-hall is a grade above the gin-shop, it is the curse of the stage. It vitiates and debases managers, actors, audiences alike. As a consequence, it is only too likely that were the Act of Parliament for regulating theatres repealed, the result would be, not the conversion of music-halls into theatres, but of theatres into music-halls. There are, perhaps, now more tolerably good actors on the English boards than at any other period; on the other hand, there are very few actors who can be called great, and the tolerably good actors are quite incapable of representing the heroic or poetic drama. Their elocutionary powers are defective, and they are not happy even in their attempted recitals of blank verse. As for a subsidised national theatre, it must be pronounced an impossibility in England; nor should it be forgotten that the Comédie Française is not merely a subsidised theatre, but also an incorporated and endowed collegiate institution, having in some sort its exhibitioners, its fellowships, its statutes, privileges, and pensions.

"La foule," says Jules Claretie, "est ainsi faite qu'elle s'en va payer—et parfois très cher—pour admirer dans un théâtre ce qu'elle peut librement, et à bon marché contempler dans la rue." The most striking feature of our modern drama is its abject realism. This is not a credulous, a poetic, a chivalrous, or an enthusiastic age. As is the age, so is the theatre-going public, and the theatre itself. We do not want impossible feats of ennobled heroism. We want to see life as it is—life sometimes as it exists in St. Giles's, at others as it exists in Mayfair or St. James's Street. We demand that actors and actresses shall give us the best imitations they can of the ladies and gentlemen who meet daily in Hyde Park; who talk, laugh, and flirt together; who make love, and unmake marriages; who go to Hurlingham; who dine at the Orleans Club. We pretend no high

motive in all this, and aim at no particular moral. We simply wish to be amused, and we wish also to witness what we call a *mise-en-scène* so perfect that we may enjoy some faint illusion into the bargain. As the coats and dresses of the ladies and gentlemen on the stage are made by the same tailors and milliners who make the coats and dresses of the ladies and gentlemen in society, so do we expect that the furniture shall be an exact likeness of that seen in the drawing-rooms of the West End. If Old English decorations and Queen Anne architecture are the vogue in real life, we must have them on the stage. Nothing must be left to the imagination, and unless the eye and ear can immediately perceive it all, it is not supposed to be there. The more familiar the scene the better. There is nothing which brings down the house like a view of Waterloo Bridge, especially if a hansom cab happens to be going over it; or the counterfeit presentment of Hyde Park Corner by lamplight, especially if Piccadilly happens to be enlivened by the gay and festive presence of some young gentlemen who have taken too much wine, whose opera hats are crushed in, whose white ties are all awry, and who are going home with the milk. Arcadia may be all very well; but the most beautiful glimpse of Arcadian forests and streams which scenic artist ever gave would not provoke a tenth part of the applause that a clever portrayal of Richmond Hill, with the "Star and Garter" in the immediate foreground, and Eel Pie Island in the middle distance, never fails to elicit. A view of the Bay of Naples, with Herculaneum and Pompeii visible, would be all very well; but what is it to Brighton, with the green and gold ironwork of the Grand Hotel?

These tastes are not peculiar to the playgoing public or exclusively gratified on the stage. The same thing may be witnessed in much of our pictorial art and in most of our popular novels. What the late Mr. Thomas Robertson, the author of *Society*, *Caste*, and the rest of what are known as the "Prince of Wales' dramas," was to the modern drama, the late Mr. Anthony Trollope was to contemporary romance. The novelist must follow the example of the playwright, and give us life as it is. On the stage the hero asks for a cigarette; in the novel the young lady asks her lover for a stamp. The first consideration in every department of intellectual industry or activity is not to fly too high for the public. The dramatist may write his dramas with a quill which comes from the wing of the angel Gabriel, but if he writes above the heads of his patrons, woe be to him. The romantic and historic drama has given place to the "cup and saucer" domestic drama, and there is no reason to suppose that public taste and morals are much the worse or better for the change. But what is a harmless realism among the higher classes may conceivably become a very dangerous realism if gratified in the case of the lower.

It is a simple historical fact, that a few years ago a London manager* was actually contemplating the production of the Ober Ammergau Passion Play upon the stage of his theatre, and had he not received timely warning from the responsible authority the experiment would certainly have been made. Again, early in the month of December, 1875, it was announced on a series of yellow and black posters, fixed upon every available vacant space in the town of Sunderland, that a startling drama of real life was to be produced, founded on certain incidents in the career of Henry Wainwright, who was then lying in the condemned cell of Newgate under sentence of death for the murder of his paramour! The first act was to have Broxbourne Gardens as its *venue*, and in the course of it the audience were to be made acquainted with "the first meeting between Wainwright and his victim; the arts employed by men about town; the friendly warning disregarded." Among the scenes which followed were "high jinks in the Whitechapel Counting-house," a "life of wild dissipation," the "murder," and much else. If this hideous farrago of criminal tableaux, rendered articulate with criminal speeches and vicious sentiments, had been actually given to the public, who can doubt that it would have exerted a directly debasing and pernicious influence? The public know what is permitted, but not what is prevented.

Such experiences as these show that the Licenser of Plays has other duties to perform than the interdiction of clumsy adaptations of unwholesome French dramas or obscene French farces. There is but one commandment in the Decalogue which is a source of unfailing capital to the Parisian playwright. The same sin, implied or expressed, perpetrated already, or with events apparently leading up to its perpetration, is ever there. His ingenuity is devoted to varying the conditions of the offence, inventing new combinations of offenders, placing them in novel situations, and illustrating the Nemesis which, sooner or later, overtakes the guilty in divers shapes. Sometimes the action of the avenging deity assumes the form of laughter-moving satire, sometimes of overwhelming tragedy. There are farcical comedies in which the unholy conspirator against the peace of households is depicted as merely ridiculous, the dupe of his own villany, a knave, and, as events turn out, a fool into the bargain. There are, on the other hand, comedies, such as the *Supplice d'une Femme*, which are traversed by a vein of very tragic purpose, and which display the consequences of matrimonial perfidy in the agonising aspects of lifelong and irreparable remorse. Now these dramas stand in a relation

* There is, of course, no reference here to the advertised Tableaux at the Westminster Aquarium a few years ago. The interposition of authority was not called for in this instance, the Ober Ammergau peasants never having accepted any engagement in England, and the representation of the Tableaux not having been announced to take place at the Royal Aquarium *Theatre*—the only part of the building under the Lord Chamberlain's jurisdiction.

towards French audiences and to French society radically different from that which it is possible they should occupy towards English audiences and English society. With scarcely an exception, even our best actors and actresses lack the *finesse* and the lightness of touch which are the attributes, in a special degree, of their French brethren and sisters. They are without the eminently Parisian art of swiftly and gracefully gliding over delicate and dangerous ground. Though the situations in a play should be subordinate to the moral, the moral is still one thing and the situations are another. The real and unavoidable danger when English actors are intrusted with the performance of a play whose spirit, conception, and situation are thoroughly French, is that they should exaggerate the situations at the expense of the moral—should bring the former into disproportionate prominence, and should dwarf and obscure the latter. The final moral, from a French point of view, may be unexceptionable, but the situations are worse than hazardous, and, acted as such dramas are likely to be acted in England, the temptation to an English audience to fasten on the situations and forget the moral would be irresistible.

There are other reasons which cause dramas that are perfectly possible and not glaringly improper in France to be wholly unadaptable to English audiences. If the sanctity of the marriage tie is not always respected in England, the general terms on which the sexes are associated with each other before and after marriage are entirely different on the two sides of the Channel. In France flirtation is supposed to be the common successor of marriage; in England it is at least considered theoretically more desirable that it should precede the ceremony. A very considerable proportion of the English novels read by young ladies who are not yet brides—which are mainly the products of feminine hands, and abound in warmly-coloured love passages—would be considered quite as inappropriate or improper for a French maiden as the *polissonneries* of the French stage are for an English maiden. The *cavalier servente*, the wife's lover, may have an existence in England, but he has not a definite status as in France, and the adaptations to the English stage of French plays in which he figures are not faithful or acceptable pictures of English society. Finally, it is to be borne in mind that the institution of a Divorce Court in the one country, and the absence of such an institution until recently in the other, have caused the public of each to regard the presentation in a dramatic shape of conjugal treason with very different sentiments. The records of the tribunal over which Sir James Hannen presides acquaint Englishmen and Englishwomen with the misery that follows systematic breaches of what is not in this country a sacrament, but a civil contract, in all its vulgar and prosaic hideousness. Faithlessness in husbands and wives is not in England,

as in France, a thing to be satirised by turning the laugh against the betrayer; and it is surely as sorry to jest with the iniquity which may be punished with a heavy pecuniary mulct, and a scandalous publicity, in a division of a High Court of Justice, as with the fate that overtakes an apprentice who dips his hand into his master's till, or the scamp who terminates his career by forging a friend's name.

If the general English public were able to protect itself in these matters, or if English theatrical managers could be trusted never to take advantage of its defencelessness and folly, then Parliament might be petitioned to repeal forthwith the Act under which the Licenser of Plays holds his office. But few, if any, managers sufficiently bear in mind that many pieces which have succeeded in Paris have not been exclusively, or even mainly, patronised by the French middle class, but by the floating population of pleasure-seeking foreigners, of whom Paris is always full. Again, theatres are labelled and classified in Paris to a degree in which they are not, and cannot be, in London. If one goes to the Palais Royal, to the Bouffes, the Variétés, one knows in each case precisely what to expect. In London, on the other hand, the audiences in all our theatres are mixed; and the most respectable mother and father of a family are apt to assume that there is no temple of the drama to which they may not safely resort with their children and friends. Further, it has been in past times the policy of French Governments to render the theatre a place of distraction from politics for the French people, and so long as the end was gained the means employed were not too minutely inquired into. The specious argument which is sometimes employed, that if a censorship of the stage is desirable a censorship of the press also would at least be justified, admits of an easy and conclusive answer. The *raison d'être* of a censorship of the stage in countries where the press and all other forms of literary publication are absolutely free, is to be found in the essential difference between what is read and what is represented. The *Police News* and other journals of that description are not edifying sheets. But it is possible that their perusal does no permanent injury to some, at least, of their patrons. Imagine, however, the dramatic representation of the scenes and incidents portrayed in an illustrated print of the character of the *Police News*. The peculiar influence of dramatic representations depends upon the contagious sympathy of a crowd. The effect produced upon an individual has to be enlarged and intensified indefinitely before any notion can be arrived at as to the nature of the total impression upon the aggregate multitude. The wild plaudits of the collective occupants of the pit and gallery come to the ears of each one present with a force that is exactly proportioned to the numerical total of the audience and to the complete volume of irresponsible voices.

The jurisdiction of the Lord Chamberlain of Her Majesty's Household for the time being, as Licenser of the metropolitan theatres, and of all new stage-plays intended for representation at any theatre in Great Britain, is a curious and interesting survival. It is sometimes loosely described as an anomaly; but it is an anomaly only in the sense in which the growth and permanence of our whole constitutional system is an anomaly. Such anomalies preserve us from the logic and the falsehood of extremes, from the opposite but equally oppressive inquisitions of a jealous despotism and of a jealous democracy. In France the dramatic censorship was never so severe as when the censorship was formally abolished—that is, during the Reign of Terror under the First Republic. In countries where no formal censorship exists, the interference of an arbitrary (and not always incorruptible) police is by no means an enviable alternative. In England the unscrupulous managers who would prefer absolute licence, tempered by occasional police raids, are probably those who would desire to introduce into their theatres the entertainments and the manners of music-halls and casinoes, and who, therefore, naturally gravitate to Scotland Yard. It may be doubted whether, as the basis of government becomes more and more democratic, the supervision of public entertainments will not become more rather than less exacting and severe.

Some reason for this assumption may be found in the historical antecedents of the Lord Chamberlain's authority over theatres. It is altogether a mistake to suppose that the Act of George II., introduced and passed by the Ministry of Sir Robert Walpole, establishing a censorship of dramatic representations and placing it under the Lord Chamberlain, was the beginning of his theatrical jurisdiction. The truth is, that before the great Puritan Revolution, which closed all theatres and swept many of the poor players into the armies of the king, the two or three dramatic companies that existed were under the express protection of the sovereign. In those days stage-players were looked upon as "rogues and vagabonds," and they were glad enough to escape the ignominy of outcasts by being nominated and appointed "His Majesty's Servants," and provided with royal liveries. The functions subsequently entrusted to the Lord Chamberlain were in those days performed by the Master of the Revels, who was the examiner of all theatrical entertainments. After the Restoration the surviving players of the Puritan period, and their successors, were glad enough to take refuge once more under the patronage of the Court, and to be numbered again among "His Majesty's Servants." The Act of George II. (repealed by the Act 6 & 7 Victoria, chap. 68) was nothing more than a legislative enactment and sanction of that authority which had previously belonged to the royal prerogative. It was certainly no disgrace to the players to be treated as one of the liberal professions,

and to be placed, like the Church, the Bar, and the naval and military services, under the control of a great officer of state. But with that happy adaptation of old prerogative to modern liberty which characterises so many "anomalous" English institutions, the supervision of the Lord Chamberlain over theatres or dramatic representations is really exercised by a deputy, who by his condition and experience as a man of the world and by his sympathies as a man of liberal education, of art, of "letters," is likely to exercise the delicate and difficult discretion of a censor (who, it must be remembered, is a responsible administrator of an Act of Parliament) with at once a due sense of the close relation of public manners to public morals, and of the influence of dramatic representations on public manners, and with a sensitive regard for the just rights and liberties of dramatic literature and dramatic art. In point of fact, neither dramatic literature nor dramatic art has ever had cause to complain of an authority which has been felt as a censorship only by those lawless managers who would turn theatres into houses of ill-fame. Oddly enough, the most severe of censors—even to absurdity—was himself a dramatic author, and not a squeamish one, George Colman. There is no denying that the stage in this country, quite apart from foreign influences, has never entirely recovered from the fanatical hostility of Puritanism and from the libertinism of the Restoration, which was a reaction from Puritanical excesses. It is the business of our dramatic "censor" in these days to guard it alike from mere fanaticism and from its own besetting sins in an opposite direction. And on the whole, it may be said that this invidious responsibility is satisfactorily met.

The abolition of a dramatic censorship thus gently and generously exercised, would almost certainly open the door of the stage to the offensive personalities and the scarcely veiled sedition which, as matters are, cannot be kept out of a good many of the popular periodicals of the day. As a consequence, the theatres might be expected to become the scenes of riot and disturbance. Detectives in disguise would be quartered about, the stage would fall into disrepute, and English liberty would be in real danger of serious abridgment. If it is said that the English public is at bottom respectable, and in the long run may be trusted to make its respectability prevail, the answer is that the dramatic censor helps these respectable persons, in the first instance, towards a result which they might only achieve with difficulty after some delay, and after their good taste and moral sense had sustained a considerable outrage. Such an officer is not likely, in point of ethical severity, to be much superior to the general standard of his time. A Puritanic censor of plays would only be possible when Puritanism was the recognised ruling influence of the day. If the English public is—as it un-

doubtedly is—for the most part highly respectable, the stage censor reflects their respectability and the good sense which that respectability generates; and in doing this, he may do also not a little to help the decent many to resist the despotism which an indecent few might not be sorry to establish.

With respect to some farcical comedies which have been denounced as objectionable, it may be argued that it is a mistake, even on high moral grounds, to take such performances too seriously. After all, a theatre is not a church or a chapel. As long as there are genuine drollery and genuine laughter there is not much harm done. Nothing is so dull as indecency, nothing the attractions of which are so soon exhausted. But the dialogue of a piece may be harmless, and yet on the stage it may be rendered vicious by the by-play, business, and "gag" of vicious actors. Ever since dramatic art has existed, the comedy of manners and of character has abounded in intrigue, as tragedy has mainly resorted to the collisions between passion and duty. For dramatic purposes the Decalogue has always been more honoured in the breach than the observance. Indeed, if the Decalogue were always universally observed, the occupation of both stage and pulpit would be gone. The Church, fortified by tremendous sanctions, rebukes vice, and scares it away by the terrors of the wrath to come. The play catches the conscience of an audience by tragic terror and pity, or chastises vice by ridicule. An audience may be laughed out of their vices at the theatre; they cannot be preached out of them.

As regards the production of French plays upon the English stage, it is a delusion to suppose that more than a very limited number of playgoers in London know enough of the French language genuinely to enjoy them. The performers are French, the language employed is French; and if the Examiner of Plays licences in the original language a farce or a drama which he might be slow to sanction in an English adaptation, he has right and reason on his side. To borrow an expression from the domain of international law, the stage censor will scarcely err if he gives French plays performed in London a kind of extra-territorial privilege—if, in fact, he treats the stage on which they are presented as for the time being a part of France projected by accident into England. At the close of these observations on the contemporary English stage, there may be briefly noticed a question which used often to be heard among playgoers—Is a revival of Shakespearian dramas in England more probable than a revival of the classic drama in France? Four or five years ago the answer would have been in the negative. All those existing conditions of the stage and of society to which reference has been made in this chapter pointed to one conclusion, which a flash of fashionable enthusiasm for a single actor of originality and distinction, whose principal and most popular suc-

cesses have been won in modern realistic drama and in modern comedy, confirmed rather than contradicted. The more Shakespeare's plays are read, it was thought the less, perhaps, would they be represented. An audience sufficiently cultivated to enjoy the plays as literature, to taste the quality of the poet's language, and the subtlety of his imagery, was supposed to be proportionately less disposed to tolerate the personation of all but one or two characters in the piece by actors such as Hamlet describes in his advice to the players. This anticipation, however, has been completely falsified by events, and at no time has the Shakespearian drama been in greater favour with the English public than at the present. This fact is the result chiefly of the genius of Mr. Henry Irving, who has done more than any one else to popularise the plays of Shakespeare. It is, perhaps, due to the brilliant success which has attended his revivals at the Lyceum that we are at this moment witnessing at the Princess's a representation which will serve to recall to the minds of many persons the days of Charles Kean.

CHAPTER XXX.

PROFESSIONAL ENGLAND.

General View of English Professions—Civil Engineering—The Bar: Qualifications for Success—Money Prizes of the Bar—Tendencies of the Time reflected in English Professional Life—New Professions called into Existence—How Science, Commerce, Art, Literature, have each enlarged the Area of English Professional Life—Schoolmastering as a Profession—Opportunities of Scientific Teaching—Manual *v.* Intellectual Occupation—The Medical Profession—The Country Doctor—General Practitioners and Pure Physicians—Income of London Medical Men—Devotion of the Medical Men to Scientific Study—Progress of Medicine in England—Politics as a Profession—Necessity of Money—The Diplomatic Profession—The Foreign Office—The Army—Its Popularity: Growth of the Professional Soldier—Effect of Abolishing Purchase—Mess Expenses.

It is with English professions in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as it is with the various other aspects of our national life which have been passed successively in review. One is confronted on the one hand by the manifest increase of all that is comprised under the head of organisation, and on the other by those signs of flux and movement which indicate that the future and final development of professional England is as yet undecided. To the former of these categories may be referred the machinery of preliminary tests and qualifying examinations; to the latter, the indistinctness of the demarcating line between pursuits and trades on the one hand, and what are specifically styled professions on the other. In all the occupations of modern life there is an increasing demand for stringent guarantees of efficiency. Physicians and surgeons, barristers and solicitors, soldiers and sailors, are each of them called upon to furnish strong *primâ-facie* evidence of fitness for their career before they are able even in name to enter upon it. If to these we add clergymen, we shall have enumerated the chief traditional departments of English professional life. Yet what nearly innumerable and often anonymous varieties of honourable and profitable occupation will there not be left behind? Though in this chapter it will be necessary to dwell almost exclusively upon the conventional professional divisions, it would be an unpardonable omission to ignore the fact that the limit separating the mechanical industry from the profession seems very often purely arbitrary.

At the head of all the new professions must be placed that of the civil engineer. The calling is pre-eminently that created by the most

distinctively characteristic achievements and aspirations of the age, while it opens up a vista of rich rewards to those who follow it with the success which special aptitude and industry command. There is also reason to believe that the profession of the civil engineer is one which appeals with peculiar force to the imagination and ambition of the youth of the day. It is the pioneer of progress and civilisation, moral and material, all the world over; it gratifies that adventurous instinct which is the heritage of the English race. The civil engineer who spans rocky defiles, pierces mountains, unites continents, and by designing new schemes of railway and telegraphic extension annihilates space and time, is the modern representative of the navigator of the Elizabethan era—of the Hawkinses, Raleighs, Drakes, and Davises, who sailed over remote seas in quest of new lands and fresh enemies to subjugate. The head master of a large public school recently observed to the present writer that three out of every four of his pupils would, if polled, declare for engineering. In other directions, too, the advance of science has greatly enlarged the horizon of English professional life. Scientific farming is surely entitled to rank as a profession. And how is one correctly to speak of the whole race of scientific specialists if not as members of a profession? Experts in naval architecture, chemists, geologists, and others, have all in reality as definite a profession as the medical man, the lawyer, or the divine. Every department of skilled industry, mechanical or intellectual, has annexed to it, so to speak, a considerable specialist business of its own. The development of commerce has been the opportunity for creating a host of occupations, some of which have been glanced at in preceding chapters. Art has proved scarcely less productive in its way than science and commerce. There is not only more work for painters of creative genius than ever, but for a class of artists who never existed before—decorators and designers of all kinds and in all materials. In literature the same movement has, or will have soon, been experienced, and journalism has certainly acquired a true professional status.

But though the exigencies of modern life, co-operating with the principle of the subdivision of labour, have multiplied professions in England, they have not multiplied them in such number as to provide sufficient occupation for the sons of English parents. The opportunities of an empire established in each of the four quarters of the globe are found too few, or not remunerative enough, for British lads who have to make their own way in life, and who have small capital on which to commence. Success in the learned professions is denied to mediocrities. The navy requires strong interest, and the army a competence. If the developments of British commerce have created a host of new and lucrative callings, there are more candidates already than work can be provided for, while the peculiar aptitudes which the

occupation demands are not always forthcoming. The Bar means starvation and idleness to the majority of those who are "called." The Civil Service is underpaid, and the meanest position in it is only to be won after success in an examination sufficiently difficult to act as a formidable barrier. The Church offers small inducement for the ambitious aspirant, and the profession of the schoolmaster is already overstocked.

These are the complaints which one hears, and is likely for some while to come to hear, on every side. The professions which naturally suggest themselves to the two thousand young men who annually take their degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, a majority of whom are dependent for their livelihood on their own exertions, are the Bar, the Church, education, or, possibly, civil engineering. If high academic honours have been taken by the newly-fledged graduate, his path is tolerably clear. He will, in all probability, win a fellowship, which, if not tenable for life, will support him for a certain number of years while he is making a start. He may either attempt to live on the stipend attached to this distinction, or he may, residing in the university, supplement his income with work done in his college as fellow and tutor, or take private pupils, or he may accept a position as schoolmaster; or he may go to London, instal himself in chambers, and woo success at the Bar. If he elects the last he will not necessarily find his scholastic honours of any direct assistance to him. Clients will not come, nor will solicitors trust him, more readily because he is a double first, an Ireland Scholar, a Senior Classic, or a Chancellor's Medallist. The chances are, it will be a more appreciable advantage to him to have distinguished himself in the cricket-field, on the river, or in the racquet-court. For one solicitor who recognises that he is a fellow of his college, and the most accomplished scholar of his year, half a dozen will hasten to identify him with the famous stroke in the university eight, or the irresistible bowler who took all the wickets of the rival academic team at Lords.

Success at the Bar depends on a combination of circumstances, and on a variety of gifts, physical quite as much as mental. A good presence, an agreeable manner, are as valuable as the powerful, but slowly moving intellect. In common law, plausibility, aplomb, and ignorance of what timidity or nervousness mean are indispensable. In addition to this, there should be, if possible, some connection with a few influential solicitors, or the opportunity of establishing such, and then, if most of these conditions are forthcoming, there will be the certainty of a moderate success. The personnel of English lawyers is gradually experiencing a change. The examinations which now precede the call to the Bar ensure not only some degree of general culture, but a fair amount of legal knowledge. Hence, no lawyer

who is a barrister can be—as in the old days, when nothing beyond attendance at the chambers of a pleader or counsel was required—entirely ignorant of law. The university graduate is absolved from the necessity of submitting himself to those merely educational tests which are imposed in the case of other candidates, many of whom are the sons or brothers of solicitors, while some have been solicitors themselves. Even the university graduate who has taken high honours occasionally recognises the expediency of acquiring some purely technical education by apprenticing himself to a firm of solicitors before he addresses himself to the business of the barrister. Hence the Bar is much less of a professional lounge than formerly. There are fewer idlers within the precincts of the Inns of Court, and most of the young gentlemen who keep their terms intend to work, and to win every prize which the profession affords.

The Law List shows that there are some five thousand barristers; and a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, placing in juxtaposition with these figures several other facts and statistics, has drawn some interesting conclusions. Estimating the total of fees annually paid in the High Court of Justice and the different Courts of Quarter Sessions at £338,200, and dividing this sum by the number of barristers whose names are in the Law List, the magazinist arrives at an average income for each of £68. Adding to this sum the fees paid in County Courts for Indian, colonial, and Scotch appeals, and by law students to tutors, the writer computes the total of revenue to average £100 a head. But, he argues, the expenditure on the necessities of life or of the profession by the barrister cannot be less than £187 a year. Hence he is left with a deficit of £87. Now the money prizes of the profession—the Lord Chancellorship, the other law offices of the Crown, the judgeships, and the rest—are fixed in round numbers at £500,000, which yields another £100 a year to each of the five thousand candidates. This is an interesting and ingenious speculation, but not one of much practical value. It does, however, circumstantially suggest the undoubted fact that the prizes of the Bar are not many in number. It is unnecessary to say that, such as they are, they are distributed among comparatively few of the competitors. Here, as elsewhere, honours and the rewards of business have a tendency to concentrate themselves in the hands of a small minority. One success brings another, and the prosperous barrister has no sooner enough to do than he has too much. Generally it may be said that if a young man makes up his mind to succeed at the Bar, he must see his way to being something of a specialist. Let him master some particular department or branch of law, be known as an expert in a certain sort of cases, and he will have an infinitely better chance than if he takes his stand simply upon the basis of general utility.

In a measure this remark is equally true of all professions at the present time. Let us take the case of the university graduate, in fair, but not in the highest honours, who is thrown upon the world with a few college debts, and fewer pounds in his pocket. Unless he goes into the Church, or wins a berth in the Civil Service, or finds some chance opening, such as a secretaryship, or a private tutorship, or makes his mark on the press, there is but one thing he can do if he is to be a self-supporting institution: he must adopt the profession of schoolmaster. Of the young men who have gone through an academic course, without discredit but without lustre, the great majority become curates, or schoolmasters, or emigrants. The mere university degree, even when accompanied by moderate honours, is becoming a drug in the market. As regards emigration, experience seems to show that a young man who makes his home in one of the great British colonies may do fairly well upon either of two assumptions—that he has a certain amount of capital to start him, or that he is willing to turn his hand to anything, and that one hour he can teach boys ciphering, and writing, and Latin grammar, and the next be making himself generally useful. If he elects to be a schoolmaster in England, he may indeed ultimately attain wealth, but that will not be as a schoolmaster, but as keeper of a school boarding-house. Even the pedagogic career no longer presents all its former opportunities. Of course the impetus given in the last few years to education has resulted in a greater demand for schoolmasters. But then while there is a larger supply than ever, the material wanted is not always that which Oxford and Cambridge supply. The demand for the instruments of scientific instruction is increasingly greater than that for the instruments of literary instruction.

If the problem of providing employment for a portion even of the vast multitude which now seeks it, too often in vain, is to be satisfactorily solved, the duty of sacrificing personal taste and prejudice to proved necessity cannot be too peremptorily enforced. In many quarters it is already recognised. Among the eligible occupations for younger sons of great noblemen are now recognised not only commissions in the army and navy, Government appointments, stipendiary magistracies and the like, but positions in mercantile and trading houses, sheep-farming, ordinary farming, plantations in the colonies, India, and America. When dukes are willing to apprentice the cadets of their houses to merchants and to stockbrokers, an example has been set which it is well should be widely followed. The crowds of young men who now sigh for gentlemanlike employment, and despair querulously because it is not forthcoming, will have to reconcile themselves to a perceptible descent in the social scale. The gospel of levelling up has been preached to the point at which a reaction

against its precepts is unavoidable. It has done good in its way, and has disseminated broadcast the leaven of a healthy and stimulating ambition. Before long we are destined to witness a new social movement. It will be felt that the practical knowledge of some specific trade is a better preventive against want, poverty, and failure, than a vague knowledge of clerkly acquirements and a general adaptability for clerkly duties. Lads who now seek to live at the desk may succeed in securing for themselves the means of living at the bench and in the engine-room; and signs are now visible that a few years hence no social stigma will be considered to rest upon those who boldly accepted the change. Yet even then it is not possible to forecast the future without some apprehensions. The depression in trade is naturally making its influence felt with sinister force in the domains of industry. Parents who would have been, in times past, only too grateful for such a chance, hesitate to send their sons into the offices of Manchester or Liverpool merchants, because the conditions of business are bad, and the prospects of early material improvement, which alone can bring the desired openings, are not encouraging.

In the case of the medical profession, there may be seen evidence of the same desire to guarantee the efficiency of those entering it as at the Bar and in other callings. But the number of those doctors who make really large incomes is comparatively small. We hear of the successes, but we do not hear of the failures; and not merely in the provinces, but in London there are a great number of practitioners who can scarcely contrive to support themselves and their families. The life of the country doctor is exceedingly trying to the system even of a strong man; he is liable to be up at all hours of the night, performs long journeys in the most inclement weather, receives poor fees, and these not always paid with regularity or certainty. The general practitioner, whether in London or elsewhere, is the lineal successor of the apothecary, who in former days was resorted to in the case of minor ailments, and who prescribed and sent out medicines. This practitioner can sue for his fees in a court of law. On the other hand, fellows and members of the Royal College of Physicians are prohibited by the bye-laws of the college, confirmed by recent Act of Parliament, from recovering fees by legal process. They are thus placed upon the same footing as barristers, who must receive their honorarium when the professional service is rendered, or run the risk of losing it altogether. This is the most important distinction between the general practitioner, who very often is a Doctor of Medicine of a Scotch or Irish University, and the pure physician, or F.R.C.P. The last honour is reserved for those who, after having shown themselves conspicuous in the science or practice of medicine as members of the College of Physicians, are after four years' membership nomi-

nated by the council, and subsequently balloted for by the fellows of the college generally. The average medical man in London can make an income of £1,000 to £2,000 a year; the more distinguished from £5,000 to £12,000. Incomes above this are very rare, for the simple reason that there is literally not the time in which to do the extra work. As in Germany, so in England, the fees charged for surgical operation are small in comparison with those current in America and Paris. Of the generous and disinterested attention of many doctors to their patients at large the public knows something, but is, perhaps, less acquainted with their devotion to science. A curious instance of this which occurred a year or two ago in London may be mentioned. There arrived one day in the English capital from France a medical man who had been dedicating his energies exclusively to the study of physiology. Suddenly he attracted notice, and was astonished to find patients flocking to consult him on nerve diseases; very shortly he was in possession of a practice of more than £5,000 a year. He told his professional friends he should completely surrender it as soon as he had secured an annuity of £300 a year. It was not believed that he would persevere in his resolve; he did persevere, however, and when he had realised his modest ambition went to America to pursue his old studies, and devoted himself to science.

One of the most important and remarkable advances in modern surgical practice is the revolution that has been effected by the introduction of the antiseptic method of treating wounds. In the medical profession, as in others, there is always a strong conservative vein, and there are many surgeons who insist that this process has not been the exclusive cause of the effects attributed to it. But the fact that the antiseptic method gains ground daily in all countries, being generally adopted in England, universally in Scotland, almost universally in Germany, to a large extent in America, and gradually in France, is a sufficient testimony to its intrinsic merits. Nor is it only danger to the patient which is diminished by this method. The doctor himself is secured against many perils to which he was previously exposed. The dangers under which the medical man pursues his tasks are infinitely greater than are generally imagined. Many young doctors are stricken down on the threshold of life in the fever-wards of hospitals. The late Dr. Charles Murchison was repeatedly at death's door before he could follow his fever studies without imminent risk of being infected by the disease. He lost two children from the effects of a malady which he had twice brought home. A distinguished Scotch physician, Sir Robert Christison, approaching, in 1879, his ninetieth year, suffered from recurrent attacks of fever, consequent on his exposure to morbid influences in the exercise of his professional duties. Whether under fire on

the battle-field, assisting the wounded, or in the not less deadly arena of disease, statistics show with what fidelity the lives of medical men are spent in the service of mankind. According to the returns of the Registrar-General, the mortality of medical officers is nearly twenty per cent. higher than that of combatant officers of the same age.

Politics, diplomacy, and, to a certain extent, the army, are ornamental professions; not money-making, but money-spending careers. Successful politicians in England are seldom needy men. Neither Lord Beaconsfield nor Mr. Gladstone rose from poverty or obscurity, or started in life absolutely devoid of the advantages enjoyed by the rivals and contemporaries whom they defeated or distanced. The constituencies in 1874 and 1880 elected as their representatives the richest assemblages in the world, and the House of Commons on both occasions gave its confidence to a Cabinet of eminently rich men. The instances in this century of a member of the House of Commons rising to position and influence who did not belong to one of the two aristocracies—the aristocracy of birth or wealth—or who did not contract an alliance with one of these so closely that he became identified with it, are rare exceptions. There are, certainly, members of the House of Commons who have no regular income of their own, no estate, no remunerative profession, and the Corrupt Practices Act of 1883 will doubtless, by preventing excessive expenditure at elections, increase their number. These members, however, make something out of directorships, and occasionally pick up a windfall in the City. They seldom have any very lofty ambitions. They do not mistake themselves for heaven-born statesmen, and they are quite satisfied if they have enough to pay for their subscription to the best club in London, and the other necessaries or luxuries of life. There is also in the House of Commons a large allowance of professional men who would be described as working for their daily bread. But what does this really mean? The professional men alluded to are either lawyers in large practice or persons engaged in commerce. In the former case they are for the most part in the position of being able to say adieu to their clients to-morrow without any fear of starvation; in the latter, their business manages itself—they have deputies and agents in whom they can thoroughly trust. If any supervision is needed it is of the slightest possible kind, and their share of work is confined to pocketing a due proportion of profits. Barristers go into the House for a definite reason. A parliamentary seat, if they can get it, is a distinct advertisement. Even then it is a costly mode of appeal to litigants and solicitors. A country gentleman with an estate of £5,000 a year, a family, and a town house, who goes into the House of Commons determined to make politics a study, finds it not too easy to keep out of debt. A barrister whose fees do not amount to more than £3,000 per annum will

probably find, if he only thinks about augmenting his business, that he is without any adequate return for his expenditure of time and money. A parliamentary career is and will remain open to talent; but only on condition that talent has the ballast of wealth. Hard as this may seem in individual cases, there is a sound reason for it, and it works well and fairly in the long run. When the late Duke of Marlborough—then Marquis of Blandford—brought forward his Reform Bill, as a sort of *ballon d'essai*, he proposed that members of Parliament should be paid, and the proposal was rightly characterised as democratic in its tendencies. So long as poverty continues to be a political disqualification, there will be generally insured integrity and independence. If the House of Commons were a place for making money rather than spending it, it would at once be degraded in the national opinion. Thus it is that though, of those who succeed in the House of Commons, some have more money and some less, the assistance of money has been indispensable, and has been forthcoming to almost all.

Passing from politics to diplomacy, we come to what is virtually another unpaid profession. No sensible man would think of sending his son into it unless he was prepared to allow him at the very least four or five hundred a year, an allowance not to be withdrawn or reduced when he was promoted to the position of third secretary with a salary of £150, but to continue throughout his career, and to be secured to him after his parent's death. Such a profession, though diplomatists may be the pets of society, can never be a really popular one. With certain qualifications the same remarks apply to the Foreign Office. The principle of competition does indeed to a limited extent exist at the Foreign Office—ten candidates being usually nominated to one vacancy. The severity of the examinations depends not so much on the number as on the acquirements of those who compete in it. Thus in the competition for the Indian Civil Service, it is an exception if there are more than ninety lads whose ability and knowledge are entitled to consideration. The vacancies are from thirty-five to forty; and it follows that the chances are less than three to one against each of those who are really in the running. Now in the Foreign Office competitions there are no men of straw. Not only has the patronage list by no means invariably been adhered to, but special invitations have been sent to certain famous heads of houses at Oxford and Cambridge to suggest promising candidates. Nor is it easy to see how this state of things is to be remedied. Make the examinations for the Diplomatic Service competitive, and it is certain that some at least of those personally and socially qualified in a high degree will be excluded. For instance, young men who have been educated in the traditions and atmosphere of diplomacy from infancy, the sons, it may be, of ambassadors or *chargés d'affairse*, who have friendships and connections in every European capital, to whom it is

a second nature socially to conciliate and correctly to interpret public feeling and political intention, would often be hopelessly defeated in a general competitive examination. Again, supposing the Foreign Office were to open its doors to all comers, means might, conceivably, be taken to withdraw with one hand what was given with the other. If the Foreign Office were to place itself under the new regulations known as Scheme I., the open competition for it would take place at the same time and place, and in the same subjects, as that for other high-class offices. But it would be perfectly practicable for the authorities of the Foreign Office to make their selection, not from any of the new-comers and successful candidates, but from young men already in the Civil Service of pleasing manners, good connections, and independent means. In a word, open competition at the Foreign Office might come to signify in practice the adoption of that mode of nomination by transfer which has created dissatisfaction at the Treasury.

There remains the army. That the profession of arms is extremely popular with all classes, high and low, cannot be doubted any more than that the tone and qualifications of officers of all branches of the service have signally improved. The army, at the present day, is at once aristocratic and national; it enjoys the favour of society, and the sons of the people gain Her Majesty's commission, and serve with credit and success. On the one hand, the complaint is made, with whatever degree of truth, by university authorities, that young men of birth and position do not go to Oxford and Cambridge in the same numbers as formerly; on the other hand, since the abolition of purchase, there have been certainly signs of the growth of a class which was formerly strange among us, namely, that of the professional soldier. Thus if there are more young men who adopt the army as a kind of social training-school, and a substitute for academic life, there are also more who enter it with a determination, like that which has been already noted among barristers, to make out of it the business of their lives. Nor is there anything to warrant the belief that the officers of the English army are likely to be less efficient soldiers in the future than in the past. The competition for commissions in the line is tolerably keen, but the examination is simple. There is not the slightest appearance of any deterioration in the physique or muscular accomplishments of candidates since competition has been established. On the contrary, they are generally spoken of as being smarter than ever, knowing better what their duties are, and being better able to perform them. If they are better scholars they are also better soldiers.

So far as the aristocracy is concerned, it is intelligible that fewer of their sons should go annually to the university. The taste for culture among the upper classes of English society is not on the increase. In the old days the bench of bishops was largely reinforced from the sons of the great families. This natural process of ascent from the purple to the prelacy has ceased to be the order of the day. The

Church of England is looked upon as an institution that holds its existence upon a precarious tenure. There is nothing to prevent young men in any rank of life from going to the university first, and into the army afterwards. A certain number of commissions are annually given to selected candidates from Oxford and Cambridge. These nominations, however, are not to the army direct, but only to Sandhurst; and the young officer who prefaces a military career with an academic training considers that he loses three or four years in the competition for a colonelcy.

The army, like emigration, or indeed like many departments of commercial life, is practically closed against lads who have not the command of a certain amount of capital. In England the subaltern in a marching regiment cannot possibly live on his pay; in India he may not only be independent of the support of his friends, but may lay by money. When not on foreign service, the pay of the sub-lieutenant is £100 7s. 6d. per annum, of the lieutenant £118 12s. 6d. or £136 17s. 6d., according to the length of his service; and of captain £211 7s. 11d.; from which must be deducted twenty days' pay for band and mess—for though the former claim is not now compulsory, it is generally admitted. To this must be added the cost of entertainments of one kind and another; and while a French subaltern, having no mess to pay, probably gets his meals at a restaurant for £3 or £4 a month, an English officer of the same grade will find his necessary expenses nearly four times that sum.

No account of the existing opportunities of professional England would be complete without some brief survey of the career of letters. Yet, though literature must be regarded not merely as an art, but as a profession, or a trade, and while there are a greater number of persons in England now making a comfortable living by their pen than was ever previously known, there is less of what can properly be called a distinctly professional literary class. Most moderately well-educated people nowadays are actual or potential authors. They have dabbled in literature for purposes of pleasure or profit: they have published a book, or they have written magazine or newspaper articles. It is the enormous development of periodical literature of one sort or another which is the great feature of the times. The contributors to these publications are drawn from every class of English society, and there are comparatively few persons realising anything like a comfortable income from their pen who are independent of the periodical press in some shape or other. A poet may achieve a considerable reputation, and yet make nothing by his writings; a novelist may be steadily patronised by the circulating libraries, and yet secure only the most moderate pecuniary returns. Even an historian or a philosopher may have impressed the stamp of his intellect upon the age, and yet be unable to live on what his work

brings in. Only those who have risen to the highest position in the various departments of independent authorship, as philosophers, historians, novelists, or poets, can command large prices. Undisputed eminence may realise a handsome fortune; respectable mediocrity can barely keep the wolf from the door.

Without the assistance of journalism, no writer not of established reputation can make what even to a modest ambition would seem a comfortable fortune; but journalism is a calling in which a fair measure of success may be insured by most who are not egregiously unfitted for the career. Yet even journalism, however handsome the incomes made by the successful in it may appear, cannot be pronounced otherwise than poorly remunerated, if compared with certain other professions, such as the law or medicine. There are very few cases known or possible, in which a newspaper writer, not being the editor of a journal, can hope to realise more than £1,500, or at the most £2,000, a year; probably not half the sum that either a barrister or doctor, occupying an analogous level of professional distinction, earns. And though it may be said that the journalist who secures this position is not doomed to wait like the one for briefs, or like the other for patients, for an indefinite period, it must be remembered that the necessary expenses of his life are not inconsiderable. He has, indeed, no great establishment to keep up; but he probably finds it necessary to live in a convenient, which is usually a costly, quarter of the town, and in such matters as locomotion his disbursements are often exceptionally heavy. The hours, too, and the conditions under which his work has to be done, are not such as to suit all persons. If he writes leading articles, he will have to hold himself at the disposition of his editor, and will very often have to turn night into day. In this matter different arrangements are made in different newspaper offices: in some, no regular engagement is given to the writer of the leading articles unless he comes to the office between ten and eleven every night; in all, the development of telegraphic communication renders it necessary for the professional journalist to be ready to write at a moment's notice, and at any hour.

Most daily newspapers are now supplied with special wires: in the case of the metropolitan press, between London and some one or more of the Continental capitals; in the case of the provincial press, between the town of issue and the capital. Newspaper activity and enterprise, as in London so in the provinces, have been displayed on a very surprising scale. In most great towns in England there are journals published every morning, equal in most respects to those which appear in London. There is a variety of news, that news is well arranged, and the comments on it have often the merit of comparative brevity. The views taken by the writers are, moreover, sometimes more independent of official and parliamentary influence

In his "Order and Progress," Mr. Frederic Harrison says: "The enormous preponderance in the State with which the House of Commons has gradually invested itself has overshadowed journalism, and has converted journalism into something which is called a fourth estate, but is really an appendage to the Commons." At the same time it is beginning to be recognised that mechanical adherence to a political party does not increase the power of a newspaper, and that genuinely independent journalism is one of the great products of the time.

There is more of originality, freshness, ability, vigour, and variety displayed in the newspaper press of England than in that of any other country in the world. It is customary to contrast the position of journalism in England with its position in France, not a little to the advantage of the latter, and there may be some truth in the conclusion. That it is much easier to gain a political position by writing for the French than for the English press, is chiefly due to the circumstance that in France newspaper articles are signed, and in England they are not. But the signed system is really impossible in England, and may some day become impossible in France. For every newspaper in England there are, probably, four in France—exclusive organs of the countless cliques of which the French political system is composed. Thus the French newspapers are sectarian rather than national. Neither in Paris nor in the provinces is any such phenomenon to be observed as a great journal which speaks to the people as a whole. While parties are as infinitely divided and subdivided as is the case in France, a journal which would really be a symbol of national unity is impossible. Thus we have a host of petty prints, insignificant in their influence and in their contents, consisting of short occasional notes, novels, a brief narrative of contemporary events, and articles penned by the acknowledged literary leader of a political coterie. English journalism represents interests; French journalism represents opinions.

That which has been chiefly instrumental in making journalism a not unprofitable profession for so many hundreds and thousands of Englishmen is the development, the energy, and the enterprise of the penny press. Few people have any adequate conception of the magnitude of the interests which this press represents. Let us take the case of one of the leading penny papers of the capital. Here is a journal of which the average total expenditure is from £260,000 to £270,000 a year, and the annual profit from £55,000 to £60,000. If these figures are severally divided by 313—the number of working days in a year—we shall have the daily expenditure and profit of a London paper, sold for the twelfth of a shilling. It will thus be found that the expenses *per diem* of such a paper amount, roughly speaking, to £860, and that the daily profit is close upon £200. This, of course, includes every item on which, in a daily newspaper office,

it may be necessary to expend money—printing machinery, telegraphic wires, telegrams, and the pay of editors, sub-editors, writers, reporters, and others. These establishments do not only exist in London, but in most large towns of the country; and though the scale on which they are carried on in the provinces is less considerable than it is in London, the number of persons for whom employment is afforded is very large. The writing of leading articles is only one branch of the profession of journalism. Within the office of a daily newspaper is a staff of managers, clerks, cashiers, in addition to those persons concerned in the actual production of it. Outside, there is a regiment of reporters, some in the Houses of Parliament, some in the law courts, perpetually busy, and earning for the most part sufficient to support themselves and their families. In near and remote quarters of the world are special correspondents—themselves representing a numerous and important branch and interest of journalism—transmitting graphic word-pictures by telegraph or mail of battles, sieges, celebrations, festivals: now of a wedding, and now of a funeral; to-day of a death in Central Africa, to-morrow of a sudden disaster that has fallen upon an entire neighbourhood in Central Europe. Peculiar qualifications are indispensable in the case of the special correspondent. He must not merely have the pen of a ready, a vigorous, and an effective writer, but must possess a robust constitution capable of bearing extremes of climate and temperature; he must be able to write under any circumstances, and to contrive by some means or other to post himself wherever anything of importance is taking place; and, moreover, he must be as insensitive to moral or social rebuff as he is indifferent of physical fatigue.

Notwithstanding the development of new types of journalism: of weekly newspapers embellished with every kind of illustration (some of them employing special artists as the daily journal employs its special correspondents), devoted to every kind of topic or interest—literature, art, the stage, science, trade (for nowadays most traders have their special representatives in the weekly press), amusement, sport, "society"—notwithstanding these novel additions to the long list of the newspaper press and their periodical multiplications (for one success is sure to provoke a host of imitators, not necessarily always failures), it may possibly be that in England the newspaper of the future has yet to come into being. There are some persons who think that under the present system we are overridden with leading articles, and that a journal which should revert to its original function of supplying in the first instance news, and of commenting upon this news in the briefest and pithiest way, would command a large success. It does not follow that if this prospect were fulfilled the influence of the English newspaper press would be materially lessened. As it is, the press has, probably, more power in the discussion of social

than of political questions; but in either its power does not arise exclusively from its comments. The business of newspapers is not so much to create or withstand popular cries, as to help to regulate them, and to supply the public with materials for estimating their value. Foreign correspondents, reporters of every kind, have almost as much opportunity of instructing the public mind by the news they give, and the way in which they give it, as leader-writers themselves. If there be any defect in English journalism at the present time, it is that it gives us too much of opinion and too little of news; and that in giving us news, it does not always exercise sufficient discrimination as to what does and what does not come within this category. There is not likely to be any change in the methods by which alone success in newspaper proprietorship is possible. While we may anticipate that newspapers will give us more and more intelligence and less and less criticism, and while it may be reasonable to anticipate for them an immensely increased circulation, the cost of production will still be so enormous that the proprietors can only hope substantially to recover their outlay by advertisements. It is, and it will probably continue to be, the literal fact that the multiplication of the copies sold is only useful as an agency for increasing the number of advertisements; and that except when paper is unusually cheap, the actual profit realised on each impression sold is infinitesimal.

There is a large and important section of professional England which lies far outside the four seas. Official England and commercial England exist in the foreign dependencies of Great Britain as well as in Great Britain itself, and the fortunes spent in the mother country have often been made in the tropics or at the antipodes. Firmly wedded though England has been to a policy of non-intervention in European affairs, she has never remained long without an opportunity of showing in different parts of her colonial possessions that there still breathes within her the spirit which has made her the mistress of a vast empire. Her colonial dominions have not only supplied Englishmen with an opening for their industry and peaceful enterprise, but have also exercised them in the profession of arms. Not merely in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth century too, have India and our colonies provided much the same stimulus for English imagination and for English enterprise as did the wars of Raleigh and Blake against the Spanish in the Elizabethan age. India, however, while it has been undoubtedly the nurse of the military sentiment among Englishmen, has been much besides. It has not only provided a military career for hundreds and thousands of Englishmen, but it has brought with it a great amount of purely civilian occupation—that of the engineer, the merchant, the tea planter, as well as of the civil administrator. The competition wallah is now more than a quarter of a century old, and under the new system the government of India has been placed in the hands of the great multitude of the English middle

classes—with many advantages to them, and not a few to India itself. Competition has unquestionably raised the average official standard. Work in all its branches, and more especially in the lower, is better done than formerly. The past generation of Anglo-Indian civilians would, it may be assumed, have been infinitely less successful than the present in making abstracts of evidence, in drawing up decisions, and in writing reports. And while some scholars, and several *littérateurs*, have been the result of the competition wallahs, the class has not proved deficient in men of action, or men of great business-like aptitudes.

These great virtues are not without their corresponding defects. No administrator of the highest distinction has yet appeared among the new Indian civilians; nor can it be said that, as a body, these have displayed the loyalty to the Government which was characteristic of the period when the distribution of official honours was mainly a matter of family arrangement. There were in those days innumerable abuses; but above and redeeming all, there was an idea that the general interests of the Government were the interests of each individual person serving under it. If extra duties had at any time to be discharged they were discharged without grumbling, because the officials felt that all exertion promoted the welfare of the firm. The competition wallahs, on the contrary, are not in every case alive to the same kind of corporate interest. They have gone to India to make as much money out of the country as possible, and to leave it as quickly; to realise an early annuity and return home. They are in the position of men who have contracted with their employers to do a certain amount of work and no more, and who, if any exceptionally heavy demand be made upon them, resent it as an imposition.

Nor can the more general relations between England and India be looked on as entirely satisfactory under the new system. There is less of sympathy and acquaintance with the natives than formerly. The wallahs are better linguists than their predecessors, but they see very little of the native gentlemen of the country. This, of course, may be in a great degree due to the relations which have been developed between natives and Europeans as a consequence of the Mutiny; and it may be readily admitted that sometimes the old civilians were too friendly with the natives—borrowing their horses and carriages, and making them buy often useless articles when leaving the country on furlough or for good. Still, it cannot be desirable that the natives should say, as they are apt now to say, "We cannot have a chat with your officers, or ask advice." Again, whereas in the old times possibly all the officials were relatives or friends of the directors, and were in constant personal communication with the representatives of the Home Government, there is to-day little or no connection or common interest between the wallahs and the department of the Secretary of State in Whitehall.

CHAPTER XXXI.

IMPERIAL ENGLAND AND CONCLUSION.

Increasing Need of Emigration—Extent and Character of the British Empire—Past and probable Future Increase of our Colonial Population—Relations of Colonies to Mother Country: (1) Financial, (2) Commercial—Loyalty of Colonies to Mother Country—Imperial Federation—Forces of Repulsion and Cohesion at Work in the Relations between England and her Colonial Dependencies—Common Features of the Colonies—Points on which the Condition of the Colonies may be considered prophetic of the Condition of Things yet to be realised in England—General Nature of England's Responsibilities—Imperial Duties of the Statesmanship of the Future—What will that Future be?—Conclusion.

We have seen that among the chief wants of domestic England is that of careers and professions for her sons. The estimated total population of the United Kingdom was in 1881 close upon thirty-five and a half millions. The average annual increase during the last ten years was 340,000, and the rate may yet be accelerated. By the close of the century the inhabitants of these islands can scarcely number less than forty-five millions. How within the four seas are employment and the means of subsistence to be found for so vast a multitude? Here, then, the opportunities for colonisation suggest themselves; and it is natural to turn from the smaller Britain, which is at home, to the greater Britain, which is beyond the seas.

In 1883 no fewer than 320,000 of Queen Victoria's subjects left the shores of their country for other lands, including the United States of America. A larger number could well have been spared, as it is calculated that in the agricultural districts alone 75,000 more persons are born every year than can find employment. If such persons do not emigrate they drift away gradually to large centres of population, and by their presence increase all the evils attendant upon a congested state of society. It is sometimes said that the chances which await the emigrant in the colonies are not better than the chances he leaves behind him in the country of his birth. This is partly because many of those who yearly set sail for our dependencies are men who have failed in England, and partly because the conditions of colonial life and the qualifications requisite for colonial success are imperfectly understood. Two things seem certain: one, that the intending colonist who has not capital must be prepared to perform any work, how-

ever irksome or humble, which is forthcoming; the second, that emigration should take place at a much earlier age than is now usual. A national system of education is giving us annually, and in an increasing measure, a number of fairly intelligent boys and girls, for all of whom there cannot be sufficiently remunerative occupation here. In 1872 the average school attendance was 1,650,000, in 1883 it rose to 4,028,000. In these may be recognised the material for colonists, who would not only win prosperity and comfort for themselves, but who would be a great acquisition to the dependency to which they happened to migrate. Emigration societies already exist in England. It might surely be possible to extend the operations of these in such a way as to draft off a certain annual percentage of the surplus population before they could learn the evil ways of idleness. A movement has lately been set on foot by philanthropists to secure from the Government an acknowledgment of the principle of state-aided emigration. It is argued that private enterprise and benevolent efforts of an isolated character are no longer sufficient to deal with the problem of emigration. And precedents are cited to prove that public revenue has been most judiciously expended when given to help a distressed population to find new homes in an English colony. Both in Canada and the Cape of Good Hope, state-aided emigrants have proved by their work and example that it is only necessary to transplant willing workers into a new country, and give them free scope, in order to secure their immediate welfare. The advantages gained are of a cumulative character, as such colonists benefit England by their absence and the colony by their presence. Moreover they benefit English trade by becoming buyers of English manufactures. Such a prosperity as that of the Albany settlers of 1820, who were sent to the Cape to reclaim the soil and guard the frontier, clearly indicates that British colonists can thrive under the most difficult circumstances. Moreover, the result furnishes a partial if not wholly convincing answer to those who object to state-aided emigration as either an invasion of the domain of private enterprise or a communistic appropriation of public revenue.

The precise extent and population of the foreign dominions of England cannot, perhaps, be estimated with absolute certainty, owing to the difficulty of obtaining reliable statistics from every quarter, but an approximate calculation can be made. From statistics quoted by Sir Richard Temple before the British Association at Montreal, it appears that the area of the British Empire may be taken at nearly ten millions of square miles, or about one-fifth of the fifty millions of square miles composing the habitable globe. This vast area includes not only those countries which are reckoned as component parts of the empire, such as our colonies in Australia and North America, but such countries as parts of Borneo, Zululand, Beloochistan, and even of the

Soudan, which are gradually falling under our political control. Out of this enormous total there are only 120,000 square miles in the United Kingdom. The dimensions of the empire have been ascertained by professional surveys, and we learn that no less than two and a half millions of square miles have been topographically surveyed, and of this nearly all had been surveyed minutely, field by field. Such a survey is correctly described as one of the largest operations ever known in the annals of administration. The coast-line of this colossal empire is of extraordinary length, measuring about 28,500 miles, with forty-eight large harbours, and for the whole of this marine surveys have been prepared.

The population of the British Empire, it is calculated, amounts to 315,000,000. Christianity is the professed religion of about 46,000,000, that is to say, one-seventh of the whole. The religion that attracts the largest number of worshippers is Hindooism, there being no fewer than 188,000,000 Hindoos under British rule. Further, if the total population were spread over the total area of the empire, the average would amount to thirty-three persons per square mile. In the United Kingdom the average of population per square mile is 485. As may be imagined, the Colonial Office in London has to deal with several kinds of communities. There are the military outposts, such as Gibraltar and Malta; next there are those—like the West India Islands, Ceylon, Natal, the Mauritius, and others—which are known as Crown colonies, where also the executive is still with the Crown; thirdly, there are such self-governing colonies as the Australian group, the Canadian dominion, and the Cape Colony. The form of government, therefore, which is applied to our foreign dominions varies greatly. Moreover, as the British Empire lies on both sides of the Equator, and is scattered over both hemispheres, there are varieties of climate touching the extremes of heat and cold. Of the whole we learn that about one-sixth is within the tropics, one-third in the antipodes, one-third in North America, and the remaining one-sixth in the temperate zones of Europe and Asia. The true home of all white men is found in the temperate regions of the earth, and of these regions Great Britain possesses 44 per cent., or nearly one-half of the whole. Together with America, she occupies 88 per cent. of the whole area. Such an empire, with its colonies extending themselves in every part of the world and capable of indefinite expansion, offers peculiar advantages to an English emigrant.

Physical conditions render it necessary for the British emigrant seeking a home for himself and his children to go where the climate is healthy; social reasons induce him to go where the English language is spoken, and where English institutions prevail. If he studies the habits of the men and women around him he will find that he is still among an English people who have only changed the place of their abode, not

their real character. This character can only be understood by a knowledge of English history and of English customs, and a proper calculation of the force of English traditions. The British Empire has been built up from time to time by a number of individual Englishmen who have left the indelible stamp of the mother country upon it in its laws, customs, and society. An emigrant may turn to any quarter of the globe he pleases, but still find himself a subject of Queen Victoria and a member of a great empire. In the colonies themselves he will not only breathe the same atmosphere of freedom he enjoyed in the mother country, but he will feel in a marked degree the sensation of political expansion. The colonies of England grow at a remarkable rate. It is calculated that there are now living beyond the seas no fewer than ten millions of Englishmen, and that in the space of fifty years the English colonists will equal the English at home, and both together exceed a hundred millions.

It will be well, next, to inquire what are the financial relations of the mother country to the colonies. So long as the colonies were treated as places of exile for criminals, it was right that England should contribute not only to their military defence but to their civil government. The expenditure which the colonies now entail upon the mother country is less than two millions a year. It is said that her colonial empire imposes upon Great Britain a further cost in the necessity of maintaining a much larger fleet than she would otherwise require. But the obvious answer to this is, that under any circumstances a fleet scarcely smaller than that which is now supported would be necessary for the protection of British commerce. In order to reduce the fleet, the commerce of the country as well as its colonies must be sacrificed; a result for which those who are willing to part with the colonies are not prepared. Besides, an essential gain to England from her colonies is found in the commercial relations which subsist between the two. The expression, "Trade follows the flag," is simply a way of saying that the lines of commerce coincide with the limits of empire. It has been proved that the trade of England increases as her dependencies increase. If imports and exports be added together, it will be discovered that out of the sum total of £660,000,000 per annum, the colonial trade has averaged £160,000,000. The ambition of the political economist might be to see the most unfettered interchange between England and her colonies of what each grows or makes, and whatever might be said of protection against foreigners, nothing in the shape of protective duties should impede commerce between parts of the same empire. The commercial activity of this empire is unbounded, for if the main elements of national industry be taken together—namely, commerce, manufactures, mining, agriculture, carrying trade, and banking—the total, two thousand millions sterling, annually is about the same for

the United Kingdom and the United States. The United States are, as might be expected, advancing the faster, their population being fifty-five millions, or nineteen millions more than our own. That the United Kingdom, in spite of this disparity of numbers, should be able to do nearly as much as America is, in the words of Sir Richard Temple, a striking proof of the sustained vitality of the mother country. But it cannot be doubted that, in the commercial world, America is rapidly becoming a rival of England, and this fact should be deeply and seriously considered. In proportion as British commerce with the United States decreases, and the United States supplants England in her own domestic markets, the greater the necessity to cement the commercial union between Great Britain and her colonies. If America be a great free-trading community within her own boundaries, it has been argued, with a good deal of plausibility, that England might follow her example and emulate that growth which has been even more rapid than her own. The distances which intervene between the scattered British settlements constitute but a slight obstacle to an intercourse between the various parts of the empire in these days of quick passages and reduced freights. The idea of this possible extension of free trade, as well as the example set us by the American Republic, are matters of sufficient interest and importance to arrest the attention of political economists. Notwithstanding the protectionist legislation which exists in many colonies, they still take more English goods than any other country or people. While in 1874 our nearest neighbours bought less than 17s. a head of British commodities, our fellow-countrymen at the antipodes purchased an average of £10 worth. And it is calculated that from 1868 to 1878 there was an increase of 43 per cent. of trade with our colonies, but only 19 per cent. with the rest of the world.

Even thus, it may be said, the connection between the colonies and the mother country is not satisfactory, and until an imperial tariff has been established, by which an approach to free trade is ensured throughout the whole of the British empire, the colonies have the power to place the mother country under a positive disadvantage. The prospects of the ultimate accomplishment of such a scheme depend upon the general political relations which events may develop between the mother country and the colonies. That the last few years have witnessed the assertion of the imperial sentiment in England, not as a mere effervescence, but as an abiding phase of national conviction, there may, or may not, be reason to believe. When, in 1878, there seemed a prospect of a collision between Russia and England, the offer was made repeatedly by the colonial subjects of the English Crown in Canada and at the antipodes to despatch battalions of volunteers. More recently, during the campaign in the

Transvaal, aid was freely proffered by the Australians to help the British Government against the Boers; and at the present moment Canadian boatmen are taking part in the Nile expedition under Lord Wolseley. English colonists are willing to stand shoulder to shoulder with imperial troops in whatever part of the world they may be needed. These are circumstances which tend to justify the conviction that the great colonies of England have no wish to sever the tie that binds them to the mother country, even though the connection imposes on them the perils and burden of responsibility. It is the almost unanimous opinion of competent observers, who have by extensive travel made themselves acquainted with colonial feeling, that our dependencies would scorn to stand aloof from a war entered upon in defence of those principles which lie at the foundation of English greatness, or in redemption of those engagements which Great Britain has in time past undertaken. There is, of course, another side to this question. It may be urged that the colonies will not permanently consent to be liable for the results of a policy which they have had no part in shaping; and certainly if this policy were to be systematically turbulent, aggressive, and costly, that is a reluctance which would be very emphatically displayed. The practical question thus arises, How will it be possible to give the colonies the influence they may claim in moulding imperial policy?

For the direct dependence of the colonies on the mother country, it is suggested that there may be gradually substituted a federation of the whole: each self-governing as to the management of its local affairs; each bound to assist the other in time of imperial emergency; and each represented at some given imperial centre, which might be, as now, London. But in addition to the practical difficulties in the way of this proposal, and the confusion in the working of the representative principle that it would involve, there is the fact that at the present moment the colonies are directly or indirectly represented in the House of Commons by men who have passed their lives there. This does not dispose of the circumstance that there is much in the position of the colonies which may lead to future conflict. Though the self-governed dependencies make their own laws, the Crown has a veto which is exercised through the Colonial Secretary of the day. The existing relations may develop other difficulties than these. It has been said, though, as a matter of fact, experience is seldom likely to prove such to be the case, that the English system of party government, and the chance which there always is of the colonial policy of one Government being reversed by its successor, may keep the colonists in a state of unrest that will become intolerable. There is the further consideration that the political party which, for the time being, is the depositary of power in England, may be opposed to that which is in the ascendant in the colonies, and that thus want of

political sympathy may pave the way for the disintegration of the empire.

But if these are the apparent agencies of repulsion, what are the forces of cohesion actually at work? No more powerful influence has exerted itself in the latter half of this century than that of nationality. Italy has become united, the German Empire established, while the American Union has been cemented by a war which cost half a million of men and a thousand millions of money. The same influence can scarcely fail to make itself felt among those of our own race throughout the world. They have not only a common language, but a common history. Moreover, the constitutional tie between England and her colonies has, generally speaking, been of a most elastic and popular kind. The progress of a settlement from the necessarily autocratic condition of a Crown colony to that of a self-governing community has been unvarying. The case of the island of Jamaica, originally gifted with responsible government, then deprived of it, but afterwards reseeking it, seems to establish the uniformity of the tendency. Rarely has England posed in the attitude of an unjust stepmother towards her colonies during the last hundred years. Political privileges have been given with an indulgent hand, and this treatment must surely have removed suspicions and cleared the path to a closer and more confiding union. This union necessitates, as, for that matter, all political union must necessitate, a firm friendship on both sides and a just appreciation of the value of compromise. In order to secure the great good of the whole empire it is necessary to sink, occasionally, local and individual interests. There is also an attraction for the multitude in these dependencies in their association with so ancient a sovereignty as that of England. But if the connection between the mother country and the colonies is to be sentimental mainly, it is clear that the mother country herself must omit nothing that can promote and strengthen this sentiment in an appropriate way. The colonists must not be treated like poor relations. Hence Mr. Froude has suggested that, in addition to the single colonial decoration—that of St. Michael and St. George—which now exists, distinguished colonists should occasionally be elevated to the peerage, or should be made members of the Privy Council—as was done in the case of Sir John Macdonald, Prime Minister of Canada, in 1879; that a certain number of vacancies in the various departments of the Civil Service at home and abroad should be allotted to colonists; that Oxford and Cambridge should be encouraged to unite with the colonies in founding scholarships and fellowships bearing colonial names, the candidates for which should be educated in colonial schools; and finally, that there should be instituted in the British army and navy special opportunities for the display of colonial patriotism—that there should be Australian and Canadian regiments, just as there are now Highland

and Irish regiments. In addition to these suggestions Mr. Froude might have added that the highest prize in the colonies themselves, namely, that of the governorship, should be occasionally bestowed upon eminent men of colonial birth. With regard to the idea that the colonial navy should co-operate with that of England, it may be stated that there has been recently a desire on the part of the Australians that their war vessels should be placed on an equal footing with those of Great Britain, so that no technical obstacle might prevent their being used for imperial purposes. The prospect in the future of an allied fleet of an imperial character carrying on the glorious traditions of Blake, Rodney, Nelson, and the countless heroes of our naval history, is one which may well fire the zeal of those politicians who contend for the unity and unimpaired grandeur of the British Empire.

Considerations affecting the nature of the tie which may in the future bind them together are not the only ones suggested by the present relations of the colonies to the mother country; and in the extent and condition of the dependencies of Great Britain, other lessons than those of the greatness of England may be found. As the opinion of foreign nations is said to enable one to anticipate the verdict of posterity, so is it possible that in the state of the English colonies to-day the tendencies at work within the limits of the United Kingdom, and the direction in which British polity is drifting, may be recognised more clearly than if the attention were restricted exclusively to England. Such conditions as life in a new country presents —the building up of new institutions, the release from old prejudices, the possession of larger individual power, the absence of pauperism, the avenues opened to personal ambition, the enjoyment of greater plenty, though associated with more adventurous life—must tell on the character of a people. On the other hand, the circumstances of dealing with native races, the admixture of a foreign stock (such as the French in Canada, or the Dutch in South Africa), the mode in which society has constructed itself (for example, the existence in some possessions of a convict element, the hasty attraction of population by gold or diamond mines, or its leisurely consolidation under less alluring temptations), and a great variety of other circumstances, emphasise local peculiarities in the separate communities. Thus the several colonies and dependencies of the empire are growing up with many common and many widely divergent characteristics.

Their common characteristics are for the most part of an elevated nature. Of these the consciousness of taking part in the formation of a new state, the sense of individual power, the open-air life, the vast areas ready for occupation, and the enjoyment of plenty, may be named, while above all are the prospects of advancement to wealth and influence. Indeed, the last presents a *primâ-facie* reason for anticipating in a colonial community an improvement of the stock

whence it sprung. The colonists represent the people who have had the energy and courage to try to ameliorate their position—they represent, in other words, what a Darwinian would describe as the survival of the fittest. Thus while the people of exterior Great Britain are building up for themselves an important position in relation to their fellow-countrymen at home, there may be discerned among them the nascent qualities of independence, self-reliance, ambition, generosity, and loyalty somewhat tempered by conceit and by intolerance of the weaknesses of others.

An ordinary Englishman arrives in a colony with an idea that his colonial fellow-subjects have much to learn, and that he will instruct them. But the first few weeks in his new home are a succession of disillusions. Colonists have their own ways of doing things, and they believe in those ways. After a time the would-be teacher also grows to believe in them. In the course of years he returns to the mother country. He comes back with something of the same contempt for the people at home that he originally carried out with him for the people in the colony. He expects to find things very much as he left them. Of course he is again undeceived. There has been no lack of progress, and, as he discovers, there is no want of capacity. Yet he is not unable, in spite of his protracted absence from the old country, to hold his own with his countrymen, while on the whole he finds that his own capacity has been improved by his colonial experiences. The successes of returned colonists are neither few nor inconsiderable.

To understand colonial institutions it is necessary to understand the colonists; for the virtues and faults of the latter are reflected in the former. Although these communities are small and young, they have intricate, complicated, and imperfectly developed organisms, some of which may be glanced at with a considerable amount of profit. The self-governing colonies are in a certain sense new departures, but they bear the stamp of the English prototype in spite of local variations. As they are frequently passing through transitional stages, they present opportunities for comparison between themselves, the fixed type of society and the constitution at home, and the provisional conditions of a Crown colony. The latter may be termed a self-governing colony in embryo. Consequently there is presented to the political philosopher in a study of the English colonies a series of kaleidoscopic views, as it were, of the working of constitutional principles. The problem of self-government becomes complicated when a settlement of white men constitute an insignificant minority in the midst of a native population. How far the franchise and other constitutional privileges should be given to the indigenous masses of coloured citizens in such colonies as Natal, the Cape, Tasmania, and the Straits Settlements is a question constantly being presented for solution to practical politicians. It may be scarcely realised with

how free a hand the power of voting has been conceded to the coloured population of such a colony as the Cape; but a danger may be created for the State if by a process of philanthropic but anticipatory legislation the rights of full citizenship are given before they are deserved.

The precise state of development when reason and justice demand that a share in local, provincial, and, incidentally, imperial legislation should be handed over to the aboriginal tribes cannot be exactly defined. Constitutionally it may be said to coincide with that period when colonies are emancipating themselves from the conditions of Crown dependencies. The last are the most antiquated; they strangely contrast not only with their mother but with their younger sisters. Democracy has a certain force in Great Britain, a larger force in the self-governing colonies, and little or no force in the Crown dependencies. And while colonial institutions do not appear to be approximating in character to those of the mother country, it is far from certain that those of the mother country are not tending in the direction of the colonies.

Like causes issue in like effects. The democratic influences at work in Great Britain are calculated to produce results, such as more powerful waves of democracy have accomplished in her dependencies. It is rather hastily assumed that the difficulty, which is characteristic of colonial politics, of maintaining exclusively two strongly marked parties and preventing them from splitting up into many sections, is a consequence of want of age and tradition. Whoever analyses what is passing in the mother country may at least suspect that there is a tendency here also to destroy the distinctiveness of two political organisations, and to replace them by many schools of thought separated rather by present interest than by broad and fundamental differences. In the colonies, except during periods of peculiar political excitement, it is regarded as somewhat humiliating if a candidate should do more than promise support to a leader so long as he approves of his conduct. To undertake to support him because he leads the party, and to express willingness to sink individual views to maintain party interests, would not be the way for a colonial politician to recommend himself to his constituents. A colonial statesman is more blunt than diplomatic. True, he has to face many combinations, and he is constantly called upon to reconcile them by the exercise of more or less tact. But indefinite promises and vague postponements will not meet the difficulties with which he has to contend; he must show his hand, and say what he means. And as those with whom he deals are not more reticent, political utterances have a robustness which at times degenerates into a licensed freedom of language, apt to surprise public men who make it a rule carefully to weigh their words. With this freedom are associated a certain force and fluency from which it may be predicted that colonial politicians will develop into vigorous, capable statesmen, self-reliant, if somewhat wanting in refinement.

The Government of a colony is very near to the people. Deputations are a recognised and frequent means of enforcing the popular will. These will not confide their grievances to subordinate servants of the Government. In the same way, parliamentary representatives have to submit to the teachings of their constituents, who in turn are disposed to be faithful to their choice. If a member is reasonably assiduous, and does not fall a victim to some burning local question concerning which he has shown himself half-hearted, he may look upon his seat as a tolerably safe possession for a series of years. Colonial constituencies generally approve of the payment of members of the legislature. They take the plain view that they have no right to expect services without rewarding those who give them, and probably they are a little impressed by the notion that in rewarding them they strengthen their right of free criticism. In those colonies where payment of members does not yet prevail there is a strong inclination to adopt the system. The legislature is in almost every case composed of two houses, and the upper house is not as a rule the popular one. Rightly or wrongly, it is suspected that the members of the upper house favour the possession of large estates, and make it their business to protect the interests of the landowners. Still, with exceptions, the two houses pull well together. A great deal depends on the tact and ability of the governor, who is nominated by the Sovereign. An able governor keeps well in the background, and avoiding all suspicion of interference, quietly exercises a salutary influence. Greatly to the credit of the colonies, they attach the highest importance to education. Their public educational systems are of rare excellence, and they grudge no expense in maintaining them. The universal feeling is that no child should grow up uneducated, while for the most part, a purely secular system is in favour. The colonies maintain at great cost charitable institutions, without, however, admitting any special legislation for paupers. They deal with pauperism as though its nature was accidental, and the result of exceptional misfortune. It is no part of their belief that one section of the people has the right to look for constant support to another. In the absence of intricate vested interests, colonial legislation is more prompt and thorough than in the mother country. For instance, the laws relating to the transfer of land are more simple in their character and easy in their application than in England. At times there is a danger of the over-hasty enactment of new laws. Especial importance is attached to local government; many systems prevail, and the details are widely various. But every colony aims at perfecting its own system, and accommodating it to its own peculiarities. Local government is designed on very broad foundations. Cities, towns, boroughs, road districts, hundreds, shires, and counties are respectively included. The object is that the thinly and the thickly peopled portions of the country should alike depend for

local improvements on the exertions of the persons most concerned, supplemented by such assistance as Parliament is willing to give from the general revenue. The excellence of their local institutions develops among the community at large a capacity for office which infinitely assists the larger object of colonial self-government. The local politician wins his way, by well-tried service, to the most important positions in the central government. The ordinary institutions of government are closely modelled after those of the mother country. Sometimes the models are improved upon. The colonists do rapidly what they desire; the Queen's Government, equally wishful, has to defer until numerous interests can be sufficiently conciliated. The colonists are vigorous; if they think that legislation is required, they make short work of opposing forces, effecting in a session as much as would take ten years' discussion in the Imperial Parliament.

Society in the colonies is as largely divided as in older communities. There are sections and circles and cliques, each to itself a host. Patrician blood and old family associations are respected to a certain extent, but they do not lead society. Wealth, especially the wealth represented by landed possessions, gives to its owner, as a rule, the highest consideration, unless it is associated with want of education or want of character. To have risen by personal industry and perseverance is no bar to the attainment of the highest social position. Whatever tendency there may be towards the formation of an aristocracy lies in the direction of a landed aristocracy. Professional men and merchants, however, are held in great esteem.

There is something akin to contempt felt for those who, possessing a certain amount of education and without a special occupation, are only fit for clerks or appointments in the Government service. Persons of this kind swarm in the colonies. They learn to envy the men who have to depend only on their physical strength. For in countries where labour is scarcely less valuable than capital, manual exertion commands, as might be expected, more respect than in lands crowded with inhabitants. That the labourer to-day should be his own master to-morrow, and a few years later a rich man, excites no surprise, for instances of the kind are plentiful. Politicians and public men do not necessarily hold high social positions. It can hardly even be said that the pursuit of politics is a good road to social eminence. But exceptions must be made of the really successful public men who show marked ability and high character. Freedom and liberty inspire new ideas, and create a thirst for information. The press is held in great respect, and colonial journalism is distinguished by much ability. Art, the drama, and music are well encouraged. The best paid "stars" in the mother country find it profitable to make a colonial tour. Colonists, on the whole, are a pleasure-loving people. Manly sports are enthusiastically pursued.

Cricket, football, rowing, boating, hunting, and horseracing are as much in favour in the distant colonies as in the mother country; and occasionally colonial competitors show that they are able to hold their ground against the champions of a population ten times greater than their own. The colonists are law-abiding and law-loving people. Life and property are duly venerated. Occasionally there are exceptions in some inland village in which the convict taint has outlived the eradicating influences of education; but the rest of the community are unsparing in their enmity to lawlessness. Whenever excesses become marked, they are hunted down. The ringleaders are punished with extreme severity, while those who secretly sympathise with the guilty learn at least the discretion of expediency. It is seldom one hears now of the bushranging (as highway robbery is called) which was not uncommon years ago. There is a strong disposition to support the independence of the law courts. Colonial judges are generally possessed of considerable attainments and learning. The decisions of the chief colonial courts are rarely reversed on appeal to the Privy Council, and the minor tribunals are well sustained. In some respects a longing eye may be cast to colonial example. In many colonies there are public prosecutors, whose duty it is to redeem criminal prosecutions from the suspicion of being used for the exercise of private vengeance or the extortion of civil claims, as is too frequently the case when the criminal law is put into force by private persons. This is an example which we have followed; although at the present time the innovation is too recent a one to permit of a decisive verdict as to its results. The colonists, too, do not, as a rule, favour unpaid justices of the peace. Even in thinly peopled districts they are disposed to employ capable stipendiary magistrates.

"For my part," said Burke, in his speech on American taxation, "I look upon the imperial rights of Great Britain, and the privileges which the colonists ought to enjoy under those rights, to be just the most reconcilable things in the world. The Parliament of Great Britain is at the head of her extensive empire in two capacities: one as the local legislature of this island, providing for all things at home immediately, and by no other instrument than the executive power; the other, and I think her nobler capacity, is what I may call her imperial character, in which, as from the throne of heaven, she superintends all the several inferior legislatures, and guides and controls them all, without annihilating any." There can be little doubt that it is upon the degree of fidelity with which the mother country fulfils these duties towards her dependencies that her tenure of them rests. The empire of Great Britain is one which, having its beginnings in the fact of military superiority, finds the elements of its growth and strength in the idea of moral service to mankind, and in

recognising, while performing this service, that it is no part of its duty to pose as a militant evangelist before the world, or to embrace every opportunity for a crusade of arms, wherever there may arise the semblance of a religious or imperial justification. The problem which confronts England at the present time is to administer her empire on principles that are in consonance not only with the national instincts of Englishmen, but with the changed political habits of the race. It is at least certain that no analogy can be drawn between the empire of England and any other empire which ever existed. All other empires have been based upon a despotism; the empire of England alone is based upon freedom and liberty.

It may be that the events of the next few years will decide the imperial future of this country. The relations that exist between Great Britain and her colonial dependencies may be strengthened or weakened, may be made closer or more distant, but can scarcely remain permanently what they now are. As it is at present constituted, the British Empire is in a state of potential disintegration, and the chief link which binds its different parts together is the sentiment of patriotism that is common to all Englishmen. India, with her feudatory princes and semi-independent governments, realises the idea of empire more than any other of the foreign possessions of the Crown, but the connection between England and India is unique. For the rest, the British Empire in its political and military aspects is as full of anomalies and contradictions as the British Constitution. The absence of immediate connection between the metropolis of the empire and the colony, or the personal views of a colonial governor, may plunge the mother country at any moment into a colonial war for which it is unprepared, and of which the Home Government disapproves. The exigencies of British empire in Europe entail a war in Asia, and Parliament is unable definitely to fix the burden of payment in any one quarter. It is considered that British interests in Europe are jeopardised, and the question of introducing the Indian troops of the Crown to an island in the Mediterranean is canvassed in a debate that raises the deepest constitutional issues. A deadlock ensues in the political life of an Australasian colony, and after months of negotiation with the Colonial Office in London nothing is settled. Or occasionally a colony like Queensland or the Cape takes it upon itself to annex a new territory. In deciding upon the justice or expediency of the act, England's diplomatic relations with other Powers may be strained to the uttermost. If she assents to the Monroe doctrines of the Australasian colonies in the Pacific she may find herself opposed by France; or if, in another quarter of the globe, she consents to stand surety for the act of the Cape Parliament by which the littoral on the south-west coast of Africa has been recently annexed, she may be confronted by Germany. In com-

mercial and financial affairs the same chaotic conditions exist. England is a nation of free traders. Yet as a man's worst enemies are those of his own household, so those most bitterly opposed to free trade are English subjects. The British Empire is held together by no imperial tariff, while the British dependencies impose protective duties on British exports, so heavy as sometimes to be almost prohibitive.

Such is the actual state of things, and such are the tendencies which this state of things discloses. Sooner or later it is inevitable that these tendencies should assert themselves in a definitive shape. On the one hand, there is the strong, if sometimes latent, force represented by community of race, language, and for the most part of religion; on the other, there are divergencies and distractions in almost every department of the imperial system: which of these two sets of powers is ultimately to accomplish itself? It may be that events outside the limits of the British Empire are destined to be instrumental in answering this question. It is the age of big battalions and colossal armaments, and the arbiter of Europe is he who is the master of many legions. Moral force rests upon a basis of military power, and no diplomacy is successful unless it is prepared, in the last resort, to use the strong arm. Free trade and international exhibitions have not brought the millennium appreciably nearer to mankind. The military spirit was never stronger in England than it is to-day; the question, What must England do to retain her traditional place among the nations of the world? was never more anxiously discussed. She may be warned against pursuing that imperial policy which would introduce India and the colonies as elements into her international relations in Europe, and which would teach her to use these dependencies as recruiting-grounds for her imperial army. But if something of the sort be not done, England may at any moment find herself in the position of an island pitted against a continent. There is a point beyond which reliance cannot be placed on the resources of the smaller England at home for men and arms; and may it not be necessary to go further than this, if Englishmen would show themselves able to hold their own against the great military empires of Europe? Organisation for such an end as this, and on an imperial scale, would mean some mode of imperial federation; and if the same spirit animates the English race in all parts of the world that has animated it in other ages, it is conceivable that England's place in the European system and the exigencies of the position may force her to the choice between imperial federation and subsidence into a third-rate power.

There is much in the temper which has of recent years been displayed both in England and in her colonies to justify the belief that such an era as this may not be so very remote. The problem will

certainly have to be discussed and settled. If no Royal Commission is heard of, specially appointed to investigate the existing relations between those various parts of the British Empire with which, on principles and by processes widely different, England has extended her area and influence, the hour must yet come when those relations will be considered and revised. The time and its necessities may be trusted to bring the statesmanship which they require. Events make the man, and it will be for the statesman of the future to assist in the development or destruction of the imperial idea. Public interest and public discussion are doing in a fashion the work of a Royal Commission. Both in the colonies and England herself the idea is gaining ground that a sentiment of imperialism, existing hitherto in the region of aspiration, should find some more formal expression and develop into something more than a mere sentiment. Such an event as the meeting of the British Association in Montreal points to the significant fact that there exists throughout the British Empire a certain moral unity leavening the whole. Although the interests of England and her dependencies are not absolutely identical, nevertheless Englishmen and colonists possess, in a marked degree, a similarity of character, which has been formed in a natural way by common instincts, common laws, a common culture, and a common standard of literary and scientific excellence. Some are found to say that this moral unity is quite sufficient for the purposes of imperialism, the strength of a nation or an empire being found in the animus or spirit of its subjects. To a certain extent this statement may be true, but it may be pointed out that a sentiment without a sphere, or some practical means of making itself felt, is neither better nor worse than an unemployed force in nature. Moreover, as in practical life, the finer qualities of an individual appear only when exercised in some proper province and directed along some well-known channel, so, in the history of a nation and an empire, there must be a legitimate and acknowledged way of revealing and asserting its character. Legislation, in the shape of measures of consolidation, must touch the sentiments of the whole society to make them effectual. Both German and American unity, with all their beneficial results, were achieved in the first place by an appeal to feeling, but in the second place by formal acts of consolidation. In discussing the whole question of the possibility of federation, the idea of a representative federal council is the first to present itself. There are in England many men of ripe colonial experience who have either discharged the duties of a colonial governorship itself or have passed through a lengthened official career abroad. Such men, replete with a valuable knowledge of local requirements, and holding in their hands the threads, as it were, of colonial history, so puzzling to Englishmen who have never lived in our colonies, might form the nucleus of a colonial council, reproducing in its main

features the Indian Council. Their province might be to examine and discuss purely imperial questions, such as those of defence, trade, annexation, naturalisation of British subjects, and the rest; and their influence might be felt in the Upper or the Lower House. Besides bringing information to bear upon knotty points in colonial administration, they might, incidentally, relieve the House of Commons of a certain amount of toil, fulfilling occasionally the work of a Grand Committee. The highest honours and emoluments of English political life might be brought in this way within the reach of her colonists. But whatever the future that awaits the idea of imperialism as well as the consequent idea of a federal council, one fact seems clear, viz. that we have arrived at a point in our national development when national unity must be either greater or less than it is at present. To be a second Holland or a greater Britain:—such seems to be the alternative before England. Whatever discussion, reason, and legislation can do should be done by her citizens to secure for her the unimpeded development of her manifest destiny. No party cries should be heard where the issues are of so important a kind. Some notion has been given of the extent and capacity of England's empire; what will England do with it? Will the English democracy, whose sovereignty is becoming in the last resort paramount, decide that it is only a splendid encumbrance, or recognise that, without it, England herself would lose her historic character? Is that democracy about to show that no more than others can it boast immunity from the reproach of fickleness? or, proving itself possessed of the traditional constancy and firmness characteristic of the race, will it give assurance that though supreme power may have found a new depositary, the manner in which that power is exercised will not be changed?

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